

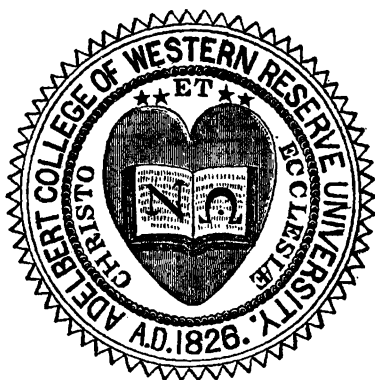
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ANCIENT RECORDS OF EGYPT

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PERSIAN CONQUEST, COLLECTED
EDITED AND TRANSLATED WITH COMMENTARY

BY

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VOLUME I

THE FIRST TO THE SEVENTEENTH DYNASTIES

CHICAGO
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
1906

LONDON: LUZAC & CO.

LEIPZIG: OTTO HARRASSOWITZ

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Published February 1906

Composed and Printed By
The University of Chicago Press
Chicago, Illinois, U. S. A.

THESE VOLUMES ARE DEDICATED TO

MARTIN A. RYERSON

NORMAN W. HARRIS

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PREFACE

In no particular have modern historical studies made greater progress than in the reproduction and publication of documentary sources from which our knowledge of the most varied peoples and periods is drawn. In American history whole libraries of such sources have appeared or are promised. These are chiefly in English, although the other languages of Europe are of course often largely represented. The employment of such sources from the early epochs of the world's history involves either a knowledge of ancient languages on the part of the user, or a complete rendition of the documents into English. No attempt has ever been made to collect and present all the sources of Egyptian history in a modern language. A most laudable beginning in this direction, and one that has done great service, was the *Records of the Past*; but that series never attempted to be complete, and no amount of editing could make consistent with themselves the uncorrelated translations of the large number of contributors to that series.

The author is only too well aware of the difficulties involved in such a project. In mere bulk alone it has been a considerable enterprise, in view of the preliminary tasks made necessary by the state of the published texts. These I have indicated briefly in the chapter on the sources herein (Vol. I, §§ 27-32). Under these circumstances, the author's first obligation has been to go behind the publications to the original documents themselves, wherever necessary. The method pursued has also been indicated herein (Vol. I, §§ 33-37). The task has consumed years, and demanded protracted sojourn among the great col-

lections of Europe. In this work a related enterprise has been of the greatest assistance. A mission to the museums of Europe to collect and copy their Egyptian monuments for a commission of the four Royal Academies of Germany (Berlin, Leipzig, Göttingen, and Munich), in order to make these documents available for an exhaustive *Egyptian Dictionary* endowed by the German Emperor, enabled the author to copy from the originals practically all the historical monuments of Egypt in Europe. The other sources of material, and particularly the papers of the *Dictionary* just mentioned, have enabled the author to base the translations in these volumes directly, or practically so, upon the originals themselves in almost all cases.

Unfortunately, the possession of these materials is but the beginning of the difficulties which beset such an enterprise. In the preface to the first edition of his *English Dictionary*, Noah Webster complains of the difficulties caused by the new meanings taken on by English words as they are modified by the new environment which envelops them in America. If such changes are involved in the voyage across the Atlantic, and the lapse of a few generations, how much wider and deeper is the gulf due to the total difference between the semitropical northern Nile valley of millenniums ago, and the English-speaking world of this twentieth century! The psychology of early man is something with which we have as yet scarcely begun to operate. His whole world and his whole manner of thinking are sharply differentiated from our own. His organization, socially, industrially, commercially, politically; his tools, his house, his conveniences, constantly involve institutions, adjustments, and appliances totally unknown to this modern age and this western world. In the translation of the New Testament for the tribes of Alaska, I am

told, there has been great difficulty in the rendition of the term "Good Shepherd," for the reason that many of these people never saw a sheep and never heard of a shepherd. Similarly, how shall one rehabilitate this ancient world of the Nile-dweller, and put his documents into intelligible English, when the ideas to be rendered are often unknown to the average modern and western reader, and, needless to say, there are no corresponding terms in the English language?

Another constant source of difficulty has been the lack of those indispensable helps, the legion of concordances, glossaries, handbooks, and compilations for ready reference, which the worker in Greek or Hebrew has constantly at his hand. In spite of the colossal industry of Brugsch, we are still without a dictionary of Egyptian to which one can turn with any hope of finding other examples of a rare word. Hardly any Old Kingdom documents at all were employed by Brugsch in the compilation of his dictionary, and, grateful as we are for what he was able to furnish us, we must still await the great Berlin *Dictionary* before we shall possess an exhaustive compendium of the language. I was able to employ the alphabetically arranged materials of the *Dictionary* here and there, but the compilation was not sufficiently far advanced at the conclusion of my work to be of much service. Wherever I have drawn examples from it, they are carefully acknowledged in the footnotes. A good many distinctions in the meanings of words have become evident to me in the course of the work upon the documents. Wherever such have become clear late in the progress of the work, it was impossible to go through the translations and revise the entire manuscript for the sake of such words alone. I have tried to control these cases as far as possible in the proofs, but I am confident that some such

changes have been overlooked as the accumulation of alterations demanded in the proofreading was quite beyond my powers of observation in so large a mass of materials. Thus, for example, the common word *sr* is usually translated "prince," and this is undoubtedly sometimes the meaning of the word; but it very frequently means "official," a fact which I did not observe until far along in the progress of the work.

Some danger of confusion also arises from the fact that titles indicative of rank or office suffer great change in meaning in the lapse of several thousand years. Thus the *hʿty* or "count" of the feudal and pre-feudal ages becomes a mere magistrate or town-mayor in the Empire, although in sporadic cases the word still retains its old meaning. The translation of titles has perhaps been the greatest source of difficulty in the entire course of the work. Many of the offices found cannot be determined with precision. We have as yet no history of titles—one of the most needed works in the entire range of Egyptian studies. Under these circumstances, it has been impossible always to define with precision the range and scope of a given office. Even when these were determinable, the corresponding term was often wanting in English, and could not be devised without the use of a whole phrase. In some cases awkward combinations have been necessary in the renderings of titles. Thus the compound "king's-son" was adopted because it is occasionally followed in the original by a pronoun referring to "king," which made the rendering "royal son" impossible. For this reason a series of such compounds has been employed: "king's-son," "king's-daughter," "king's-wife," "king's-mother," "king's-scribe," and the like. It is hoped to render all such matters clear in the index.

In general, the effort has been to render as literally as

possible without wrenching English idiom. In this latter particular I probably have not always succeeded; but I have deliberately preferred this evil to a glib rendering which reads well and may be a long distance from the sense of the original. We have had so much of so-called "paraphrasing," which does not even remotely resemble the purport of the original, that I have felt justified in gratifying a righteous horror of such romancing, even at the cost of idiomatic English. The reader has a right to expect that the subjective fancies of the translator have been rigidly excluded, and a right to demand that he may put implicit dependence both upon the individual words and the general sense of the renderings. At the same time, the author would distinctly disclaim any desire to give to these translations the authority of monographs. The extent of the materials, and the amount of time expended in the collection, collation, and correction of the original texts before doing anything toward a formal version, have made it impossible to devote to the translation of each document as much time as one would deem necessary for the production of a monograph upon it. While the most conscientious attention has been given to the versions, and they have sometimes been revised three times (always once), yet it is undoubtedly the case that, in the course of rendering such a mass of materials, errors have crept in. Notice of any that may be observed by my fellow-workers in this field will be gratefully received, and utilized should a future edition of these volumes ever appear.

For the benefit of the general reader, it should be noted that a complete revolution in our knowledge of the Egyptian grammar has taken place in the last twenty-five years. The exhaustive study of syntax and of verbal forms which has been in progress for generations in the classic languages,

or even in the Semitic group, has been going on for only a little over a quarter of a century in Egyptian. This is no reflection on the work of the first two generations of Egyptologists, for such work was impossible in their day. In this quarter-century, immense progress has been made and certain definite results have been attained. It cannot be said that these results have yet been applied to the understanding of the historical documents of Egypt as a whole. One of the main purposes of this work has been the attainment of this end. Indeed, its chief object may be indicated in this connection as: first, the attainment of copies which in correctness adequately reproduce the original document; and, second, an English version which shall embody our modern knowledge of the language. Every effort has been made to realize these two aims, and only in such degree as they may have been attained will these volumes form a contribution to knowledge.

In the selection of documents there has sometimes been difficulty in deciding what should and what should not be included by the term "historical document." All purely religious compositions, as well as all exclusively literary documents (*belles-lettres*), all science, like mathematics and medicine, and in most cases all business documents, have been excluded. In the Old Kingdom, however, the last have been included, in view of the limited materials surviving from that distant age. It is hoped that these other classes of documents will appear in further volumes of this series. In all cases, however, where the other classes of documents were of vital historical importance—that is, bore directly on events and conditions closely touching the career of the Egyptian state—they have been included here. These volumes, therefore, include the entire series of written documents from which we draw our knowledge

of the career of the Nile valley peoples as a nation, until the beginning of permanent foreign domination at the advent of the Persians in 525 B. C.

Besides furnishing an English version of these documents, the scope of this work also includes the proper introduction of the reader to their intelligent study; hence the versions are accompanied by notes and introductions. These are threefold in character. Firstly, in a footnote appended to the title of each document, the reader will find a brief description of it, indicating whether it is of stone or papyrus, a stela, a relief, an obelisk, or whatever it may be, with statement of its size and material whenever the data were obtainable. The state of preservation is noted, and then all the publications in which the text of the monument has appeared. In a word, this footnote contains the *lower* criticism of the document. No attempt has been made to add to the bibliography the various treatments and discussions of the monument which have at various times appeared. The bulk of these essays are long since obsolete, and the time has certainly come when we can detach our usable bibliography from this incumbering inheritance, without at the same time failing to recognize with gratitude the great service which it once rendered to the science. Furthermore, it has seemed a duty to indicate to the reader in this footnote, the comparative value of the more important publications of the text. If an edition of the text has proved inaccurate and untrustworthy, it is but right that it should be known as such. In a purely objective and impersonal manner, therefore, such materials have been characterized in these introductory footnotes.

Secondly, each monument is supplied with a usually short introduction, setting forth the historical significance of the document, its character, and, where necessary, a

résumé of its content. It therefore contains in brief compass the *higher* criticism of the document. Much of the historical background, and literary value of the more important documents will be found set forth more fully in the author's *History of Egypt*,^a which is based upon the documentary sources in these volumes. As a further aid in gaining a comprehensive idea of the content, the version of each document itself has been divided into logical paragraphs, each with a subtitle. It is intended that by this plan a given passage of the document may be referred to by number, thus furnishing a very brief system of reference to all the monuments, by means of the volume number (Roman) followed by the paragraph number (Arabic).

Thirdly, the version of each monument is accompanied by running footnotes explaining obscure matters in the text as far as possible. It has been impossible to make these any fuller, although the author is quite aware that many details requiring explanation have been left without comment. It has been his especial endeavor to adduce in the footnotes, or at least call attention to, all related matter, whether in this series of translations or elsewhere among the monuments of Egypt. It has often been more convenient to introduce a very brief or fragmentary inscription of a few words in a footnote attached to a related passage in some larger document, than to give such flotsam and jetsam independent heads as separate documents. It is expected to render these all easily discoverable in the index. The maps necessary to an understanding of the geography of the monuments will also appear with the index.

I have attempted to solve the unwelcome problem of the transliteration of Egyptian words and names by giving

^a*A History of Egypt*, large 8vo, 640 pp., 200 illustrations, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1905.

the proper names where necessary in two forms: first, a vocalized form for the layman; and, second, a purely consonantal transliteration placed after it in parentheses. As the layman for whom the first is intended knows nothing of Egyptian orthography, it is not important that he shall be able to recognize in the forms the consonants of the original. This vocalized form should, however, as nearly as possible reproduce the consonants upon which it is based, without introducing elements unintelligible to the layman. Hence I have ignored ³ and ^c, *y* becomes *i* or *γ*, and *w* is indicated by *u* or *w*. The consonantal transliteration adopted is the most nearly satisfactory system yet evolved, viz., that of the Berlin school, with some slight modifications. It is as follows:

ʾ = Semitic א	n = Semitic נ	š = Semitic ש
y = " י	r = " ר or ל	k = " ק
w = " ו	h = " ה	k = " כ
c = " ע	h = " ח, ע	g = " ג
b = " ב	ḥ = " ח, ע	t = " ת
p = " פ	h = " ח, ע	t = " ט
f = our f	s = " s ^a	d = " ד
m = Semitic מ	š = " ש	ḏ = " ז

In the so-called "syllabic orthography" employed by the Egyptians in writing foreign words, only the first consonant of each biconsonantal sign has any significance. The second has no phonetic value in such words.

This is not the place to discuss the closer equivalences of these consonants. It is probable the ³ (Eagle) diverges

^aThe nature of the difference between this and the following *š* is entirely obscure. From the Middle Kingdom on, they represent the same sound. Herein the distinction has been consistently indicated only in the Old Kingdom.

slightly from the pure *aleph* of the Semitic languages, while the initial *y* has frequently become an *aleph*. It has not seemed wise to burden a work of this character with such distinctions, and the *y* appearing in these volumes at the beginning of a word merely indicates that the initial consonant of the original word is "reed-leaf" without predicating anything as to whether its sound is *ʾ* or *ℵ*.

To the numerous colleagues in Europe who have been so ready with assistance whenever called upon, I would here publicly express the deepest obligation. For untrammelled access to their collections, and never-failing co-operation, my sincere acknowledgments are due to the authorities of the museums at Berlin, London (British Museum, University College, Petrie Collections), Paris (Louvre, Bibliothèque Nationale, Musée Guimet), Vienna (Hofmuseum), Leyden, Munich, Rome (Vatican, and Capitoline), Florence (Museo Archæologico), Bologna, Naples, Turin, Pisa, Geneva, Lyons, Liverpool, and some others. It is with the greatest pleasure that I recall the years of work in the Berlin Museum to which these volumes have called me. It would be impossible, were I to attempt it, to enumerate the daily kindnesses or tell of the constant co-operation which I have enjoyed there. For daily access to the materials of the academic *Dictionary*, already mentioned, I would express to Professor Erman, and the gentlemen of the *Dictionary* staff, my hearty thanks. For never-failing personal counsel and aid my thanks are also due to Erman, Schaefer, and Sethe; while Steindorff, Borchardt, Spiegelberg, Gardiner, Bissing, Weigall, Newberry, Petrie, and Legrain have placed valuable copies, collations, photographs, or reports at my disposal. The unremitting labors of Maspero and Wiedemann have given us indispensable bibliographies of the historical documents, and these have been of great service to me—a service

for which I would express to them my sincere thanks. I did not, however, depend solely upon these works, but made an independent bibliography from the beginning—a plan which not infrequently turned up invaluable old sources not before employed.

To my friend, President William R. Harper, for his interest in this enterprise, and his unfailing support in arranging for my repeated absence in Europe for the prosecution of these studies, I owe a debt of gratitude. Likewise to the Board of Trustees of the University of Chicago, for the same privileges, it is an agreeable duty to express my appreciation here.

Finally my thanks are due the staff of the University of Chicago Press for unremitting attention to the difficult typographical work of these volumes—an attention to which the appearance of the work is of itself sufficient evidence. I should add that circumstances entirely beyond my control have obliged me to read the proofs of the volumes very rapidly, and it is probable that they contain more typographical errors due to this fact than I could wish. For great assistance in reading the proofs I am indebted to my brother-in-law Dr. R. S. Padan, and for like aid to my wife and her sister, Miss Imogen Hart.

JAMES HENRY BREASTED.

WILLIAMS BAY, WIS.,
September 22, 1905.

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EXPLANATION OF TYPOGRAPHICAL SIGNS AND SPECIAL CHARACTERS

1. The introductions to the documents are in twelve-point type, like these lines.

2. All of the translations are in ten-point type, like this line.

3. In the footnotes and introductions all quotations from the documents in the original words of the translation are in *italics*, inclosed in quotation marks. *Italics* are not employed in the text of the volumes for any other purpose except for titles.

4. The lines of the original document are indicated in the translation by superior numbers.

5. The loss of a word in the original is indicated by —, two words by — —, three words by — — —, four words by — — — —, five words by — — — — —, and more than five by ————. A word in the original is estimated at a “square” as known to Egyptologists, and the estimate can be but a very rough one.

6. When any of the dashes, like those of No. 5, are inclosed in half-brackets, the dashes so inclosed indicate not lost, but uncertain words. Thus [—] represents one uncertain word, [— —] two uncertain words, and [———] more than five uncertain words.

7. When a word or group of words are inclosed in half-brackets, the words so inclosed are uncertain in meaning; that is, the translation is not above question.

8. Roman numerals I, II, III, and IV, not preceded by the title of any book or journal, refer to these four volumes of Historical Documents. The Arabic numerals following such Romans refer to the numbered paragraphs of these volumes. All paragraph marks (§ and §§, without a Roman) refer to paragraphs of the same volume.

9. For signs used in transliteration, see Vol. I, p. xv.

**THE DOCUMENTARY SOURCES OF
EGYPTIAN HISTORY**

THE DOCUMENTARY SOURCES OF EGYPTIAN HISTORY

1. The general course and the gradual development of Egyptian civilization are in some respects roughly traceable in its surviving material documents, in the products of the artist and the craftsman, which we are accustomed to assign to the domain of the archæologist. With these invaluable material documents the present volumes of course do not deal. They purpose to present only those written documents from which the career of the Nile valley peoples may be drawn at the present day. A rapid survey of the materials herein presented may enable the non-Egyptologist to gain some preliminary conception of their general character.

2. Comparatively speaking, but very little of the rich and productive civilization which flourished for at least five millenniums before Christ on the banks of the lower Nile, has survived in written documents for our enlightenment. Accident has preserved but here and there the merest scrap of the vast mass of written records which the incessant political, legal, administrative, religious, industrial, commercial, and literary activities filling the life of this ancient people, were constantly putting forth. We may make one exception: the religious literature, doubtless the least instructive, as a whole, of all their literary documents, has survived in an incalculable mass of temple inscriptions and papyri, which have never even been adequately published, much less exhaustively studied.

3. It is with those documents in which the national career as a whole can be traced that we have here to deal. From the pre-dynastic age onward the kings kept a series of

annals, recording in each year the great deeds and achievements of the Pharaoh which he thought worthy of perpetuation. Of such annals only two fragments have survived: the Palermo Stone, part of a record extending from the earliest times down into the Fifth Dynasty; and the annals of Thutmose III's wars, of which a few extracts were excerpted by a priestly scribe and recorded on the walls of the Karnak temple. Had we the annals of the Pharaohs in complete form, we might perhaps write almost as full a history of Egypt as it is possible to do for the Middle Ages of European history. Without these, we are dependent upon a miscellaneous mass of documents of the most varied character and value, which chance and circumstance have preserved from destruction these thousands of years. In general, such documents show more literary character and picturesqueness than the Assyro-Babylonian records; but the latter dry and formal annals possess greater historical value, and exhibit a preciseness which induces them with a rare availability as sources. The Egyptian records which chance has preserved to us are, as a whole, so vague and indefinite in their references to peoples, localities, persons, and the character of events, that they are often tantalizing in what they do not tell us. Thus in records of whole campaigns of Thutmose III in Syria the hostile Syrian king is designated merely as "*that foe*" (lit. "*fallen one*"), and we are uncertain whether the king of Kadesh, of Mitanni, of Aleppo, or of some other realm is meant. The real excerpts from Thutmose III's Annals (II, 391 ff.), however, show that such records contained an elaboration of detail not less precise and historically available than the cuneiform annals. So much the more must we deplore their loss.

4. How hazardous was the life of such a document may be well illustrated by the great building inscription, upon a

huge stone stela, erected by Sesostris I nearly two thousand years before Christ, in his new temple at Heliopolis. The great block itself has since perished utterly; but the practice-copy made by a scribe, who was whiling away an idle hour in the sunny temple court, has survived, and the fragile roll of leather (§§ 498 ff.) upon which he was thus exercising his pen, has transmitted to us what the massive stone could not preserve.

5. That we possess any documents at all from the Old Kingdom (2980–2400 B. C.) is chiefly due to the massive masonry tombs of that age, in which they were recorded. The exceptions are inscriptions on foreign soil, and a few scanty fragments of papyrus containing accounts and letters. The vast quantity of such papyrus documents which once existed is evidenced by the constant appearance of the scribe with his rolls, his pens, and his ink palette, in the tomb reliefs. Such hints from the numerous reliefs in the tombs of this age are the source of our knowledge of the material culture of the time. The chief inscriptions which accompany them consist almost exclusively of the name and many titles of the owner of the tomb. Now and again the legal enactment by which the tomb was endowed and maintained is recorded on the wall. Such wills and conveyances are, of course, invaluable cultural documents.

6. Gradually the nobles were inclined to add a few biographical details to the series of bare titles. The first of such scanty biographies appears at the end of the Third Dynasty (§§ 170 ff.), after which there is a growing fondness for recording at least the chief honors received by the deceased from the Pharaoh, especially the furnishing and equipment of his tomb at the king's expense. The daily intercourse of the deceased with the king, the privileges which he enjoyed in connection with the royal person, or now and then the copy

of a letter from the king to his favorite—all these serve to make such biographies of inestimable value in completing our picture of the culture of the time. In the Sixth Dynasty these biographies become real narratives of the career of the departed noble, or at least of his most notable achievements in the service of the Pharaoh. The most important documents of this character are the biographies of Uni (§§ 291 ff.), and the nobles of Elephantine (§§ 325 ff., 355 ff., 362 ff.), one of whom has included therein a personal letter from the king (§§ 350 ff.).

7. As the aggressiveness of the Pharaohs increased, their foreign enterprises found record on the rocks in a number of distant regions (outside of Egypt proper), where they still exist. In the Peninsula of Sinai they appear in the First Dynasty (began 3400 B. C.); by the Fifth Dynasty (ended by 2580 B. C.) the officials who led such expeditions commenced to add their own records below the mere relief depicting the triumphant king, a scene to which heretofore only the name of the king was appended. From the Fourth Dynasty such memorials begin to appear in the alabaster quarries of Hatnub, behind Amarna; and from the reign of Isesi, in the Fifth Dynasty, they become more and more numerous in the quarries of Hammamat in the eastern desert, on the road from Coptos to the Red Sea. Practically all that we know, for example, of the power and deeds of the Eleventh Dynasty (2160–2000 B. C.) is drawn from records in these quarries.

8. They soon become so regular that their stoppage is almost certain evidence of an interruption in the orderly course of government in the Nile valley. Similar inscriptions on the rocks at the first cataract (§§ 316 ff.) begin in the time of Mernere, of the Sixth Dynasty (2625–2475 B. C.). The earliest inscription (§§ 472, 473) above the cataract in

Nubia itself dates from the reign of Amenemhet I, the first king of the Twelfth Dynasty (2000-1788 B. C.). Under the Empire such records on foreign soil appear also in Syria and Palestine (III, 297). Quarry inscriptions within the borders of Egypt do not begin until the Middle Kingdom, when we find them in the limestone quarries of Ayan (Turra-Ma³sara) just south of Cairo (§§ 739, 740); at the sandstone quarries of Silsileh they first appear under the Empire.

9. From the Middle Kingdom (2160-1788 B. C.) on, the memorial stelæ at Abydos are exceedingly valuable.^a Officials on various commissions, whose business carried them to the holy city, improved the opportunity to erect memorial stones craving the favor of Osiris, the great god of the dead, for themselves and their relatives. Now and again such an officer narrates the circumstances which called him to Abydos; thus Ikhernofret, the treasurer of Sesostri III, records on his stela (§§ 661-70) not only the occasion of his visit, but also a copy of the royal letter which contained the command dispatching him thither.

10. In this age the tomb biographies become extremely valuable, because of their tendency to fulness and family details—a tendency already visible in the Tenth Dynasty tombs at Siut (§§ 391 ff.). But unfortunately only the tombs of Middle Egypt, chiefly at Benihasan (§§ 619 ff.), are preserved. Royal monuments with inscribed records become more plentiful, especially in Nubia, where the boundary stelæ of Sesostri III (§§ 651-60) are especially noteworthy; and in the quarries of Hammamat and the mines of Sinai. Papyri of any kind in the Middle Kingdom are still none too plentiful. Literary papyri are well represented by

^aThe great Old Kingdom inscription of Uni at Abydos hardly belongs to the class of memorial stelæ here designated. The inscription of Zau (§§ 344-49), of the Sixth Dynasty, however, should probably be included in this class; but it is unique in its time.

several magnificent manuscripts. Of business and administrative documents, like letters, bills, accounts and tax lists, we have examples in the Kahun Papyri, of which the second find, now at Berlin, is still unpublished. But papyrus documents of strictly historical import, such as we can include here, are still rare in this age.

11. Under the Empire (1580–1150 B. C.) the available documents both in quantity and quality for the first time approach the minimum which in European history would be regarded as adequate to a moderately full presentation of the career of the nation. Scores of important questions, however, still remain unanswered, in whatever direction we turn. Nevertheless, a rough framework of the governmental organization, the constitution of society, the most important achievements of the kings, and to a limited extent the spirit of the imperial age, may be discerned and sketched, in the main outlines, with clearness and fair precision, even though it is only here and there that the sources enable us to fill in the detail.

12. It is especially royal monuments which are more plentiful in the Empire, as compared with earlier times. The first and most important class of such documents is found in the temples—a source which in the earlier periods has totally perished. It was customary already at the beginning of the dynasties for the king to commemorate his victories in the temples. This custom led in the Empire to extensive and magnificent records on the temple walls, on a scale not before attempted. Such documents were less records than triumphal memorials, and as historical sources they are therefore very insufficient. They dealt with events with which all were familiar at the time of their erection, and hence specific references to the said events are rare, or, if present at all, are couched in such vague and

general terms that little can be drawn from them at the present day.

13. They consist chiefly in extensive reliefs on the temple walls, depicting the victorious Pharaoh in battle, capturing prisoners, or presenting prisoners and spoil to Amon. They are accompanied by descriptive and explanatory inscriptions, which unfortunately consist, for the most part, in conventional phrases in laudation of the Pharaoh as a mighty ruler. As the temples of the Eighteenth Dynasty have to a large extent perished, the priceless records of that imperial family have perished with them. We have three great series of reliefs: one representing the birth of Queen Hatshepsut (II, 187 ff.), and a duplicate depicting the birth of Amenhotep III (II, 841 ff.), while the third pictures the voyage of Hatshepsut to the land of Punt (II, 246 ff.). More valuable are the extracts from the annals of Thutmose III on the walls of the Karnak temple (II, 391 ff.), already mentioned, and a similar record of his son Amenhotep II on a large stela at Karnak (II, 780 ff.). The temple records of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties are much more plentiful; but they are almost exclusively of the unprecise character above described. Besides the great record of Merneptah's Libyan war, (III, 569-617), which is a much better source, they are chiefly memorials of the wars of Seti I (III, 80-156), of his son, Ramses II (IV, 294-391, 448-91), and of Ramses III, of the Twentieth Dynasty (IV, 1-145).

14. Another class of temple records is the building inscriptions. Apart from their value as records of building enterprises, they contain valuable references to the history of the builder. In a number of cases the early career of the builder and the manner in which he came to the throne are prefixed as an introduction to the record of the building itself. This is observable as far back as the building

inscription of Sesostri I, in the Twelfth Dynasty (§§ 498 ff.); in the Eighteenth Dynasty (1580-1350 B. C.) we gain invaluable hints of the early life of Thutmose III from his great building inscription in the Karnak temple (II, 131 ff.). Such building records not infrequently also contain priceless references to the wars and campaigns of the Pharaoh, whence he may have obtained the wealth for the edifice in question. Notable examples of this class are the stela of Thutmose III in the Ptah temple at Karnak (II, 609 ff.), and the great summary of the buildings of Amenhotep III left by him on a stela in his mortuary temple at Thebes (II, 878 ff.).

15. Records of restorations are not less valuable. The restoration record of Hatshepsut at Benihasan (II, 296 ff.) throws a significant sidelight on the reasons necessitating such restoration of the temples, after their neglect by the Hyksos; while the short remarks of Harmhab and Seti I, recording their restorations after the revolution of Ikhnaton, are invaluable indications of the widespread activity of the latter (II, 878). Again, we gain a hint of the anarchy following this revolution, from the record of Harmhab's restoration of the mummy of Thutmose IV, after its violation by tomb-robbers (III, 32 A ff.).

16. Stelæ dedicating the finished temple to the god were set up in the holy of holies, at the place where the king stood in the performance of the royal ritual. Some of these were of enormous size, that of Amenhotep III in his temple behind the Memnon colossi being no less than thirty feet high, and hewn of a single block (II, 904 ff.). The content of these dedication stelæ does not differ essentially from that of the building inscriptions; they likewise contain references to the wars of the kings erecting them. The most important of these now surviving are the two in duplicate erected by Amenhotep II at Amâda and Elephantine

(II, 791 ff.). The temple obelisks also occasionally bear inscriptions of historical importance, and among these the inscriptions of Hatshepsut (II, 304 ff.), of Thutmose III (II, 623 ff.), and of Thutmose IV (II, 830 ff.) furnish very useful data.

17. All these temple records, being for the glory of the Pharaoh, are couched in language very poetic and highly colored, although the poetic form is not always discernible. Among them, however, are found poems in praise of the sovereign, exhibiting strictly poetic structure, with rigid division into strophes. Some of these contain references and allusions which, in view of the scantiness of our materials, may be employed historically. Such hymns probably existed from the earliest days of the dynasties, but the earliest example preserved is dedicated to the praise of Sesostris III, of the Twelfth Dynasty.^a In the Empire the most notable example celebrates the fame of Thutmose III (II, 655 ff.). It is the earliest of such poems possessing real historical importance.

18. Royal records not of this class of temple memorials are not numerous. Of actual state documents we possess very few. The viceroy of Kush recorded on stone the decree in which Thutmose I announced his coronation, and of this rescript we possess two copies (II, 54 ff.). At the opening of the Nineteenth Dynasty (1350-1205 B. C.) we have the royal decree instituting the administrative reforms of Harmhab; it is possibly in its original form (III, 45-67). Another great example of a state document is the famous treaty between Ramses II and the Hittite king Khetasar (III, 367-91). The remarkable report of the unfortunate envoy to Syria, Wenamon, may also be a few pages from the

^aIts historical references are too vague and general to warrant its insertion in this series.

royal archives at Thebes (IV, 557 ff.). A few letters from the king personally (e. g., §§ 350 ff., 664, 665) and some legal records (IV, 499-557) complete the list of state documents. The remaining royal documents are of a miscellaneous character, like the unique memorial scarabs of Amenhotep III (II, 860 ff.), or the huge stelæ erected as landmarks by Ikhnaton for the purpose of demarking the limits of his new capital at Amarna (II, 949 ff.). Finally, the greatest of all royal documents is the enormous Papyrus Harris, recording the good deeds of Ramses III (1198-1167 B. C.) to gods and men, compiled for his tomb, as a title to consideration at the hands of the gods in the future life (IV, 151-412).

19. The private monuments of the Empire are also more numerous than before and contribute greatly to our knowledge of it. The tombs of the Pharaoh's grandees have now become more personal monuments than ever before. These men, who were guiding Egypt on her imperial career, delighted to perpetuate in their tombs some record of the brilliant part which they were playing in these great events. The generals and administrative officials who under the Pharaoh governed the Empire, now sleep in rock-hewn tombs at Thebes, the chambers of which still bear magnificently painted scenes from their active and adventurous lives. Here we behold the reception of tribute from the remotest limits of the Empire, borne on the shoulders of Palestinians, Syrians, or northern islanders, the whole being accompanied by explanatory inscriptions. The various duties and activities of the greatest officials of the government are here depicted, and from these scenes and the appended inscriptions we can draw fuller data respecting the Empire and its organization than from any other source.

20. These tomb chapels, besides the Amarna Letters,

are also the only surviving contemporary source for the civilization of Syria and Palestine in the second millennium before Christ. The most important of such tombs is that of Rekhmire, the vizier of Thutmose III (II, 663-762). The biographies of the generals preserved in these tomb chapels are not infrequently our only source for entire wars of the Pharaoh, of which we should not otherwise have known anything at all—not even that they took place. Besides these tomb inscriptions, the nobles also recorded their biographies, or at least some of their achievements, on the statues accorded them by the Pharaoh in the Karnak temple. Examples of such records are the statue of Senmut (II, 345 ff.), or that of Beknekhonsu (III, 561 ff.). After the Eighteenth Dynasty the Empire abounds in papyri: letters, bills, receipts, administrative and legal documents, memoranda, numerous literary compositions, scientific treatises like those on medicine, mathematics, or astronomy, religious documents, and innumerable ostraca, or potsherds and flakes of limestone bearing receipts, letters, memoranda, or literary fragments. These, for the most part, fall outside of the scope of the present volumes and will appear in later series of these *Ancient Records*.

21. Such are the main sources for the history of the Empire; there are, of course, numerous unimportant miscellaneous monuments which we have not mentioned; nor do we recall all the classes of documents already referred to in the older epochs, like the inscriptions abroad, which now become very plentiful. Indeed, the rocks of the first cataract under the Empire became a veritable visitors' register of the officials and functionaries who, passing on some commission in Nubia, left a record of the errand, or merely name and titles, engraved on the rocks above the reach of the inundation (e. g., II, 675 ff.). Inscriptions of the

emperors are found in Nubia as far south as the island of Tombos, and mere cartouches with titles up to the fourth cataract.

22. With the decline of Thebes in the Decadence (1150-663 B. C.), and the transference of the seat of power to the North, the great mass of records of the royal houses was produced, and their monuments were erected, in the Delta, where almost the whole has perished forever, with the destruction of the exposed Delta cities, overwhelmed by invasion after invasion from abroad, and gradually engulfed by the rising soil as deposited from century to century by the inundation. The fortunes of the northern dynasties can therefore be traced only in the scanty monuments of Thebes, in which the Pharaohs no longer built largely, and at Memphis, where we have a series of dated stelæ recording Apis burials in the Serapeum. These are of great value from the Twenty-second to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. At Thebes the records of the restoration of royal mummies extend from the last generation of the Twentieth into the Twenty-second Dynasty (IV, 592 ff., 636 ff., 661 ff., 664 ff., 688 ff., 690 ff., 699 f.); and a series of dated Nile levels on the quay at Karnak continues from the Twenty-second to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (IV, 693 ff.). We have at Thebes also a few temple records from the priest-kings of the Twenty-first Dynasty (1090-945 B. C.), a series of decrees of Amon (IV, 614 ff., 650 ff., 669 ff.), and some not very important building records of the high priests of Amon, during the same period. The same is true in the Twenty-second Dynasty (945-755 B. C.), through the brief Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Dynasties (755-712 B. C.), and the Ethiopian period (Twenty-fifth Dynasty, 712-663 B. C.). At this point, fortunately, the scanty monuments of the Delta are supplemented by the historical stelæ erected by

the Ethiopians at Gebel Barkal (Napata). Among these, the narrative of his conquest of Egypt by Piankhi is one of the most remarkable documents of ancient Egypt (IV, 796-883).

23. The paucity of documents, so painfully evident during the Decadence, is even worse under the Restoration (Twenty-sixth Dynasty, 663-525 B. C.). Besides the great adoption stela of Psamtik I at Thebes (IV, 935 ff.), a few Serapeum stelæ, important for the chronology, a small number of statue inscriptions of noblemen of the time, and some miscellaneous stelæ of little importance, we possess almost nothing from the Restoration. Unhappily, the papyri, which are so plentiful during the Nineteenth, Twentieth, and Twenty-first Dynasties, are few and unimportant throughout the remainder of the Decadence and the whole of the Restoration. Fortunately, Herodotus, and the Greek historians after him, enter at this point with invaluable accounts of the history and civilization of the Restoration epoch; but these foreign sources do not fall within the province of these volumes.

24. Besides these contemporary native sources, we possess also a series of later native versions of important events in the history of the nation. These documents are either merely folk-tales, of course differing strikingly in form from the more formal contemporary records; or they are products of the later priesthoods, which, in the form of a tale, give an account of some earlier event, which they so interpret or so distort as to bring reputation, or even material gain, to their sanctuaries. Of the folk-tales we have three of importance: Papyrus Westcar, relating the prodigies attending the birth of the first three Fifth Dynasty kings; Papyrus Sallier I, narrating the cause of the war with the Hyksos; and Papyrus Harris 500, in which is told the story of the capture of

Joppa by one of Thutmose III's generals, named Thutiy. As tales these documents have no place in this series, although each is based on some actual historical incident, which may be obscurely discerned in the narrative. The priestly tales are likewise three in number: the Sehel inscription, recounting the gift of the Dodekaschoinos at the first cataract to Khnum by King Zoser of the Third Dynasty; the Sphinx Stela (II, 810 ff.), recording the accession of Thutmose IV to the kingship, because as prince he cleared the Sphinx of sand; and finally the Bentresh Stela, containing a tale in honor of one of the Theban Khonsus, by showing that he was carried to a distant Asiatic kingdom in order to heal its king's daughter, in the days of Ramses II (III, 429-47). The last two stories seemed of sufficient importance to be included here. It was with tales in common circulation like these that Herodotus' informants regaled him, and the narrative portions of Manetho's history were largely made up of just such stories, of which further examples from Ptolemaic times have survived in Demotic dress.

25. It will be seen that the great mass of the documents available are found in Upper Egypt, and but a scanty few in the Delta. This unfortunate fact makes all our knowledge one-sided, and the history of the Delta, the civilization of which must have risen at a very remote date, remains for the most part unknown to us. Our loss is here like that in Greek history, in which we know almost nothing of the great civilization in the powerful cities of Asia Minor, from which the culture of the early states in Greece drew so much.

26. The documents thus briefly surveyed have reached us, with very few exceptions, in a state of sad mutilation. This mutilation and gradual destruction are a ceaseless process, which, if not as rapid as formerly, nevertheless proceeds without cessation at the present day. In Egypt,

the exposed monuments, like the great geographical list of Sheshonk I, are perishing with appalling rapidity, and many of them without ever having been properly copied or published. Even the portable stone monuments at present in the museums of Europe suffer more or less; and I have seen valuable stelæ so attacked by the moist air of northern Europe that whole layers might be blown from the inscribed surface by a whiff of the breath. Such an inscription is doomed to disappear in a few years. Papyri when mounted between hermetically sealed glass plates survive indefinitely.

27. These monuments, as employed in Egyptological science, are, for the most part, not accessible in the originals, but are consulted chiefly in publications. Such publications, to omit earlier and cruder attempts, began as far back as the colossal report issued in huge folios by the members of Napoleon I's expedition. Notable and useful as this great work was, its copies of the inscriptions are now quite unusable. To copy an inscription of any kind with accuracy is not easy. So close and fine an observer of material documents as Ruskin, could copy a short Latin inscription with surprising inaccuracy. In his incomparable *Mornings in Florence*^a he reproduces the brief inscription on the marble slab covering the tomb which he so admired in the church of Santa Croce; and in his copy of these eight short lines, which I compared with the original, he misspells one word, and omits two entire words ("et magister") of the mediæval Latin.

28. This experience of the great art critic is not infrequently that of the schooled and careful paleographer as well. The best-known of the Politarch inscriptions appeared in eight different publications,^b each of which diverges in

^aThird edition, 1889, 16.

^bSee Burton, *American Journal of Theology*, II, 600-604.

some more or less important respect from all the rest, before a correct copy was obtained. The Greek and Latin inscriptions on the bronze crab from the base of the New York obelisk were long incorrectly read, and the mistake in the date led Mommsen to a false theory of the early Roman prefects of Egypt.^a In working on a mutilated inscription, the best of copyists will now and again overlook traces which his successors may discover and utilize, while now and then he will "nap," and be guilty of some egregious blunder of omission or misreading in a clear and perfectly preserved passage. Under these circumstances, an inexperienced or careless copyist will commit the most incredible blunders, and every line of his copy will contain many such. In the early days of Egyptology, when a reading knowledge of hieroglyphic was still impossible, it required a copyist of exceptional ability to produce a copy which can be used at the present day.

29. This difficulty was sorely felt by accurate and discerning scholars as far back as the days of Chabas, who in 1872 remarked, concerning the inscriptions of Ramses III: "Ces deux publications [Rosellini and Burton] sont très imparfaites; et les signes inexactement reproduits ajoutent à la difficulté causée par les lacunes."^b The introduction of hieroglyphic type, while very useful in some respects, has also proved disastrous to accuracy, and the persistence of the old loose methods was bemoaned by Brugsch in the introduction to the last volume of his *Thesaurus* thirteen years ago. Brugsch already showed surprising appreciation of the necessity of modern methods in such work. He wrote:

The indispensable demands upon the publisher of known or unknown texts may be comprehended in a few words. In the first place, it is not a task to be undertaken by laymen and mere amateurs . . . but

^aSee II, 632, note.

^b*Études sur l'antiquité historique*, 227 f.

only by the schooled specialist, who is thoroughly familiar with the language and writing of the ancient Egyptians, and with the researches and results in all departments of Egyptological investigation. How largely such a conviction is still lacking is proved . . . by a number of publications by Egyptological tyros [*Halbuisser*] and laymen, who do not yet seem to have learned that Egyptology has ceased to be the pursuit of amateurs, and has become a very serious study, demanding a man's entire strength and entire time.^a

30. Not long after this, Griffith called attention to the hurried, inaccurate, and insufficient methods still often observable, so that numerous publications could only be regarded as provisional.^b Two years later he referred to such work in these words: "Too often almost every third sign in the printed texts has had to be corrected according to probabilities by the would-be reader."^c This condition of things has gone so far that we have had publications issued at government expense, containing texts in vertical columns copied with the lines numbered backward, and even translated in this inverted order of the lines.^d It is safe to say that such a condition of things cannot be found in any other branch of paleographical science.

31. This is not the place to discuss the proper methods to be observed in the publication of ancient documents, but there is no doubt that better methods are constantly gaining ground. From decade to decade the publication of inscriptions has steadily improved, but it is only within the last ten or fifteen years that Egyptian documents on stone have in some cases appeared in a form which satisfies the demands of modern paleographic accuracy. With the exception of

^a*Thesaurus*, VI, vi.

^b*Egypt Exploration Fund Archaeological Report*, 1893-94, 10, 11.

^c*Ibid.*, 1895-96, 21.

^dIn the old publications plenty of examples of such inversion exist, especially in Mariette's books; nor are instances lacking in which modern scholars have employed such texts without discovering the inversion.

such perfectly preserved rolls as the great Papyrus Harris, which was long ago accurately published, the same remark is in general true of the papyri also.

32. The result of all this is that many of the most important documents of ancient Egypt are at present accessible to the Egyptologist only in publications so incorrect that in many cases they are absolutely unusable. It will be evident, therefore, that he who wishes to know exactly what the original documents of ancient Egypt state cannot work exclusively in his library, but must go behind the publications and turn back to the originals themselves, in Egypt and the museums of Europe.

33. For the purposes of these volumes it was therefore absolutely indispensable in most cases to go back of the publications. The author, therefore, made and repeatedly revised his own copies of practically all the historical monuments in Europe, before the originals themselves. In the few cases where the original was not accessible, good squeezes and photographs supplied the deficiency, or professional colleagues furnished from the originals specially collated readings of doubtful passages. Of the monuments in Egypt the author copied a great many at all the more important sites, especially Thebes and Amarna, where he made a complete copy of all the historical inscriptions; and in the museum at Cairo (formerly Gizeh). Of monuments in Egypt not included in the author's copies, squeezes were in most cases found in the enormous collection made by Lepsius, and now in the Berlin Museum. Where none of these sources furnished the desired monument, the author had access to the extensive collations made for the Berlin Egyptian Dictionary; and where these failed, he was able, in all important cases, to secure large-scale photographs of the originals. The final remainder of monuments for which the

author was dependent upon the publications alone is very small, and in most such cases the publication was one made on modern methods and almost as good as the original itself.

34. Nevertheless, it must not be supposed that the old publications, however inaccurate, can be ignored. Some monuments have perished entirely since publication, and almost all have lost more or less important portions of the text. In the case of all the longer and more important texts, often reproduced in the old folios, the author took the best copy as a basis and collated with it all the other publications, noting in parallel columns all the variant readings. By this laborious means, some readings were secured which have since disappeared from the original, and all that is now available, whether in publications or in the original, was thus incorporated in the final composite copy, from which the translation was made. In a few cases the author was spared this labor by the industry of a modern editor of the document, as in the publication of the Benihasan tombs or those of Siut; but ordinarily the modern editor has not given himself this trouble, as in the last publication of Der el-Bahri.

35. The dangers involved in such neglect are evident. Thus so careful a scholar as Chabas discussed the so-called "eclipse inscription" (IV, 756 ff.) of Takelot II, using only the publication of Lepsius; whereupon Goodwin^a called his attention to the fact that the very conscientious plate of Lepsius had nevertheless introduced confusion into the text by the accidental misplacement of a piece of the paper squeeze from which his copy was made, thus inverting the proper order of two sections of the very obscure text. Had Chabas also employed Young's otherwise obsolete copy of the original, this embarrassing error would not have occurred.

^a*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1868, 25 ff.

36. Chabas^a himself convicted Lenormant of a similar error in discussing Ramses II's victory over the Hittites at Kadesh. Lenormant^b employed only the Abusimbel version of the report of the battle, not noticing that the ancient Egyptian scribe had omitted an entire line of the document, as is shown by the Ramesseum version. This omitted line happens to be of vital importance to a proper understanding of the battle, and the failure to observe its omission is fatal to any discussion of the conflict. The same error, nevertheless, has since been repeated in at least one notable modern treatise on the same battle.^c Further examples might be adduced in illustration of the danger incurred in making a study of any inscription as found in a single publication of the text.

37. The translations in the following volumes, we repeat, are therefore based upon all the available material for the reconstruction of each document, whether in the original or in old publications made at a time when the original was possibly in a better state of preservation. In no other way can all the available material be obtained, and scholars who would compare the renderings herein with the original documents themselves will in many cases be able to do so only by reconstructing the text in the same way.

^a*Revue archéologique*, XV² (1858-59), 573 ff., 701 f.

^b*Correspondant*, VII (February, 1858), second article.

^cSee my *Battle of Kadesh*, 4, 5.

CHRONOLOGY

CHRONOLOGY

38. The state of our modern chronology of early Egyptian history is so confused that a brief presentation of the system herein employed seemed indispensable, although space will not permit even partial discussion of the materials upon which it is based. The following presentation,^a moreover, will attempt nothing more than an explanation of the elementary factors of the problem, as even these are unknown to some who have nevertheless arbitrarily rejected their invaluable data.

39. The Egyptians, as far back as the fifth millennium^{*} before Christ, had discovered approximately the length of the year. They, like all other peoples, had suffered from the vexatious fact that the lunar month is not an even divisor of the year. Instead of attempting to adjust this obstinate incommensurability by constant and complicated intercalations, they showed amazing appreciation of the practical demands which a calendar should satisfy, and boldly abandoned the lunar month as the basis of the calendar. Believing the year to be 365 days long, they divided it into twelve months of thirty days each, and an intercalated period of five days at the end of the year. The creation of this convenient and practical, though artificial, calendar was an achievement unparalleled in any other ancient civilization. It was as useful to men of science as to civil life in general, and for this reason it was in later times

^aSince this brief discussion was written, the admirable essay of Meyer (*"Ägyptische Chronologie," Abhandlungen der Königlichen Preussischen Akademie*, 1904) has appeared, from which the author has frequently added valuable observations to the above presentation. The literature of the subject is large, but Meyer's invaluable treatise furnishes a compendium of the whole obscure and difficult field.

adopted by the Greek astronomers as the basis of all their computations.

40. The Egyptian began his year at the advent of the inundation, and this event, by a happy accident, approximately coincided with the reappearance of Sirius (Sothis) at sunrise on the eastern horizon, after he had been for some length of time invisible. This occurred each year on July 19^a (Julian). The interval between such heliacal risings of Sothis was thus fortunately approximately a solar year.^b The feast of the Rising of Sothis on July 19 was therefore the New Year's feast of the Egyptians. The year was also arbitrarily divided into three seasons, each containing four months of thirty days each. These were: the season of verdure, or the inundation; the season of winter or sowing; and the season of summer or harvest. When this remarkably rational calendar was introduced, it of course coincided with the seasons as determined for the people by the sun and the inundation. But the Sothic year was almost exactly, and in 3231 B. C.^c was exactly, a quarter of a day longer than the new calendar year of 365 days. Every four years, therefore, the calendar reached the end of the year and began the next year one day too soon, so that the rising of Sirius fell on the second day of the new year. As this process continued, and each calendar New Year's Day arrived earlier and earlier, it finally passed gradually around the whole year and again fell on the astronomical New Year's Day. This process consumed four times as many years as

^aIt took place on July 19 (Julian) as the normal date, in the latitude of Memphis, for many thousands of years B. C., until far down in the last thousand years B. C., when the Sothic year had sufficiently lengthened to shift the heliacal rising of Sothis to July 20. (See Meyer, *op. cit.*, 1904, 17 ff.)

^bNeither the solar nor the Sothic year is constant in length, and at present they are slowly diverging.

^cMeyer, *op. cit.*, 14.

there were days in the calendar year; that is, 1,460 years; or we may say: 1,461 calendar years = 1,460 Sothic (Julian) years.

Without knowing it, the Egyptian was thus dealing with three different years: ^a

1. His calendar year of 365 days, by which most of the business of civil life was transacted and all documents were dated.

2. The Sothic (or Julian) year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, on the first of which the people celebrated the feast of the Rising of Sothis.

3. The solar (or Gregorian) year of a little less than $365\frac{1}{4}$ days (which was therefore slowly diverging from the Sothic year).

41. The Egyptian, as we have intimated, never learned that the Sothic (Julian) and the solar years were not identical; the divergence^b was so slow, and so slight, that it was entirely imperceptible to the masses, or possibly even to the learned, of the time. On the contrary, the difference between his calendar and the feast of the heliacal Rising of Sothis (that is, 1 and 2) must have been early observed. Nevertheless, the actual shift within an average lifetime was not so great as to occasion inconvenience. Thus each generation accepted the place of the calendar in the seasons as they found it, and without remark considered it as a matter of course that the beginning of the inundation, or the advent of summer heat, fell on about such and such a day of a certain month. Both these events had occurred

^aSee Meyer, *op. cit.*, 16.

^bIn 4231 B. C. the summer solstice fell on July 28 (Julian); but as it was always eighteen hours and forty minutes earlier than the Sothic rising each century, it had advanced thirty-one days, to June 27, by 231 B. C. In the thirty-first century (3001-3100) B. C. it coincided with the Sothic rising on July 19 (Julian). (See Meyer, *op. cit.*, 14 f.)

at about that time since their earliest remembrance. A peasant of fifty or sixty—that is, at the end of an average life—hardly remarked that the seasons were now ten or twelve days later in the calendar than when he was a lad of ten. Unfortunately, references to the place of the seasons, or of astronomical events, in the calendar are rare; nevertheless, there are enough of such references to trace the gradual revolution of the calendar on the seasons.

42. In the Sixth Dynasty, Uni, a nobleman who had been sent to Assuan to procure granite from the quarries there, narrates that he succeeded in landing his cargo at the king's pyramid, although it was in the eleventh month, when, he adds (as everyone knew), there was no water for such transportation. The time of advancing low water, terminating heavy transportation of this sort, normally in the eighth to the ninth month of the calendar, thus fell two months later in Uni's time (§ 323).^a In the Middle Kingdom a hitherto misunderstood inscription (§§ 735 ff.) narrates how an unfortunate official, dispatched to the mines of Sinai, arrived there in the third month of (calendar) winter, when he and his men suffered greatly from the summer heat! This shows a divergence of seven or eight months; as we should expect, in the centuries which have elapsed since the Old Kingdom the calendar had shifted several months. A letter^b from a priest in the 120th year of the Twelfth Dynasty, notifying his subordinates that the feast of the Rising of Sothis would occur on the fifteenth of the eighth month,^c shows us the exact amount of the shift at that

^a[Later: Practically the same interpretation of the inscription has now appeared in Meyer's essay (*Aegyptische Chronologie*).]

^bAmong papyri found at Kahun, now at Berlin (Borchardt, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 37, 99 ff.).

^cTemple entries from the same papyri, recording the offerings made at the Sothis feast, are dated the next day.

time; for the feast thus fell exactly 225 days (seven months and fifteen days) after New Year's Day in the calendar.

43. The divergence steadily increased, and in the early part of the Eighteenth Dynasty, in the ninth year of Amenhotep I, it was exactly 308 days.^a A Sothic date somewhere between 47 and 101 years later, in the reign of Thutmose III, shows that it had then increased to 327 days (II, 410, note). It is, furthermore, roughly indicated by the dates of his campaigns in Syria (II, 409 ff.), which, as we know, always occurred from April to October. His son Amenhotep II's campaigns carry the divergence a little farther, and some 150 years later its continuance is shown by the dates of Ramses II's campaigns (III, 307). For nearly six centuries after this we have no indication of the place of the calendar,^b but in the third year of Shabataka, about 700 B. C., the first day of high Nile is recorded at Thebes as occurring on the fifth of the ninth month of the calendar (IV, 887). The calendar had thus completed its revolution around the seasons, and had also shifted nearly 180 days in another revolution, since the reign of Thutmose III. The shift of the calendar can thus be traced for some 2,000 years, as determined by six different dates of astronomical or seasonal events, and a series of other significant occurrences, in terms of the calendar.^c

^aCalendar of Papyrus Ebers.

^bThe date of the high water in the reign of Osorkon II, in the Twenty-second Dynasty (IV, 742 ff.), will be of assistance when the correct date is known; but as given by Daressy (*Recueil*, 18, 181) it has certainly been incorrectly transliterated from the hieratic. The calendar of Ramses III (largely copied from an almost completely lost original of Ramses II), which places the Rising of Sothis on New Year's Day, is of course a normal calendar intended to avoid constant readjusting of its long list of dates from time to time. Such a calendar of feasts could be perpetually used without alteration, by merely allowing in each date for the then amount of the divergence.

^cThe conjecture (*eo ipso* very improbable) that the calendar was at irregular intervals readjusted to the astronomical year, is completely disproved by the procession exhibited by the above series.

44. These data are of significance and value in two respects. In the first place, they demonstrate the very early advance of the Egyptians in the discernment and calculation of astronomical and calendrical phenomena. For we know from the use of the Egyptian year by classic astronomers and mathematicians that the calendar coincided with the Sothic year, and that a new Sothic cycle began, some time in the period 140/41 to 143/44 A. D.^a It must therefore also have coincided with the Sothic year 1,460 years earlier; that is, in 1320 B. C.; and still earlier, in 2780 B. C.^b Now, it is impossible that this calendar was first introduced so late as the twenty-eighth century, in the midst of the highest culture of the Old Kingdom. Moreover, the five intercalary days at the end of the year, proving the use of the shifting year of 365 days, are mentioned in the pyramid texts, which are far older than the Old Kingdom.

45. The calendar, therefore, existed before the Old Kingdom; but if this be true, we must seek its invention at a time when its three seasons coincided roughly with those of nature, as they must have done at its introduction. This carries us 1,460 years back of their coincidence in the Old Kingdom; that is, the calendar was introduced in the middle of the forty-third century B. C. (4241 B. C.). This is the oldest fixed date in history. This fact demonstrates not only a remarkable degree of scientific knowledge in that remote age, but also stable political conditions, and a wide recognition of central authority, which could gradually introduce such an innovation. The date employed was that for the rising of Sothis in the latitude of Memphis or the southern Delta, and this fact is a significant indication of the high culture prevailing in the north at this time.^c

^aCensorinus, 21, 10, and Meyer, *op. cit.*, 28.

^bFor convenience, ignoring the uncertainty of four years.

^cSee Meyer, *op. cit.*, 38 ff.

46. In a second respect the calendar is of inestimable value to us in establishing the chronology of Egyptian history. Where the heliacal rising of Sothis is recorded in terms of the calendar, it is a matter of the simplest arithmetic^a to determine, within a margin of four years, in what year B. C. the rising occurred. As we have seen, three such dates are preserved to us, two of which each give the year of the king's reign, and from these the entire Twelfth Dynasty, and the reign of Amenhotep I in the Eighteenth Dynasty, are established within four years in terms B. C. They show that the Twelfth Dynasty began in 2000 B. C., and the reign of Amenhotep I in 1557 B. C., thus determining the accession of the Eighteenth Dynasty as 1580 B. C.^b The third Sothic rising, in the reign of Thutmose III, is not dated in a particular year of the reign, so that it furnishes only a rough approximation of the date of his reign, proving that the year 1470 B. C. fell within his reign. This approximation may be rendered precise by a computation based upon the feasts of the New Moon, which Thutmose III is recorded to have celebrated in his twenty-third and twenty-fourth years (II, 430). These new-moon dates^c establish the date of Thutmose III's reign as May 3, 1501, to March 17, 1447 B. C.^d The two other early dates are chiefly of

^aThus: The rising of Sothis at the beginning occurs on the first day of the calendar year. From a given calendar date of its rising the amount of the shift of the calendar can be computed in an instant. In the 120th year of the Twelfth Dynasty Sothis arose 225 days after New Year's Day. As the shift occurred at the rate of one day in four years, the 225 days' shift had taken place in 900 years since the calendar coincided with nature; that is, since 2780 B. C. The 120th year of the Twelfth Dynasty was thus 1880 B. C., and the dynasty began in 2000 B. C. (or between 2000 and 1996 B. C.).

^bMeyer, *op. cit.*, 46 ff.

^cThe phases of the moon occupy the same position in the calendar every nineteen years. The date of Thutmose III's reign being roughly determined by the Sothic rising, the new-moon dates can then be employed to place this reign more precisely. Without the Sothic date the new-moon dates would be of no use, as they merely present conditions recurring every nineteen years.

^dMeyer, *loc. cit.*

significance in demonstrating the fact of the shift of the calendar in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, but are not precise enough to determine with exactness the date B. C.

47. Besides the above astronomical method, minimum dates as far back as the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty can be determined by dead reckoning back from a fixed starting-point. The result thus obtained, without reference to the astronomically determined dates, can then be compared with these, for the sake of testing both. The dates by dead reckoning are obtained by simply adding together the totals of reigns and dynasties, and with these reckoning back from the accession of the Persians in 525 B. C. In this process I have employed only the testimony of the contemporary monuments.^a

48. Our first task is to determine the length of the dynasties preceding the invasion of the Persians; that is, the Eighteenth to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. The method is first to seek the highest known date in each reign of a dynasty, and thus to determine the minimum length of the dynasty. In the use of royal dates given in years of the reign only, there is danger both of over- and of under-reckoning. Thus Ramses III reigned thirty-one years and forty days; but a date from his thirty-second year might lead one to think he had reigned thirty-two years, which is nearly a year in excess of the truth. As the newly crowned successor to the throne began to number his years from the death of his predecessor, it will be seen that the remainder of what would have been Ramses III's complete thirty-second year is included in the reign of his successor.^b If counted in both reigns, it is therefore counted twice. It has therefore

^aWherever he can be controlled, Manetho is generally wrong in his figures, and any chronology based on his data is hopelessly astray.

^bThis is supposing that, as in the Eighteenth Dynasty, the years of a king began with the day of his accession, and not on the New Year's Day preceding his accession, as in the Middle Kingdom and the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

been thought necessary to deduct one year for every transfer of the crown.^a This method, however, is extreme, as we shall show. In the first place, it applies only when the maximum date preserved is actually the respective king's last year. Again, it does not always apply even then. Thutmose III reigned fifty-four years lacking thirty-four days. The reign of his successor, therefore, included only the last thirty-four days of what would have been Thutmose III's complete fifty-fourth year. To deduct a year at this transfer of the crown is as extreme as to count the thirty-second year of Ramses III's reign. It is evident that the last year of a king's reign is as likely to be nearly complete as it is to be scarcely begun; hence the only fair method of reduction for double counting at the transfers of the crown is to count the number of transfers in an entire dynasty, and for each transfer to deduct a half-year; that is, a mean between the two extremes of deducting a whole year for each transfer, or of deducting nothing. In the course of a whole dynasty the errors both ways will probably compensate each other.^b

49. In the following table I have made no deduction for transfer of the crown either to or from a king from whose reign we have no dates, but in all such reigns (marked \times) such deduction has been included in the estimate of the reign. It is needless to add that in cases of coregency such deduction is unnecessary. In estimating the \times , or unknown years in a given reign, the historical facts of the reign, if any, have been duly considered, though there has not always

^aMahler, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 32, 104 f.; Lehmann, *Zwei Hauptprobleme*, 56.

^bThis method can apply with certainty only in the Eighteenth Dynasty, in which the king's year begins with his accession. I have supposed, however, that this system of numbering continued until the end of the Ethiopian period. In the Twelfth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties such allowance must be differently computed.

been space to note the said facts. That this is absolutely necessary will be evident. Thus Sheshonk I took out the stone from the Silsileh quarry for his Karnak building in his twenty-first year. The vast forecourt of the Karnak temple of Amon, or the enormous front pylon, was then built by him. Yet his highest date is that of the said quarry operations in the twenty-first year. It is clear, therefore, that he must have ruled several years more, and no fair chronological reckoning can disregard these years.

50. Observing the above precautions, we obtain as a minimum for the Empire and following dynasties, down to the accession of the Persians, the following figures:^a

Eighteenth Dynasty	. . . . .	230 years
Nineteenth Dynasty	. . . . .	145 "
Interim	. . . . .	5 "
Twentieth Dynasty	. . . . .	110 "
Twenty-first Dynasty	. . . . .	145 "
Twenty-second Dynasty	. . . . .	200 "
Twenty-third Dynasty	. . . . .	23 "
Twenty-fourth Dynasty	. . . . .	6 "
Twenty-fifth Dynasty	. . . . .	50 "
Twenty-sixth Dynasty	. . . . .	138 "
Total	. . . . .	1,052 "

As the accession of the Persians occurred in 525 B. C., the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty will have been 1,052 years earlier, or about 1577 B. C.^b

51. Our second task is now to compare with this result the dates in the Eighteenth Dynasty obtained by astronomi-

^aA detailed table by reigns will be found §§ 58-75; and for the Twenty-first, Twenty-second, and Twenty-sixth Dynasties still further details will be found in IV, 604-7, 693-98, 959, 974, 984, 1026, 1027.

^bThis result of a dead reckoning from minimum dates cannot be brought down any later. Mr. Cecil Torr's attempt (*Memphis and Mycenæ*) to establish a much later date for the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty by the same process was extreme in method, and rested upon incomplete material.

cal means, which place the accession of Ahmose I within the four years from 1580 on.^a It will be seen that the result of the astronomical calculation is remarkably corroborated by the dead reckoning with minimum dynastic totals. It should be noted, however, that the above date for the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, based upon the Sothic date in the ninth year of Amenhotep I, is corroborated, not only by the above dead reckoning, but also by the Sothic and new-moon dates in the reign of Thutmose III, a calculation from which places this king's reign at just the right remove from that of Amenhotep I, as determined by the Sothic date (see § 46).

52. The existing contemporary monuments do not suffice to determine by dead reckoning the length of the obscure period which preceded the Eighteenth Dynasty, including the Hyksos. It should be noted, however, that these monuments do not indicate a long^b period. They are few and scanty. There is nothing to show that the long list of kings which the Turin Papyrus places in this period were not partially contemporaneous. The same document gives no indication in its enumeration of the kings of the Twelfth Dynasty that they were partially contemporary; and it is only in the sum-total of the dynasty that parallel years are deducted. The same was evidently done for this long series of kings between the Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasties. Two hundred years is ample for the whole period, including the Hyksos.^c The Sothic date from the Twelfth

^aThere is no choice between these limits; but as a round number is convenient, I have taken 1580, which brings the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty to 1350 B. C.

^bThe figures given in Manetho's scanty notes are not worthy of the slightest credence.

^cUnder the Moslems 77 viceroys held the throne of Egypt in 118 years, from 750 to 868 A. D. In Europe some 80 Roman emperors after Commodus ruled in a period of 90 years (193-283 A. D.; see Meyer, *op. cit.*). The 118 kings enumerated in this confused age by the Turin Papyrus may have ruled no more than 150 years; 100 years is ample for the Hyksos, of which 50 years may be contemporary with the native dynasts.

Dynasty, placing its fall in 1788 B. C., determines the maximum length of the period as 208 years.^a The Eleventh Dynasty, as shown herein (§§ 415-18), lasted at least 160 years, so that the second dark age, between the Old and Middle Kingdoms, terminated about 2160 B. C.

53. The data for determining the length of the dark period preceding the Middle Kingdom are scanty. Its beginning, in Manetho's so-called Seventh Dynasty, is hopelessly obscure, but fortunately the time during which this Seventh Dynasty ruled, as well as the length of the Eighth Dynasty also, is included by the Turin Papyrus in a summation of the time which elapsed from the rise of the Sixth Dynasty to the fall of Memphis (180 years),^b and also in a grand total of the length of the whole period from the accession of Menes to the close of Memphite supremacy, which terminated with the fall of the Eighth Dynasty. The Heracleopolitan rule, which falls between the end of Memphite and the beginning of Theban domination, is therefore the uncertain factor. Manetho divides the Heracleopolitans into two dynasties, the Ninth and the Tenth. The Turin Papyrus had a dynasty of eighteen kings immediately preceding the Eleventh, and these must be the Heracleopolitans, as is shown by the occurrence of Manetho's second Akhthoes, near the beginning of the series. We have no means of determining how long these eighteen Heracleopolitans ruled, for Manetho's data (with nineteen kings

^aThe proposal to push back the said Sothic date by a whole Sothic cycle, thus lengthening the above period between the Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasties by 1,460 years, is hardly worthy of a serious answer. It involves the assumption that nearly fifteen hundred years of history have been enacted in the Nile valley without leaving a trace behind! It is like imagining that in European history we could insert at will a period equal to that from the fall of Rome to the present!

^bThat this summation includes the Eighth Dynasty is shown by the fact that the Heracleopolitans (the Ninth and Tenth Dynasties) immediately follow. So also Meyer, *op. cit.*, 171 ff.

in each of his Heracleopolitan dynasties), like most of his figures, are not to be accepted, unless clearly supported by the contemporary monuments. These eighteen Heracleopolitans vouched for by the Turin Papyrus, if given sixteen years each (a sum below the customary average, in a long period of time^a under orderly conditions of government), reigned, in round numbers, 285 years. It will be evident that this estimate is extremely uncertain. The period is the only undetermined epoch in the dynastic chronology, and it introduces a margin of uncertainty of several generations in all dates back of the Eleventh Dynasty.

54. The Turin Papyrus gives the length of the Sixth Dynasty (with which it merges the Eighth, ignoring the Seventh^b) as 181 years. The length of the Fourth and Fifth together is determined by the Turin Papyrus and the contemporary monuments as follows: The royal favorite Mertityôtes, after having been in the harem of Snefru and Khufu successively, was still living under Khafre (§§ 188 ff.). Prince Sekhemkere lived under Khafre, Menkure, Shepseskaf, Userkaf, and Sahure.^c With Snefru counted in the Third Dynasty, and Userkaf and Sahure (together nineteen years^d) falling in the Fifth, the length of the Fourth cannot have been more than 150 years, as measured by part of two successive human lives. A third lifetime connects the latter part of the Fourth and the first part of the Fifth. Thus Ptahshepses, the son-in-law of

^aThe Fourth and Fifth Dynasties (including Snefru at the beginning of the Fourth) show an average of 16.6 years for each ruler (Meyer, *op. cit.*, 151); that is, 18 kings ruled 300 years. Again, at the beginning of the dynastic age 18 kings (First and Second Dynasties) ruled 420 years—an average of over 23 years each. The first 53 kings of the Turin Papyrus (from the First to the Eighth Dynasty) ruled 995 years—an average of nearly 19 years. But among these, it should not be forgotten, there are 15 reigns of less than 10 years each, footing up to only 70 years.

^bSee § 53.

^cLepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 42; Rougé, *Six premières dynasties*, 77.

^dSee Meyer's reconstruction of the Turin Papyrus (*op. cit.*, plate opposite p. 145).

King Shepseskaf, was born under Menkure and lived into the reign of Nuserre, the sixth king of the Fifth Dynasty (§§ 254 ff.). Now, granting him a long life, he could not have lived more than 40 or 50 years in the Fifth Dynasty. The Turin Papyrus has preserved the length of the reigns at the end of the Fifth Dynasty from Nuserre on, making a total, including him, of about 100 years. If Ptahshepses survived 10 years under Nuserre, the length of the dynasty was at most 130 years, more probably 125 years. The lengths of seven out of the nine reigns are preserved in the Turin Papyrus, and make a total of 122 years + x .

55. The overlapping of these three lifetimes is very significant:

Fourth Dynasty	Snefru	}	Lifetime of Mertityôtes
	Khufu		
	Dedefre		
	Khafre	}	Lifetime of Sekhemkere
	Menkure		
	Shepseskaf		
	Short reigns		
	Userkaf	}	Lifetime of Ptahshepses
	Sahure		
	Neferirkere		
	Shepseskere		
	Khaneferre		
	Nuserre		

Three lifetimes somewhat overlapping, a matter of 200 years at most, run parallel, as stated above, with the end of the Third Dynasty, the whole Fourth, and the first half of the Fifth. The Fourth and Fifth Dynasties thus lasted together not more than 300 years.

56. Now, the Turin Papyrus has preserved the length of the reigns in the Third Dynasty, and they foot up to about 80 years (including Snefru). The Palermo Stone insures at least 500 years for the first three dynasties, leaving about

420 years for the first two dynasties. This gives us a total of 950-75 years for the entire period from the beginning of the dynasties to the final fall of Memphis. Now, it is practically certain that the total of 955 years on a fragment of the Turin Papyrus is a summary of the same period,^a belonging at the end of the Memphite kings. Deducting the length of the Memphite dynasties (535 years) from this total of 955 years, we have left 420 years for the preceding Thinite period (First and Second Dynasties), just as shown by the Palermo Stone. We thus reach the date 3400 B. C. for the beginning of the dynasties, and 3400 to 2980 B. C. as the Thinite age, the first two dynasties. It is highly improbable that future discovery will shift these dates more than a century in either direction.

57. To recapitulate, in the following table it should be remembered that the dates in the Twelfth Dynasty are astronomically computed and correct within three years. The early part of the Eighteenth is closely correct (all dates astronomically established are starred), and the latter part probably within a decade of error. The margin of error is doubtless somewhat greater between the close of the Eighteenth and the accession of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, where the dates are again accurate. Back of the Middle Kingdom, the unknown length of the dark age (from the Seventh to the Tenth Dynasty) produces the wide limits of uncertainty affecting all the preceding dynasties (from the First to the Tenth), the end of which period fell about 2160 B. C. It is back of 2160 B. C., therefore, that our chronology of Egyptian history becomes unstable and exhibits a margin of uncertainty of at most two centuries; that is, a century either way.

^aFrag. No. 44. It was already placed here by Seyffarth; a study of the possibilities shows clearly that this position is correct. [Later: This is also the opinion of Meyer (*op. cit.*).]

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

58. INTRODUCTION OF CALENDAR 4241 B. C.

ACCESSION OF MENES AND BEGINNING OF
DYNASTIES 3400 "FIRST AND SECOND DYNASTIES 3400-2980 "
(Eighteen kings, 420 years)

THIRD DYNASTY

Zoser to Snefru 80 years 2980-2900 B. C.

FOURTH DYNASTY^a

59. Khufu 23 years

Dedefre 8 "

Khafre x "

Menkure x "

.....^b x ".....^c 18 "

Shepseskaf 4 "

.....^d 2 "

Total 150 years 2900-2750 B. C.

FIFTH DYNASTY^e

60. Userkaf 7 years

Sahure 12 "

Neferirkere x "

Shepseskere^f 7 "Khaneferre^g x "Nuserre 30^h " (+x)

Menkuhor 8 "

Dedkere-Isesi 28 "

Unis 30 "

Total 122 years + x

Minimum 125 " 2750-2625 B. C.

^aAs reconstructed by Meyer from the Turin Papyrus, the Sakkara and Abydos lists, and Manetho. The years are from the papyrus.^bLost in Turin Papyrus; Manetho's Ratoises.^cLost in Turin Papyrus; Manetho's Bikheris. The years may be 28.^dLost in Turin Papyrus; Manetho's Thamphthis.^eAs restored by Meyer (*op. cit.*, 145 ff.).^fSame as Neferefre of the Abydos list.^gOnly in Sakkara list, but spacing shows room for him in the Turin Papyrus.^hNumerical in Turin Papyrus is either 10, 20, or 30 (+ units?), and, as Nuserre celebrated his thirty-years' jubilee, doubtless 30 is correct.

SIXTH DYNASTY

61. Teti II	x years	
Userkera ^a	x "	
Pepi I	20 "	
Mernere I	4 "	
Pepi II	90 ^b "	(+ x)
Mernere II ^c	I "	
Total	115 years	+ x
Minimum	150 "	2625-2475 B. C.

SEVENTH AND EIGHTH DYNASTIES^d

62. Total	30 years	2475-2445 B. C.
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NINTH AND TENTH DYNASTIES

18 Heracleopolitans, estimated	285 years	2445-2160 B. C.
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ELEVENTH DYNASTY^e

63. Horus Wahenekh-Intef I	50 years	+ x
Horus Nakhtneb-Tepnefer-Intef II	x "	
Nibhotep-Mentuhotep I	x "	
Vassal Intef III (Shatt er-Regâl)	x "	
Nibkhrure-Mentuhotep II	46 "	+ x
Senekhkere-Mentuhotep III	28 "	+ x
Nibtowere-Mentuhotep IV	2 "	+ x
Total	126 years	+ x
Known total	160 ^f "	2160 ^g -2000 B. C.

^aOnly in the Abydos list; Meyer suggests that he is the same as Ity of whom we have a quarry inscription at Hammamat (§ 386).

^bProbably 94, as given also by Manetho.

^cFrom the Abydos list, instead of Nitokris formerly assigned here on a misplaced fragment of the Turin Papyrus. (See Meyer, *op. cit.*, 164.)

^dThe Seventh Dynasty of Manetho (70 Memphites ruling 70 days) cannot be found in the lists or on contemporary monuments. The ephemeral Eighth Dynasty is given 7 kings in the Turin Papyrus, of whom the reigns of 4 are preserved (2 years, 4 years, 2 years, 1 year). The Eighth Dynasty is passed over in the Sakkara list, but is given 17 kings in the Abydos list.

^eSee reconstruction, §§ 415-18; also my essay, *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Preussischen Akademie*, 1904 (in Meyer's essay, *Aegyptische Chronologie*, 156-61); and also my remarks in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, XXI, April.

^fFrom Turin Papyrus; the units are lost.

^gFrom here on approximately accurate chronology.

TWELFTH DYNASTY^a

64. Amenemhet I	30 years	2000*-1970* B. C.
Sesostris I	45 "	1980*-1935* "
Amenemhet II	35 "	1938*-1903* "
Sesostris II	19 "	1906*-1887* "
Sesostris III	38 "	1887*-1849* "
Amenemhet III	48 "	1849*-1801* "
Amenemhet IV	9 "	1801*-1792* "
Sebeknefrure	4 "	1792*-1788* "
Total	228 years	
Allowance for coregencies	15 "	
Final total	213 ^b years	2000*-1788* B. C.

THIRTEENTH TO SEVENTEENTH DYNASTIES

(Including the Hyksos)

65. 208 ^c years	1788*-1580 B. C.
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EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY

66. Ahmose	22 ^d + x years	1580-1557* B. C.
Amenhotep I	10 ^e + x }	56 ^f " 1557*-1501* "
Thutmose I	30 ^g + x }	
Thutmose III	54 ^h "	1501*-1447* "

(Including Thutmose II and Hatshepsut)

^aA fuller statement of this dynasty, especially of the Sothic date and of the coregencies, will be found in §§ 460 ff.

^bThis total is given by the Turin Papyrus (§ 461) as exactly 213 years, 1 month, and 17 days.

^cSee § 52.

^dII, 27.

^e*Recueil*, IX, 94. Accession is astronomically established (Meyer, *op. cit.*, 46 ff.).

^fDetermined by the two limits: the accession of Amenhotep I in 1557 and that of Thutmose III in 1501, both these dates being astronomically fixed.

^gHe celebrated his thirty-years' jubilee, and, as he was never crown prince, he must have ruled at least 30 years. He reached old age (II, 64).

^hReally a little less (see II, 592). The date of this reign is astronomically established by means of a Sothic date and two calendar dates of the new moon in Thutmose III's Annals (II, 430). Mahler computes his accession as 1504 (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1888, 97); Lehmann noticed that such a calculation must be based on the actual appearance of the new moon, and not on a calculation of when it astronomically occurred. Lehmann thus dated the accession of Thutmose III in 1515 (*Zwei Hauptprobleme*, 154-58). Meyer accepted Lehmann's method, but showed a slight error in L.'s figures, thus finally placing the date of Thutmose III's accession in 1501 B. C. (Meyer, *op. cit.*, 50). The exact limits are May 3, 1501, to March 17, 1447 B. C.

Amenhotep II	26 ^a + x years	1447*-1420	B. C.
Thutmose IV	8 ^b + x "	1420-1411	"
Amenhotep III	36 ^c "	1411-1375	"
Amenhotep IV	17 ^d + x		
(or Ikhnaton, 1375-1358)			
Sakere	x	25 ^e "	1375-1350 "
Tutenekhamon	x		
Eye	3 ^f + x		
Total	227 + $4x$ years		
Allowance for double counting (3 transfers and 1 coregency, 1 year)	3	"	
Final total	224 + $4x$ years		
Minimum	230 years	1580-1350	B. C.

NINETEENTH DYNASTY

67. Harmhab	34 ^g + x years	1350-1315	B. C.
Ramses I	2 ^h "	1315-1314	"
Seti I	21 ⁱ + x "	1313-1292	"

^aPetrie, *Six Temples*, Plate V; about one year coregent with Thutmose III (II, 184).

^bII, 825.

^cLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 71 c-d; and *Amarna Letters*, 20.

^dPetrie, *Amarna*, Plates XXII ff., pp. 32 ff.

^eIn the reign of Ramses II, in the records of a legal suit, reference is made to legal proceedings in year 59 of Harmhab. As it is evident that Harmhab was not a young man at his accession, it is exceedingly improbable that he reigned nearly 60 years. The highest known date on any monument of his reign is year 21. It is therefore probable that in the early Nineteenth Dynasty, when the chronology for the government files of the immediately preceding reigns was being made up, the series of Ikhnaton and his successors was added to the reign of Harmhab, and the names of the kings at any time implicated in the Aton heresy were swept from the records. We thus have at least 59 years from year 1 of Ikhnaton to the end of Harmhab's reign, of which at least 25 must be credited to Ikhnaton and his successors (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 39, 10, l. 8).

^fII, 1043.

^gSee preceding note on Ikhnaton and successors. Estimating 25 years for Ikhnaton and successors, we have 34 + x years for Harmhab.

^hTotal length; maximum of 2½ years (III, 74).

ⁱSee III, 131.

Ramses II	67 ^a years	1292 1225 B. C.
Merneptah	10 ^b +x “	1225-1215 “
Amenmeses	x “	1215 “
Siptah	6 ^c +x “	1215-1209 “
Seti II	2 ^d +x “	1209-1205 “
Total	142+6x years	
Allowance for 4 transfers (=2 years) and 1 coregency	3 “	
Final total	139+6x years	
<i>Minimum</i>	145 years	1350-1205 B. C.

INTERIM

68. Anarchy and reign of Syrian usurper ^e	5 years	1205-1200 B. C.
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TWENTIETH DYNASTY^f

69. Setnakht	1 ^g (+x) years	1200-1198 B. C.
Ramses III	31 ^h “	1198-1167 “
Ramses IV	6 ⁱ “	1167-1161 “
Ramses V	4 ^j +x “	1161-1157 “

^aTotal length (IV, 471). The attempts to determine the accession of Ramses II astronomically have been unsuccessful.

^bPapyrus Sallier I, 3, 4; 8, 8; see Erman, *Westcar*, II, 37. I am unable to find any confirmation of Brugsch's remark (*Reiseberichte*, 194) that Merneptah's highest date was not less than 25 nor more than 33. In Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 2, plan of "Temple A" at a place marked *h* is the remark, "Datum des Merneptah," which perhaps refers to Brugsch's remark, but Lepsius has no reference to the date in his text.

^cSee III, 650.

^dChampollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 258, and Griffith, *Kahun Papyri*, II, Plate 39, and p. 95. He built a temple at Karnak, and another at Eshmunên (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 24, 86).

^ePapyrus Harris, 75, 2-4 (IV, 398), States that the anarchy lasted "many years;" then followed the rule of the Syrian. Five years for all this is a minimum.

^fI accept in this reconstruction the results of Sethe (*Untersuchungen*, I, 59-63).

^gPapyrus Sallier, I, 6.

^hExactly 31 years and 40 days (IV, 153).

ⁱPapyrus Turin; Pleyte and Rossi, Plates 51-60; Spiegelberg, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1891, 73 ff., on Plate 54, ll. 12, 13; Maspero, *Momies royales*, 663.

^jOstrakon in Turin, Maspero, *Recueil*, II, 116, 117.

Ramses VI	x years	} 15 ^a	years 1157-1142 B. C.
Ramses VII	x "		
Ramses VIII	x "		
Ramses IX	19 ^b		" 1142-1123 "
Ramses X	1 ^c + x	"	1123-1121 "
Ramses XI	x	"	1121-1118 "
Ramses XII	27 ^d + x	"	1118-1090 "
Total	104 + 5 x years		
Allowance for 1 transfer and 1 coregency	1½ "		
Final total	102½ + 5 x years		
Minimum	110 years		1200-1090 B. C.

TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY^e

70. Nesubenebbed	} x years	1090-1085 B. C.
Hrihor		
Pesibkhenno I		
Paynozem I		
Amenemopet	17 + x "	1085-1067 "
Siamon	40 + x "	1067-1026 "
Pesibkhenno II	49 + x "	1026-976 "
	16 + x "	976-958 "
	12 + x "	958-945 "
Total	134 + 6 x "	
Minimum	145 years	1090-945 B. C.

TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY^f

71. Sheshonk I	21 (+ x) years	945-924 B. C.
Osorkon I	36 (+ x) "	924-895 "
Takelot I	23 ^g (+ x) "	895-874 "

^aFor this period we have no dates, but it is limited by the following facts: (1) the term of Setau as high priest at El Kab (IV, 415); (2) the succession of the high-priests of Amon; Amenhotep, known as high priest under Ramses IX at least from year 10 (IV, 487) to year 17 (Papyrus Amherst, ed. Newberry, No. VII, p. 1, l. 5), was the son of Ramsesnakht, high-priest known under Ramses IV, year 3. The term of Setau will not permit lengthening the uncertain interim beyond 15 years; nor is it likely to have been less in view of the succession of high-priests.

^bIV, 535.

^cIV, 535. This year is a coregency with Ramses IX.

^dMariette, *Abydos*, II, 62 = *Catalogue général d'Abydos*, No. 1173, pp. 442 f.

^eA fuller statement of this dynasty will be found in IV, 604 ff.

^fA fuller statement of this dynasty will be found in IV, 693 f.

^gSee IV, 693, and Daressy (*Recueil*, XV, 174-75), who is undoubtedly correct in recognizing Takelot I on a stela of year 23.

Osorkon II	30 (+x) years	874-853 B. C.
Sheshonk II	∞	died about 877 "
(Died during coregency with Osorkon II)		
Takehot II	25+x years	860-834 "
(7 years coregent with Osorkon II)		
Sheshonk III	52	" 834-784 "
Pemou	6+x	" 784-782 "
Sheshonk IV	37+x	" 782-745 "
Total	230+6x ^a years	
Allowance for transfers		
and coregencies	30	"
Final total	200+6x years	
<i>Minimum</i>	200 years	945-745 B. C.

TWENTY-THIRD DYNASTY^b

72. Pedibast	23 ^c +x years	745-722 B. C.
Osorkon III	14 +x	"
Takehot III ^d	x	"
Total	37+3x years	
<i>Minimum</i>	27 ^e years	745-718 B. C.

TWENTY-FOURTH DYNASTY

73. Bekneranef	6 ^f years	718 ^g -712 B. C.
<i>Minimum</i>	6 years	718-712 B. C.

^aThe x at the end of Osorkon II's reign falls outside of this total, as his son's reign is counted from his own year 23.

^bThis dynasty will be found fully discussed, with table, in the introduction to the Piankhi Stela (IV, 811 ff.).

^cIV, 794, 4.

^dOnly known as coregent with Osorkon III. The years between Osorkon III and Bekneranef may be filled up by Takehot III or by the two kings, Psammus and Zet, placed by Africanus after Osorkon III.

^eAfricanus gives a total of 89 years, and Syncellus 44, to this dynasty. The 27 is merely the amount necessary to fill up the gap between the end of the Twenty-second Dynasty and Bekneranef.

^fIV, 884.

^gFrom here on, the date B. C. is obtained by dead reckoning back from the accession of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty in 663 B. C.

TWENTY-FIFTH DYNASTY

74. Shabaka	12 ^a years	712-700 B. C.
Shabataka	12 ^b "	700*-688 "
Taharka (Tirhaka)	26 ^c "	688-663 "
Total	50 years	
Minimum	50 years	712-663 B. C.

TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY

75. Psamtik I	54 ^d years	663-609 B. C.
Necho	16 ^e "	609-593 "
Psamtik II	5 ^f "	593-588 "
Apries (Hophra)	19 ^g "	588-569 "
Ahmose II (Amasis)	44 ^h "	569-525 "
Psamtik III	a few months	525 "
Total	138 years	
Known total, 138 years and a few months		663-525 B. C.

^aLepsius, *Denkmäler*, V, 1, e.^eSee IV, 984-5.^bIV, 885.^f*Ibid.*^cA little over 26 years (IV, 959).^gIV, 984 ff.^dIV, 974 ff.

^hIV, 1026-7. This date is found in a contemporary inscription in Hamamat (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 275b); as Herodotus also gives 44 as the length of this reign, there is evidently no doubt that we have in it the highest date of the reign.

ADDENDUM ON CHRONOLOGY (§ 42)

A letter from Eduard Meyer calls my attention to a fragmentary relief in the tomb of Thutnakht (*El Bersheh*, II, Pls. 8 and 9) which shows that the flax harvest in the middle of the twentieth century B. C. took place between the twenty-third and twenty-seventh of the fourth month. This harvest at the present day in the province of Minieh occurs during the early part of April. Thus the 113th-117th days of the calendar, which normally fell between November 9 and 13 (Julian), then fell in early April, showing a shift of the calendar of over 200 days, and corresponding completely with the shift of 225 days indicated by the Kahun Sothic date (§§ 42, 46). The date of the Twelfth Dynasty is thus confirmed beyond a doubt.

THE PALERMO STONE
FIRST TO THE FIFTH DYNASTIES

THE PALERMO STONE^a

76. The content of this document, remarkable as it is, is perhaps not more valuable than the revelation it furnishes of the existence of royal annals of an official character, regularly kept by the kings of Egypt in the Old Kingdom and extending back into the time of the two kingdoms of the North and South. They reveal a great and powerful kingdom from the beginning of the dynasties, enjoying ordered government under a highly developed and aggressive state, and exhibiting a high degree of culture and civilization such as we could not have anticipated in this remote age.

77. While a translation of the document, owing to its unique and archaic character, is accompanied by many uncertainties, yet the whole is of an importance which justifies a sufficient presentation of the content to make clear the character, scope, and arrangement of these oldest annals of Egypt.^b The voluminous commentary necessary for the explanation of many obscure references and allusions is unavoidably omitted here; but the obscurity of these par-

^aA fragment of "Diorite anfíbolica," 6.5 cm. thick, 0.435 m. high, and 0.25 m. wide; since 1877 in the Museum of Palermo, and commonly known as the "Palermo Stone." It was published by Pellegrini (*Archivio storico Siciliano*, nuova serie, anno XX, 297-316, and 3 plates); by Schaefer, who first recognized its real character (*Ein Bruchstück altaegyptischer Königsannalen* [Anhang zu den *Abhandlungen der Königl. Preussischen Akademie*, 1902], with 2 plates); and by Naville (*La pierre de Palerme*, Rec. XXV, 1-20, with 2 plates). Besides the interpretations of the above scholars, see Maspero (*Revue critique*, 1899, I, 1, and 1901, I, 383), who was the first to recognize the character of the year-names; also Spiegelberg, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, XXXV, 10.

^bThe following translation is largely an editing of the rendering of Schaefer and Sethe; but, although space and time for commentary fail me, I have made some changes and additions, like the expedition of Snefru to Syria.

ticular points does not affect the significance of the whole document, which will be clear to everyone.

78. The fragment herewith presented was broken out of the middle of a large slab some seven feet long and over two feet high, as it stood on the long edge. It was inscribed on both sides with a series of royal annals, beginning with the predynastic kings of the period before the union of the North and the South, and continuing into the dynastic age to the middle of the Fifth Dynasty. The arrangement of these records can be best understood from the figure (—). The upper line of the front contains at present nine names of predynastic kings of Lower Egypt (the Delta).^a If the line was full, there were possibly some 120 predynastic kings here enumerated, each rectangle of line 1 (front) containing one name, with no indication of how long each king reigned.^b In the Fifth Dynasty, therefore, the predynastic kings, the last of whom had reigned some seven centuries before the preparation of this table, were already merely a series of names. Other reasons for the mere citation of the bare names are, however, quite conceivable, such as lack of interest in the predynastic kings on the part of the scribe.

79. But, while the length of the predynastic reigns remains totally uncertain, the date of the beginning of the dynastic period is certainly established by this monument within narrower limits than ever before; and the period from the accession of Menes to the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty is determined within reasonable margins for the first time. The dynastic kings are probably arranged as

^aMeyer has identified the place of these kings of Lower Egypt in the Turin Papyrus, where no corresponding kings of Upper Egypt were included, and in Manetho (*Aegyptische Chronologie*, 199 ff., 203 f.). They follow the gods and precede the "Worshippers of Horus," the immediate predecessors of the dynasties.

^bMeyer believes that this row must have begun with the gods (*ibid.*, 203).

follows: ^athe First Dynasty occupied ll. 2 and 3, following directly upon the predynastic kings; ll. 4 and 5 contained the Second Dynasty; there is some uncertainty about the disposition of reigns in l. 6, but as the first line of the back contained the end of the Fourth Dynasty, the last two lines^b (7 and 8) of the front must have contained the bulk of the Fourth, which in all probability throws the Third Dynasty back to l. 6,^c including possibly the end of l. 5. The larger part of the back was occupied with the three reigns of the Fifth Dynasty, which filled up ll. 2-5, and perhaps continued (in two lines) into the reign of Nuserre.

80. The arrangement of each reign (except l. 1, front) was so that in the narrow horizontal space above each line the name of the king was placed, while below it the years of his reign were distributed in successive rectangles, one year in each rectangle. As the space occupied by the years of each reign far exceeded the length of the king's name, the latter was placed over the middle, thus:

KING'S NAME

Year	Year	Year	Year	Year	Year	Year	Year	Year
------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------

81. The vertical line on the right of each rectangle has the form of the hieroglyphic sign for "year." Each year-rectangle contains the chief events which occurred in that year, one of which furnished the official name for that year. Thus we have the "*Year of the Battle and Smiting*

^aThe Turin Papyrus of kings shows no clear dynastic division for this period, and hence such division rests solely on the lists of Manetho. But Sethe has shown (*Untersuchungen*, III) that such division is practically certain in our monument, and Meyer indicates that it is probable in the Turin Papyrus.

^bOr three lines may have followed l. 6.

^cSee § 86.

of the *Northerners*," dating a jar of King Besh (*Bš*) in Philadelphia; or the "*Year of Smiting the Troglodytes*" in our fragment (front, l. 6, § 104). This was parallel with the same usage in early Babylonia, as has been long known. As time passed, it became more and more common to name the year after the corresponding fiscal enumeration, thus: "*Year of the Second Occurrence of the Numbering of all Large and Small Cattle of the North and the South*" (§ 339), or "*Year of the Seventh Occurrence of the Numbering of Gold and Lands*" (front, l. 5, § 135). This was often abbreviated to "*Year of the x'th Occurrence of the Numbering*," or still more to "*Year of the x'th Occurrence*."

82. All other events were then gradually abandoned as designations of the years, and by the Fifth Dynasty the fiscal numberings were almost exclusively used. These occurred every two years, in uninterrupted sequence, irrespective of the changes in reign, and hence it was necessary to call a year when no numbering took place, the "*Year after the x'th Occurrence (of the Numbering)*." Finally, when the numberings became annual, each year received the name of a new numbering, and this was the system of dating in Egypt from the Sixth Dynasty on. It amounted to numbering the years themselves, and gradually became nothing else. The Palermo stone thus furnishes us the origin of the Egyptian system of dating.

83. In addition to the chief events of the year, each year-rectangle contained, at the bottom in the middle, a datum giving a number of cubits, palms, and fingers, which have been thought to be the height of the inundation^a for each year; but this is very uncertain.

^aMeasured from some fixed point only a few cubits below high water; but the fine subdivisions in the measurements (down to fractions of a finger-breadth) are against the theory.

84. In ll. 2-5 (front), containing the First and Second Dynasties, the events of each year are for the most part celebrations of religious feasts and the like, and in the latter part the "*numberings*" appear. With the Third Dynasty (l. 6) the events known to the chronicler become more numerous, increasing and making irregular in size the year-rectangles. They become still larger in the Fourth and Fifth. Small as are the rectangles of the First and Second Dynasties, they are in each line of the same size, and this offers the basis for a rough estimate of the number of years in these dynasties, if we can gain even a distant approximation of the total length of the stone.

85. An examination of the back shows that from one-tenth to one-eighth of the total length of the lines is preserved on the fragment. This insures roughly five hundred years for the length of the first three dynasties, of which only about eighty would belong to the Third Dynasty.^a

86. In this computation the stone offers little for determining the length of the Third Dynasty. This is, however, shown by the Turin Papyrus to have been only fifty-five years before Snefru; or, with Snefru, seventy-nine years, α months; or, in round numbers, eighty years. That Snefru belonged to the Third Dynasty is favored by the arrangement of the stone, although the Manethonian tradi-

^aThe first attempt at restoring the length of the stone was made by Sethe, who obtained the following results:

First Dynasty (ll. 2-3).....	253 years
Second Dynasty (ll. 4-5).....	302 years
Third Dynasty (l. 6).....	maximum, 100-110 years

These pioneer results have been modified by Meyer (*Aegyptische Chronologie*) to the following:

First Dynasty (ll. 2-3).....	210 years
Second Dynasty (ll. 4-5).....	243 years

The possible difference is thus about a century. Meyer's results are certainly a minimum, and Sethe's a maximum, but the principle employed by Meyer would now doubtless be accepted by Sethe.

tion perhaps placed him at the head of the Fourth Dynasty. It should be remembered that this difficulty with the Third Dynasty is not peculiar to any theory of restoration of the stone. We cannot, on any scheme of restoration, push the Third Dynasty back into l. 5 (front), for the birth of Khasekhemui, a king of the latter part of the Second Dynasty, is recorded in l. 5 (No. 4). Nor can we assume that Snefru is here reckoned with the Fourth Dynasty, which would leave only the first half of l. 6 for the whole Third Dynasty. Finally, as Snefru is reckoned with the Third Dynasty, and we know that he was its last king (for he was the predecessor of Khufu), all his predecessors in the dynasty, as well as at least six years of his own reign, must have been included in the first half of l. 6. If all the rectangles of the first half of l. 6 were as small as those of l. 2, this would leave perhaps fifty years for his predecessors in the dynasty. The supposition that more lines are lost at the bottom would not at all affect the Third Dynasty. Again, any great prolongation of the lines is forbidden by the back.

87. The stone offers little aid as to the length of the Fourth Dynasty, as most of that dynasty is lost at the bottom of the front, but it furnishes valuable hints as to the close of the Fourth and the first half of the Fifth Dynasty. The short reigns at the close of the Fourth are fragmentarily indicated in l. 1, and the lengths of the short reigns of the first three kings of the Fifth Dynasty roughly corroborate those indicated in the Turin Papyrus.

88. It will be seen that the monument is invaluable as a source for the chronology of the earliest dynasties. Accepting 2900 B. C. as the date for the accession of the Fourth Dynasty, the Palermo Stone furnishes us an assured minimum of 3400 B. C. as the beginning of the dynastic period and the accession of Menes. This date is only affected by

the uncertainty attending all our dates back of the Heraclopolitan rule. Future discovery may reduce the date of Menes by at most a century.

89. The content of these annals is also of great importance, but, as they are themselves only a summary, we cannot epitomize them here. Such facts as the dispatch of a fleet of forty vessels to bring cedar from Lebanon under Snefru are, of course, invaluable.

I. PREDYNASTIC KINGS

Kings of Upper Egypt (?) or the Gods (?)

90. ¹_____

Kings of Lower Egypt

—pu (—*pw*); Seka (*Šk*²); Khayu (*Ḥ*²-*yw*); Teyew (*Tyw*); Thesh (*Tš*); Ne¹heb¹ (*N*¹-*ḥb*¹); Wazenez (*W*²*d*-*cnd*); Mekh (*Mḥ*); —a (—²); _____^a

II. FIRST DYNASTY

KING T^b (NAME LOST)

x years

91. ²_____

Year x+1

Worship of Horus.^c

Birth of Anubis.^c

Year x+2

92. 6 months and 7 days.^d

KING U^e (NAME LOST)

Year 1

93. Fourth month, thirteenth day.^f

^aAt least four more names followed.

^bEither Menes or his successor, Atotthis.

^cName of a feast.

^dThis is the fraction of the king's last year which was interrupted by his death and left incomplete.

^eEither Atotthis or his successor.

^fThis is the date of the king's accession, and the following name is the regular designation of a king's first year.

Union of the Two Lands.

Circuit of the Wall.^a

6 cubits.^b

Year 2

94. Worship of Horus.

Feast of Desher (*Dšr*).

Year 3

95. Birth of the two children of the King of Lower Egypt.

4 cubits, 1 palm.

Year 4

96. Worship of Horus.

┌ — — — ┐

Year 5

97. 'Design' of the House (called): "Mighty-of-the-Gods" (*Šhm-ntrw*).

Feast of Sokar.

5 cubits, 5 palms, 1 finger.

Year 6

98. Worship of Horus.

Birth of the goddess Yamet (*Yꜣmꜣt*).

5 cubits, 1 palm.

Year 7

99. Appearance^c of the King of Upper Egypt.

Birth of Min.

5 cubits

Year 8

100. Worship of Horus.

Birth of Anubis.

6 cubits, 1 palm.

Year 9

101. First occurrence of the Feast of Zet (*Dt*).

4 cubits, 1 span.

^aName of a feast.

^bSee explanation, § 83.

^cOr "coronation" (*ḥꜥ*); it is a feast probably in commemoration of the king's coronation.

Year 10

102. —————^a

LOST KINGS

3 —————

KING V

King's Name

103. —————^b [I'born of Me]ret-[I'Neit].

Year x+1

Station (in)^c the temple of Saw (*S^w*) in Heka— (*Hk^w*—).

3 cubits, 1 palm, 2 fingers.

Year x+2

104. Smiting of the Troglodytes (*Yntyw*).

4 cubits, 1 span.

Year x+3

105. Appearance of the King of Upper Egypt.

Appearance of the King of Lower Egypt.

Sed jubilee.

8 cubits, 3 fingers.

Year x+4

106. (I'Numbering of)^d all people of the nomes of the west, north, and east.

3 cubits, 1 span.

Year x+5

107. Second occurrence of the Feast of Zet (*Dt*).

5 cubits, 2 palms.

^aAt least sixteen years more of this reign are lost, as the king's name was placed in the middle over the horizontal line of years. Our fragment does not reach to the middle; hence over ten years more are lost at the other end, besides six which stood under the name. This makes a minimum total of twenty-six years for this king; but the restoration of the stone shows that he (Atotthis) probably reigned some fifty years.

^bWe should probably restore the name of King Miebis; see Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, III, 47.

^cThe omission of such prepositions is common in these archaic texts.

^dOr is the plant sign (*k^w*) an incorrectly made plant of the South? This would give us all the cardinal points.

Year x+6

108. 'Design' of the House (called): "Thrones-of-the-Gods."

Feast of Sokar.

5 cubits, 1 palm, 2 fingers.

Year x+7

109. Stretching of the Cord (for) the House (called): "Thrones-of-the-Gods," (by) the priest of (the goddess) Seshat ($\dot{S}\dot{s}^{\circ}t$, Sefkhet).

Great Door.

4 cubits, 2 palms.

Year x+8

110. Opening of the Lake of the House (called): "Thrones-of-the-Gods."

Shooting of the Hippopotamus.

2 cubits.

Year x+9

111. Station (at) the lake of the temple of Harsaphes ($\dot{H}ry\text{-}\dot{s}^{\circ}f$) in Heracleopolis.

5 cubits.

Year x+10

112. Voyage (to) Sahseteni ($\dot{S}^{\circ}h^{\circ}l\text{-}stny$).

Smiting of Werka ($Wr\text{-}k^{\circ}$).

4 cubits, 1 span.

Year x+11

113. Birth of Sed ($\dot{S}d$).

6 cubits, 1 palm, 2 fingers.

Year x+12

114. Appearance of the King of Lower Egypt.

First occurrence of "Running-of-Apis."^a

2 cubits, 1 span.

Year x+13

115. Birth of Seshat ($\dot{S}\dot{s}^{\circ}t$) and Mefdet ($M^{\circ}fd^{\circ}t$).

3 cubits, 5 palms, 2 fingers.

^aSome unfamiliar Apis ceremony. Schaefer calls attention to Manetho's statement that the Apis-cult began under King Kaiechos.

Year x+14^a

116. [Appearance] of the King of Upper Egypt.
Birth of —.

III. SECOND DYNASTY

KING NETERIMU

Lost Reigns

117. 4 ——— —

King's Name

Horus: Neterimu (*Ntry-mw^b*) son of —

Year 1

118. ———

Year 2

—————
[First occurrence of the numbering.]

Year 3

—————

Year 4

—————
[Second occurrence of the numbering.]

[First occurrence of the Feast of Sokar.]^c

Year 5

—————

Year 6^d

Worship of Horus.

[Third occurrence of the numbering.]

Year 7

119. Appearance of the King of Upper Egypt.

^aThere must have been fourteen years on the other side of the royal name. Of these twenty-eight, two fall under the royal name. There were at least two or three more under it, making a minimum of thirty or thirty-one years for this king.

^bOn the reading of the name see Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, III, 40.

^cThis feast occurred at intervals of six years; see years 10 and 16.

^dThis may be the fifth year, as the first numbering may have taken place in the first year.

Stretching of the Cord (for) the House (called) Hor-Ren (*Hr-rn*).
3 cubits, 4 palms, 2 fingers.

Year 8

120. Worship of Horus.

Fourth occurrence of the numbering.

4 cubits, 2 fingers.

Year 9

121. Appearance of the King of Upper Egypt.

Appearance of the King of Lower Egypt.

Running of Apis.

4 cubits, 1 palm, 2 fingers.

Year 10

122. Worship of Horus.

Fifth occurrence of the numbering.

4 cubits, 4 palms.

Year 11

123. Appearance of the King of Lower Egypt.

Second occurrence of the Feast of Sokar.

3 cubits, 4 palms, 2 fingers.

Year 12

124. Worship of Horus.

Sixth occurrence of the numbering.

4 cubits, 3 fingers.

Year 13

125. First occurrence of the Feast: "Worship-of-Horus-of-Heaven"
(*Dw³-Hr-pt*).

Hacking up of the city: Shem-Re (*Šm-R^c*).

Hacking up of the city: "House-of-the-North."

4 cubits, 3 fingers.

Year 14

126. Worship of Horus.

Seventh occurrence of the numbering.

1 cubit.

Year 15

127. Appearance of the King of Lower Egypt.

Second occurrence of "Running-of-Apis."
3 cubits, 4 palms, 3 fingers.

Year 16

128. Worship of Horus.
Eighth occurrence of the numbering.
3 cubits, 5 palms, 2 fingers.

Year 17

129. Appearance of the King of Lower Egypt.
Third occurrence of the Feast of Sokar.
2 cubits, 2 fingers.

Year 18

130. Worship of Horus.
Ninth occurrence of the numbering.
2 cubits, 2 fingers.

Year 19

131. Appearance of the King of Lower Egypt.
[] the Feast of Zet (*Dt*).
[] — []^a
3 cubits.

Year 20

132. Worship of Horus.
Tenth occurrence of [the numbering].

Year 21^b

LOST KINGS

5. _____

KING W (NAME LOST)

Year 12^c

133. Worship of Horus.
Sixth occurrence of the numbering.
2 cubits, 4 palms, 1½ fingers.

^aSchaefer: "Opfer (?) . . . Göttin *Nhbt* . . . *Dt*-Fest."

^bOf these twenty-one years, sixteen were before the royal name; sixteen more, therefore, followed it; five are under it, making a total of at least thirty-seven.

^cOr possibly year 11, according to the beginning of the numbering in year 1 or year 2.

Year 13

134. Appearance of the King of Upper Egypt.

Appearance of the King of Lower Egypt.

(The temple called): "The-Goddess-Abides" was built (of) stone.

2 cubits, 3 palms, 1 finger.

Year 14

135. Worship of Horus.

Seventh occurrence of the numbering of gold and lands.

3 $\frac{2}{3}$ cubits.

Year 15

136. Birth of Khasekhemui (*H^c-š^hmw^y*).

1 cubit, 6 palms, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ fingers.

Year 16

137. Worship of Horus.

Eighth occurrence of the numbering of gold and lands.

4 cubits, 2 palms, 2 $\frac{2}{3}$ fingers.

Year 17

138. Fourth occurrence of bringing the wall of Dewazefa (*Dw³-d^j3*).

Shipbuilding.

4 cubits, 2 palms.

Year 18

139. 2 months, 23 days.^a

KING X (NAME LOST)

Year 1

140. Appearance of the King of Upper Egypt.

Appearance of the King of Lower Egypt.

Union of the Two Lands.

Circuit of the Wall.

4 cubits, 2 palms, 2 $\frac{2}{3}$ fingers.

Year 2

141. Appearance of the King of Upper Egypt.

^aThe total length of this reign was thus either sixteen or seventeen years, two months, and twenty-three days.

Appearance of the King of Lower Egypt.

¹Introduction¹ of the King into the double Senut^a-house.

4 cubits, $1\frac{2}{3}$ palms.

Year 3

142. Worship of Horus.

Birth of Min.

2 cubits, 3 palms, $2\frac{2}{3}$ fingers.

Year 4

143. Appearance of the King of Upper Egypt.

Appearance of the King of Lower Egypt.

Stretching of the Cord (for) the House (called): "Shelter-of-the-Gods" (*Ḳbh-ntrw*).

3 cubits, 3 palms, 2 fingers.

Year^b 5

144. Worship of Horus.

3 cubits, — —, — —.

IV. THIRD DYNASTY

LOST REIGNS

6_____

KING SNEFRU

145.

Year $x+1^c$

[Birth of] the two children of the King of Lower Egypt.

[Sixth occurrence of the numbering.]

Year $x+2$

146. Building of 100-cubit^d dewatowe-ships (*Dw³-t³wy*) of meru (*mr*) wood, and of 60 sixteen^e-barges of the king.

^aThe senut (*snwt*) are flag-staves on a temple front

^bAt least eleven years more may be added to this reign.

^cAs the numberings are irregular in this reign, it is not safe to compute the year from the two given.

^dThis refers to the length, which was thus some 167 feet.

^eThis numeral refers to a dimension or to the number of oars in each barge, or something similar. Schaefer relevantly recalls the "eights" (ships) of Uni (§ 322, l. 41).

Hacking up the land of the Negro.

Bringing of 7,000 living prisoners, and 200,000 large and small cattle.

Building of the wall of the Southland and Northland (called)
"Houses-of-Snefru."

Bringing of 40 ships filled (with) cedar wood.^a

2 cubits, 2 fingers.

Year $x+3$

147. Making 35 houses.^b

1—1 of 122 cattle.

Building of a 100-cubit dewatowe-ship (*Dw^w-t^wwy*) of cedar wood,
and 2 100-cubit ships of meru wood.

Seventh occurrence of the numbering.

5 cubits, 1 palm, 1 finger.

Year $x+4$

148. Erection of:

"Exalted-is-the-White-Crown-of-Snefru-upon-the-Southern-Gate."^c

"Exalted-is-the-Red-Crown-of-Snefru-upon-the-Northern-Gate."^c

Making the doors of the king's palace of cedar wood.

Eighth occurrence of the numbering.

2 cubits, 2 palms, 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ fingers.

Year^d $x+5$

149. —————

^aThis is an expedition by sea to Lebanon. The omission of the prepositions (here *m*, "*with*") is common in this inscription, having been copied without change by the Fifth Dynasty scribe, from the ancient original of Snefru's time, in which, as commonly in the archaic inscriptions, the prepositions were lacking.

^bSome particular kind of building is meant.

^cThese are the names of two gates or parts of the palace of Snefru: one for the South and one for the North. We have thus the double name of a double palace, which, like the organs of the government, was double, to correspond with the old kingdoms of South and North. These two gates are still preserved in the palace of the Empire as seen in the Amarna tombs. The palace front was always referred to as the "*double façade*" or "*double gate*" (*Rwty*); hence also the dual determinative of *pr-wy*. The state temples also were double; each had a "*double façade*," and the hypostyle was divided into north and south by the central aisle. The division of the palace audience hall will have been the same. That the two names in § 148 do not refer to two separate buildings is shown by the record of the making of the doors in the next remark, as in the year 7 of Miebis.

^dAfter the year-sign, the sign for king and, below, the cubit-sign are visible.

V. FOURTH DYNASTY

LOST REIGNS

7_____

KING Y

King's Name

_____a

LOST REIGNS

1b_____

KING MENKURE (?)^c*Year x*— [months], 24 days.^d

KING SHEPSESCEF

*Year 1*150. a) Month 4 (+x), eleventh day.^e

b) Appearance of the King [of Upper Egypt].

Appearance of the King of Lower Egypt.

Union of the Two Lands.

Circuit of the Wall.

Seshed (Ššd) Feast.^f

Birth of Upwawet.

The king worships the gods who united the Two Lands.

151. c) _____ selection of the place of the pyramid (called):
"Shelter-of-Shepseskaf."

152. d) _____ 20 1—1 of the South and North every day.

e) _____ 1,624^g; _____ 600 —.

4 cubits, 3 palms, 2½ fingers.

^aThe determinative after the name of his mother and the tip of one sign before it are all that remains of his reign.

^bBeginning of the back.

^cPossibly one of the three ephemeral kings placed by the Sakkara list and Manetho at the close of the Fourth Dynasty. See Meyer, *Aegyptische Chronologie*, 195.

^dMeyer (*ibid.*) would see in the vacant space left by the scribe before this note an evidence of the illegitimacy of this king; it would seem, however, that a number of the exigencies of space might have produced such a vacancy.

^eThe date of his accession.

^fConfer the coronation of Hatshepsut, II, 240.

^gThese numerals, like those in ll. 2-4, are the numbers of the stat of land in the temple endowments of that year.

VI. FIFTH DYNASTY

KING USERKAF

*Years 1-3***153.** ———*Year 4*

Third occurrence of the finding of —.

Year 5^a

154. The King of Upper and Lower Egypt Userkaf; he made (it) as his monument for:

155. The spirits of Heliopolis: 20 offerings of bread and beer at every [—] and every [—] feast; 36 stat of land [— —] in the domain of Userkaf.

156. 1. The gods of the sun-temple (called): Sepre (*Sp-R*):

24 stat of land in the domain of Userkaf;

2 oxen, 2 geese every day.

2. Re: 44 stat of land in the nomes of the Northland;

3. Hathor: 44 stat of land in the nomes of the Northland.

4. The gods of the House of [—] of Horus: 54 stat of land; erection of the shrine of his temple (in) Buto of the nome of Xoïs;

5. Sepa (*Sp*): 2 stat of land; building of his temple.

6. Nekhbet in the sanctuary (*ntry*) of the South: 10 offerings of bread and beer every day.

7. Buto in Pernu (*Pr-nw*): 10 offerings of bread and beer every day.

8. The gods of the sanctuary (*ntry*) of the South: 48 offerings of bread and beer every day.

157. Year of the third occurrence of the numbering of large cattle.

4 cubits, 2½ fingers.

Year 6

158. [The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Userkaf; he made (it) as his monument for]:

————^b: 1,700 stat [— —] in the North; ———

^aThis may be year 6, according as the numbering began in year 1 or 2; but the restoration of the stone rather favors year 5.

^bSome god's name.

KING SAHURE

3. ———

Year 5^a

159. a) The King of [Upper] and Lower Egypt, Sahure; he made (it) as his monument for:

1. — in Heliopolis; ——— 200 1—1, ——— divine barque
——— 1—1.

2. Nekhbet, mistress of Perwer (*Pr-wr*): 800 daily offerings of bread and beer;

3. Buto, mistress of Perneser (*Pr-nsr*): 4,800 daily offerings of bread and beer;

4. Re in the Senut-house (*Snwt*): 138 daily offerings of bread and beer;

5. Re in the Sanctuary (*ntry*) of the South: 40 daily offerings of bread and beer;

6. Re in Tep-het (*Tp-hṯ*): 74 daily offerings of bread and beer;

7. Hathor in the sun-temple, Sekhet-Re (*Šḫt-Rḳ*): 4 daily offerings of bread and beer;

8. Re of the sun-temple, Sekhet-Re: 12,000 1—1 stat of land in the nome of 'Xois';

9. Mes (*Mš*): 2 stat of land in the nome of Busiris;

10. Sem (*Šm*): 2 stat of land in the nome of Busiris;

11. Khent-yawetef (*Hnt-ywṯf*): 2 1— — stat of land in the Memphite nome;

12. Hathor in Ro-she (*Rḳ-š*) of Sahure: 2 1— — stat of land in the East;

13. Hathor in (the temple of) the pyramid, "The-Soul-of-Sahure-Shines": 1 stat of land in the Libyan nome;

14. The White Bull: 13 1— — stat of land in the eastern Khent nome (XIV).

15. b) Third occurrence of the finding of 1— —

Year of the second numbering.

2 cubits, 2½ fingers.

Year 6

160. The King of Upper and Lower Egypt [Sahure; he made it as his monument for]:

^aIt is the second numbering, and may be year 4.

The Divine Ennead,

Year 13^a

161. 4[The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sahure; he made it as] his monument for:

1. ———
2. Re 1—1: — [stat] of land in the North and South;
3. Hathor: — [stat] of land in the North and South;
4. —: — [stat] of land in the North and South;
5. —: ——— all things.
6. There were brought from:
7. The Malachite-country, — — 16,000¹ —.
8. Punt, 80,000 measures of myrrh, 16,000¹ — of electrum, 2,600 1—1 staves, 1— —1.

Year after the 1seventh^{1b} numbering.

Year 14

162. 19¹ months, 16¹ days.

KING NEFERIRKERE

King's Name

163. Horus: *Wsr-h^cw^c* King of Upper and Lower Egypt; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: *H^cw-m-shmw* ———.

Year 1

164. Second month, seventh day.

Birth of the Gods.

Union of the Two Lands.

Circuit of the Wall.

^aThe "numbering" is uncertain, being either 6 or 7. The year may be anywhere from 11 to 15, according as the first numbering was in the year 1 or year 2, or the numbering be the sixth or seventh. Meyer's results make 13 the most probable here.

^bThe number is unfortunately not quite certain, but the margin of uncertainty is not great. The Turin Papyrus gives Sahure twelve years, and Manetho gives him thirteen, both of which numbers might be practically correct, as one might take account of the nine months of the last year, and count the thirteenth year as complete.

^c"Rich in Diadems."

2. Erection of the wall of the sun-barque at the south side [of the sun-temple: "Favorite-Seat-of-Re"].^a
3. The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Neferirkere; he made (it) as [his] monument [for]:
4. Re in the sun-temple: "Favorite-Seat-of-Re": 18 — 1 loaves: for the evening sun-barque —; and for the morning sun-barque —.
5. The Souls of Heliopolis: — — — of electrum;
6. Ptah, "South-of his-Wall": — stat ———.
7. Buto of the South: — — — of electrum.
8. ———

^aThis is a sun-barque like that found at Abusir beside the sun-temple of Nuserre by the excavations of the Berlin Museum.

THE THIRD DYNASTY

REIGN OF SNEFRU

SINAI INSCRIPTIONS^a

168. Although the Pharaohs had operated in the copper region of Sinai as far back as the First Dynasty, Snefru was later regarded as the great founder of the Egyptian mining there. He became a patron god of the region (§ 722), he gave his name to the roads and stations of the eastern Delta (§ 493, l. 9), and officials boasting of their achievements there claimed that nothing like them had been done since the time of Snefru (§ 731).

Being the only existing inscriptional record of achievement by Snefru, this document is of especial importance. The relief to which the inscriptions belong is as important as they. It represents the king in the etef-crown, with upraised war-club about to smite a Bedwi, whom he has forced to kneel, holding him by the hair of his head.^b This, of course, symbolizes Snefru's victory over the Bedwin of this region, during his mining operations here.

169. The inscriptions contain only titles and names of Snefru; they are:

King of Upper and Lower Egypt; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Lord of Truth; Golden Horus: Snefru. Snefru, Great God, who is given Satisfaction, Stability, Life, Health, all Joy forever.

^aEngraved on the rock-walls of the Wadi Maghara in the Peninsula of Sinai. Text: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 2 a; Laborde, *Voyage de l'Arabie Pétrée*, Pl. 5, No. 4; Laval, *Voyage dans la Péninsule Arabique*, Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques, Pl. 3, No. 1; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1492 (inscriptions only); Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 7, 8; Morgan, *Recherches*, I, 233; Weill, *Sinai*, 103.

^bThis form of relief is as old as the early First Dynasty. Such a scene had already been left here by King Semerkhet, of the early dynastic age (Weill, *Revue archéologique*, II [1903], 231); and an ivory tablet shows King Usephais, of the First Dynasty, smiting a Bedwi native in the same way (Macgregor Collection, Spiegelberg, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, XXXV, 8).

Horus: Lord of Truth.^a

Smiter of Barbarians.

A second, similar relief of Snefru in the Wadi Maghara is near the above.^b

BIOGRAPHY OF METHEN^c

170. This is the earliest biography which we possess, and it clearly betrays its primitive character. It is impossible to determine with certainty the succession of the parts distributed on the different walls, and the language is so bald, abbreviated, and obscure that some of the narrative remains unintelligible. Apart from the fact that it is our earliest document of the kind, and the only one from the Third Dynasty, the biography is especially valuable because it deals with the geography and government of the North, narrating Methen's activity in the Delta, of the administration of which at this early period we otherwise know almost nothing. The narrative tells of his gradual rise, from a beginning as scribe and overseer of a provision magazine, until he governs a considerable number of towns and districts in the Delta. He also obtained in Upper Egypt the rule of the eastern part of the Fayum and the Anubis nome (Seventeenth). He was liberally rewarded with gifts of lands, became master of the hunt, and tells us the size of his house, with some account of the grounds; all of which, from an age so remote, is of especial interest. He died in the reign of Snefru; all his affiliations were with the families preceding Snefru, and he was naturally buried beside the terraced pyramid of Zoser, of the earlier part of the Third Dynasty.

^aIn the palace façade, the so-called "banner."

^bWeill, *Sinai*, 104.

^cFrom his mastaba-chamber, found by Lepsius at Sakkara, and now in Berlin (Nos. 1105, 1106); published by Lepsius in *Denkmäler*, II, 3-7, 120, *a-e*; Schaefer, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus dem Königl. Museum zu Berlin*, I, 68, 73-87; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 1-7.

Death of Methen's Father

171. ¹There were presented to him the things of his father,^a the judge and scribe Anubisemonekh; there was no grain or anything of the house, (¹but¹) there were people^b and small cattle.

Methen's Career

172. ²He was made chief scribe of the provision magazine, and overseer of the things of the provision magazine. ³He was made [————] ⁴becoming local governor of Xoïs (Ox-nome), and inferior field-judge of Xoïs. ⁵He was appointed [————] ⁶judge, he was made overseer of all flax of the king, ⁶he was made ruler of Southern Perked (*Pr-ḳd*), and ⁷deputy¹, ⁷he was made local governor of the people of Dep, ⁸palace-ruler of Miper (*My¹-pr*) and Persepa (*Pr-sp²*), and local governor of the Saitic nome, ⁹ruler of the stronghold of Sent (*Snt*). ¹⁰deputy¹ of nomes, ¹⁰ruler of Pershesthet (*Pr-šstt*), ruler of the towns of the palace, of the Southern Lake.^d ¹¹Sheret-Methen (*Šrt-Mtn*) was founded, ¹²and the domain which^e his father Anubisemonekh presented to him.

Honors and Gifts

173. ¹Administrator¹, nomarch, and overseer of commissions in the Anubis nome,^f overseer of [——] of ²the Mendesian nome, [——] ⁴stat¹² of land, (with) people and everything ³. . . . ⁴There were founded for him the 12 towns of Shet-Methen (*Št-Mtn*) in the Saitic nome, in the Xoite nome, and the Sekhemite nome. . . . , ⁵There were conveyed to him as a reward 200 stat of lands by numerous royal [——]; ⁶a ¹mortuary¹ offering of 100 loaves every day from the mor-

^aSupply a *t*, which clearly has been lost or omitted.

^bSee the same expression, § 175, l. 18. These are the serfs attached to the land and conveyed with it.

^c*Nḥt-ḥrw*, lit. "strong-voiced," an administrative position having to do with lands.

^dThe Southern Lake occurs also next to Nomes XX and XXI (combined) of Upper Egypt in a Tehneh tomb, *Annales* III, 76.

^eOr "when his father A. gave (it) to him."

^fSeventeenth nome of Upper Egypt.

^gOn the doubtful character of the measure here, see Griffith, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XIV, 412.

tuary temple of the mother of the king's children, Nemathap (*N-m^c · t-h² p*); ⁷a house 200 cubits long and 200 cubits wide, built and equipped; fine trees were set out, a very large lake was made therein, figs and vines were set out. ⁸It was recorded therein according to the king's writings; their names were according to the decree (*sr*) of the king's writings. ⁹Very plentiful trees and vines were set out, a great quantity of wine was made therein. ¹⁰A vineyard^a was made for him: 2,000 stat of land within the wall; trees were set out, (*fin*)^b Imeres (*Yy-mrs*), Sheret-Methen (*Šr-Mtn*), Yat-Sebek (*Y² t-Sbk*), Shet-Methen (*Št-Mtn*).

Methen's Offices

174. ¹Ruler^c of Southern Perked (*Pr-ḫd*);

²Ruler^d of Perwersah (*Pr-wr-s² h*);

³Ruler and local governor of the stronghold, Hesen (*Hsn*); in the Harpoon nome;

⁴Palace-ruler and local governor in Sekhemu (*Šḫmw*) of Xoïs (Ox-nome).

⁵Palace-ruler and local governor in Dep (Buto);^e

⁶Palace-ruler and local governor in Miper (*My¹-pr*), of the Saïte nome;^f

⁷Palace-ruler and local governor in Two Hounds, of the Mendesian nome;

⁸Palace-ruler in Heswer (*Hs-wr*); ruler of fields in the west of the Saïtic nome;^g

⁹Palace-ruler of the Cow stronghold;^h local governor in the desert, and master of the hunt;

¹⁰Ruler of fields, ¹deputy¹ and local governor in the Sekhemite nome;ⁱ

¹¹Nomarch, ¹administrator¹, and deputy in the eastern Fayum;

¹²Field-judge, palace-ruler of the west of the Saïtic nome, leader of ¹—¹.

^aThe first vineyard seems to have been in the garden around his house; the second is a large vineyard by itself.

^bThe connection of these four towns is not evident.

^c*Hḫ*. ^dVar., "Palace-ruler."

^eVar., "Local governor of Dep, local governor of the people of Dep."

^fHe was also "Palace-ruler and local governor in Mesenzut (*Msdwt*), of the Saïtic nome."

^gVar., "Palace-ruler of fields, and local governor in the Saïtic nome."

^hVar., "Local governor of the Cow stronghold;" this was one of the oases.

ⁱSecond nome of Lower Egypt.

Gifts of Land

175. ¹³There were conveyed to him, as a reward, 200 stat of land by the numerous royal [—].

¹⁴There were conveyed to him 50 stat of land by (his) mother Neb-sent (*Nb-snt*); ¹⁵she made a will thereof to (her)^a children; ¹⁶it was placed in their possession by the king's writings (in) every place.

¹⁷Ruler of [—] of the Sekhemite nome. There were given to him 12 stat of land, with^b his children; ¹⁸there were people and small cattle.^c

^aNot "my children," see l. 7, where "*the people of Dep*" is written in the same way.

^bThat is: "and to his children likewise."

^cWith the land; see §171.

THE FOURTH DYNASTY

REIGN OF KHUFU

SINAI INSCRIPTIONS^a

I

176. The relief is like that of Snefru,^b except that the god Thoth is here added in the place of the Horus-name, and the king wears the double crown. Similarly also the inscriptions consist only of titles of the king. They are:

Khnum-Khufu,^c Great God, Smiter of the Troglodytes ———.
All protection and life are with him.

II^d

Consists only of titles of Khufu.

INVENTORY STELA^e

177. The references to the Sphinx, and the so-called temple beside it in the time of Khufu, have made this monument from the first an object of great interest.

^aCut into the rock-walls of the Wadi Maghara. Text and relief: Laborde, *Voyage de l'Arabie*, Pl. 5, No. 2; Laval, *Voyage dans la Péninsule Arabique*, Insc. hiér., I, No. 2; II, No. 1; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 2, b, c; *Ordnance Survey*, III, 5; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1493 (inscriptions only); Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 8; Weill, *Sinai*, 105.

^bSee §§ 168, 169.

^cThe full form of Khufu's name; it means: "*Khnum protects me.*" For the omission of the god's name cf. the similar usage in Hebrew, e. g., Nathan and Nathaniel. See Müller, *Recueil*, IX, 176.

^dImmediately on the right of 1, and published with it.

^eDiscovered by Mariette during his excavations of the Sphinx and vicinity (September, 1853, to 1858), in the little temple of Isis built by Pesebkhenno, east of the great pyramid; now in Cairo. Text: Mariette, *Album*, Pl. 27; *Monuments divers*, 53; Maspero, *Dawn of Civilisation*, 413; Rougé, *Recherches sur les monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux VI premières dynasties*, 46; Birch, *Egyptian Texts*, 5, 6; Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, 2d ed., V, 719-21. See also Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, 90, 100; Meyer, *Geschichte des alten Aegyptens*, 207, 208; and Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1231.

These references would be of the highest importance if the monument were contemporaneous with Khufu; but the orthographic evidences of its late date are entirely conclusive, and the reference to the temple of a goddess whose cult arose as late as that of Isis, as well as the title of Isis, viz., "*mistress of the pyramid*," prove conclusively that the present stela is not a copy of an older document.^a The fact that the priests of Pesebkhennu's time regarded the building beside the Sphinx, as the temple of "*Osiris of Rosta*" (*R²-st²*) is, however, of great interest, but does not determine for us the original character of that structure.^b

178. ^cHe made (it) for his mother, Isis, Divine Mother; Hathor, Mistress of 'Nun'.^d The investigation^e was placed on a stela. He gave to her an offering anew, and he built her temple of stone again. He found these gods in her place.^f

179. The inscription in the lowermost section of the sunken panel is also of importance in connection with § 180.

^aMaspero, *Dawn of Civilisation*, 364, n. 8.

^bIt is well to recall that in the Empire the true character of the Sphinx had been forgotten or misunderstood. The same might equally well have happened in the case of the building alongside it. [Later: It is now known that the building is a monumental portal, the entrance to the causeway leading up to the second pyramid.]

^cTop and left side; introduction same as top and right side (§ 180).

^dText has the three *nw* signs used in writing *Nun*.

^eOf her titles to the land? It is probably this remark which led Maspero to conclude that this stela is a copy of an older document. The word translated "*investigation*" (*sp' t* for *s' yp' t*) occurs also in Dümichen, *Bauurkunde des Dendera-tempels*, 16, in the same connection; cf. Brugsch, *Hieroglyphisch-demotisches Wörterbuch*, 1206, and a better example in Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1223, top line (time of Ramses II).

^fA reference to the statues of the gods enumerated in the sunken panel. The stela is really an inventory of such statues; see § 180.

The district of the Sphinx of Harmakhis (*Hr-m-γ hw t*) is on the south of the house of Isis, Mistress of the Pyramid; on the north of^a Osiris, Lord of Rosta (*R²-st²*). The writings¹ of the goddess^b of¹ Harmakhis, were brought, in order to investigate.^c

— may he grow; may he live forever and ever, ¹looking¹ toward the east.

180. The sunken panel occupying the greater part of the stela contains only reliefs^d representing the statues of gods, belonging to the temple, and texts giving their names, the materials of which they were made, and their dimensions. The following texts occupy the raised margin and the edge:

^eLive the Horus: Mezer (*Md[r]*), King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Khufu, who is given life. He found the house of Isis, Mistress of the Pyramid,^f beside the house of the Sphinx of ^g[Harmakhis] on the north-west of the house of Osiris,^h Lord of Rosta (*R²-st²w*). He built his pyramid beside the temple of this goddess, and he built a pyramid for the king's-daughterⁱ Henutsen (*Hnwt-sn*) beside this temple.^j

^aOne expects "house of."

^bIsis?

^cThe connection between this sentence and the preceding is probably that the limits of "*The district of the Sphinx*" were investigated as found recorded in "*the writings* (viz., the records) *of the goddess*." (It is possibly this statement also which leads Maspero to believe the document is a copy of an older one.) The same word (*syp*) is used in reference to the investigation of old titles, e. g., in Khnum-hotep's tomb, Benihasan (§ 625, l. 44.).

^dBut see § 179.

^eTop and right side.

^fThis is also her title in the sunken panel.

^gThe genitive *n* shows that "*Harmakhis*" as found in the same phrase in the sunken panel, has been omitted.

^hThat this would identify the so-called "temple of the Sphinx" as the temple of "*Osiris of Rosta*" was early noticed by Mariette (cf. *Le Sérapéum*, p. 99); but the fact seems to have been unnoticed, and does not find mention in any of the archæologies. The mere statement that the king "*found*" the Isis temple is unusual; one expects *mn* ws: "*in ruins*" as so very often, and this is confirmed by the statement of the left side: "*He built her temple again*."

ⁱAccording to Herodotus, the middle of the three small pyramids east of the Great Pyramid, belonged to Khufu's daughter (Herodotus, II, 126). Henutsen is mentioned in a contemporary tomb at Gizeh (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1231).

^jAccording to this statement, the little Isis-temple east of the Great Pyramid was standing on the Gizeh plateau before any of the pyramids were built! If Maspero accepts this statement, he should add this Isis-temple to the buildings which he believes were the predecessors of the pyramids on the Gizeh plateau (Maspero, *Dawn of Civilisation*, 365, n. 2).

EXAMPLES OF DEDICATION INSCRIPTIONS BY SONS

181. Many of the larger mastabas of the Old Kingdom contain long inscriptions by the sons of the deceased nobles relating their pious solicitude for the tombs of their departed fathers. In some cases the tomb was even built by the son after the father's death. All these longer inscriptions will be found herein; the following are only the more important shorter ones. They are all from the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties.

182. ^aBy his eldest son, the chief mortuary priest and scribe, Ptah: "I came that I might do this for him, when he was buried in the beautiful west, according to that which he spake about it, while he was [alive] upon his two feet."

183. ^bOne whose son shall do this for him, when he is in the west,^c Ikhi (*Yty*), he saith: "I did this for my father, when he journeyed to the west upon the beautiful ways, whereon the revered (dead) journey."

184. ^dBy his son, the overseer of the pyramid, "Great-is-Khafre," the king's-confidant, Thethi (*Tty*), who made (this) for his father and his mother, when they were both buried in the western highland.

185. ^eRevered by the great god, king's-confidante, Henutsen. It was her eldest son, the field-judge, who made (it) for her, to make mortuary offerings to her therein.

^aFrom the tomb of Thenti (*Tnty*) at Gizeh; published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 34, d; Mariette, *Mastabas*, 538; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 8 (from drawing No. 282, Berlin Museum).

^bFrom a false door seen in the hands of a dealer; published by Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 9, from Berlin squeeze, No. 1675.

^cA reminder to the son of the pious son, by recalling what the latter did for his father.

^dMastaba at Gizeh; now in British Museum, No. 80; published by Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, 8D; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 15 (collated with Berlin squeeze, No. 661).

^eCairo, No. 1691; published by Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 5; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 34 (copy by Erman).

186. ^aBy the Pharaoh's^b treasurer of the god, Zezemonekh, who made this^c for his wife Nubhotep. He buried her in this beautiful tomb.

^aThe Pharaoh's^b treasurer of the god Zezemonekh. I made this^c for my eldest son, the treasurer of the god, Theshen (*Ts-hn*), while he was a child.

187. ^dSole companion of love, leader of the palace-hall, overseer of the baths of the palace, overseer of the bounty of the king's field of offerings, revered by his lord every day, governor of the Cow stronghold, Kam. (This tomb is) what his eldest son, his revered, the judge and inferior scribe Hotep, made for him, that he (the son) might be revered by him (the father) when he (the son) journeyed to his (own) ka (viz., died).

^aFrom the tomb of Zezemonekh, priest of Kings Userkaf and Sahure; Cairo, Nos. 1415, 1417; published by Mariette, *Mastabas*, 201 (K 1417), 200 (K 1415); Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 33 (collated by Erman).

^bOr simply "*palace-treasurer, etc.*"

^cA false door.

^dMariette, *Mastabas*, 160; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 33 f.

REIGN OF KHAFRE

STELA OF MERTITYÔTES^a

188. This document is especially useful as indicating the place of Snefru with relation to the first kings of the Fourth Dynasty, and was long ago so employed by E. de Rougé.

189. ^bKings-wife, his beloved, devoted to Horus,^c Mertityôtes (*Mrti-yt' s*).

^dKing's-wife, his beloved, Mertityôtes; beloved of the Favorite of the Two Goddesses; ^eshe who says anything whatsoever and it is done for her.^e

Great in the ^ffavor of Snefr[u] (*Snfr-*) — — —; great in the favor of Khuf[u] (*H/[w]*), devoted to Horus,^c honored under Khafre (*H^c j-R^c*), Mert[ityô]t[es].

WILL OF PRINCE NEKURE, SON OF KING KHAFRE^g

190. A new date of Khafre is the contribution furnished by Sethe's collation of this inscription. The twelfth "numbering" as the numberings took place at this time twice a year, indicates the twenty-fourth year of Khafre. This surprisingly confirms the Turin Papyrus, which gives twenty-

^aLimestone false door of the usual type noted in the *Appendice* (p. 565) of Mariette's *Mastabas*, but without text. According to the headline of the page, the tomb stands on the "Plaine de Gizeh;" the false door has never been removed. The text is published by Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, I, 62; Rougé, *Recherches sur les monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux VI premières dynasties*, 36 f.

^bAt the top.

^cThe king.

^dRight side.

^eAn obscure title of the queens of Egypt, extending from the Old Kingdom down into the Empire. Sethe, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 36, 143 f.; cf. also Naville, *ibid.*, 142.

^fLeft side.

^gIn his tomb at Gizeh; published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 15, *a*; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 16, 17 (collated with Berlin drawing, No. 253, and Berlin squeezes, Nos. 35 and 38).

four years as the length of Khafre's reign. The king's son, Nekure, was then old enough to feel the necessity of making a will. It is the only document of the kind from the Old Kingdom, which has survived in such excellent preservation.

191. The fortune which Prince Nekure bequeathed to his heirs consisted of fourteen towns, and two estates in the pyramid-city of his father. The latter doubtless consisted of his "town-house" and gardens. These he had left to a daughter, but she had evidently died, and on the reversion of the legacy to himself he left it to his wife. The fourteen towns he distributed among five heirs, of whom one was his wife, and three were his children, while the name of one is lost. Eleven of the fourteen towns are named after Khafre, and there is no reason to doubt that the other three were also so named, but they are now unreadable. Besides these fourteen towns, Prince Nekure had at least twelve^a towns in the mortuary endowment of his tomb, of which nine were named after Khafre. It is impossible to determine whether these had belonged to the prince's estate, or whether they were given by the reigning king at the prince's death.

Date

192. ¹Year of the twelfth [occurrence] of the numbering of large and sm[all] cattle.

Introduction

193. ²King's son, Nekure (*R^c-n-k^w*) — — he makes the (following) [¹command],^b (while) living upon his two feet without ailing in any respect.^c

^aSee Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 15, b. There could not have been more than fourteen towns, as no more than two are broken out.

^bThe determinative of a document is visible at the end of the lacuna; "*command, edict*" (*wḏ·t-md·t*) is usual after "*make*" or "*made*" in this connection.

^c"*Being of sound mind.*" This line (2) is engraved horizontally over the following columns, and is evidently the prescript or title of the will. There are eight of the subjoined columns, each column being headed by the name of an heir, below which is entered the legacy bequeathed him. Each legacy is a town or towns; the district or nome is given first and then the town-name, or names, each of which is compounded with that of Khafre, the king.

First Legacy

194. ³I have given to the king's-confidant, Nekennebti (*N-k³-n-nbty*), (in) —,^a (the towns^b of) "Khafre- —," and "Khafre- —."

Second Legacy

195. ^{4c}His son, the king's-confidant, Nekure (in) the eastern back-land, (the towns of) ["Khafre-¹ —," "Khafre¹ —" and "Khafre¹ —"].^d

Third Legacy

196. ⁵His daughter, the king's-confidant, Hetephires, (in) the eastern district, (the town of) "Khafre- —;" (in) the eastern back-land, (the town of) "Khafre- —."

Fourth Legacy

197. ⁶[His son] the king's-confidant, Kenebtwier (*K³-n-nbty-wr*) (in) —, (the town of) "Great-is-[the-Fame]-of-Khafre;" (in) the Mendesian nome, (the towns of) "Khafre- —," and "Khafre- —."

Fifth Legacy

198. ⁷— — — — —, (in) the Mendesian nome, (the towns of) "Khafre- —" and "Khafre- —."

Sixth Legacy

199. ⁸His beloved wife, the king's-confidante, Nekennebti (*N-k³-n-nbty*), (in) the nome of the Cerastes-Mountain, (the town of) "Beautiful-is-Khafre;" (in) the nome of Upper (the town of) "Brilliant¹-is-Khafre" (*H^cf-R^c-[h^c]*); (in the pyramid-town) "Great-is-Khafre," the estate of his daughter, — and —.^f

^aA nome-name is lost.

^bTwo towns at least.

^cThe formula "*I have given*" is omitted after its occurrence once for all in l. 3; hence "*his son*" instead of "*my son*."

^dThree towns, from the size of the lacuna.

^eTwentieth nome of Upper Egypt.

^fTwo small subcolumns, each containing a designation of some piece of property, but they are no longer legible; it is doubtless the estate, or part of the estate, of a deceased daughter, which, after its reversion to him, he now leaves to his wife. Hence her occurrence twice in the will.

THE TESTAMENTARY ENACTMENT OF AN UNKNOWN
OFFICIAL, ESTABLISHING THE ENDOWMENT OF
HIS TOMB BY THE PYRAMID OF KHAFRE^a

200. As a revelation of the legal organization of this remote age, this document, like the similar instrument of Senuonekh^b (§§ 231 ff.), is of great interest. Economically it is of importance to note that the king gives whole towns as mortuary endowment, to keep the tomb of the deceased constantly supplied with offerings.

Introduction

201. 1. ———^c while he was alive upon his two feet, even the sole companion, lord of Nekhen, member of the king's court every day . . . local governor of "Praise-of-Horus-First-of-Heaven,"^d 2. ——— these mortuary priests forever^e ———^f.

Endowment is Entailed

202. 3. — — — This is the [dec]ree which I made concerning it: I have not empowered — — any of [my brothers], ⁴my sisters, or my daughter's children, inferior mortuary priests, or assistant mortuary priests, [to take lands], ⁵people, or anything which I have conveyed to them, for making mortuary offerings to me therewith, whether their man-servant [or their maid-servant], ⁶their brothers or their sisters, save to make mortuary offerings [to me therewith, in the cemetery in] ⁷my eternal tomb which is at the pyramid, "Great-is-Khafre;" according to the portion of lands, people, and [everything, which I have conveyed to them, for making mortuary offerings to me] ⁸therewith.

^aStela in Cairo (No. 1432); published by Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1210 ff.; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 11-15 (collated with Berlin squeeze, No. 1597).

^bWhence the restorations below are drawn.

^cThe lost introduction will be found in the preceding will (§ 193).

^dName of a vineyard estate founded by Zoser of the Third Dynasty; see Sethe, in Garstang's *Bet-Khallâf*, 21. I have omitted before this title a repetition of titles already mentioned.

^eProbably so rather than "endowment;" for "these mortuary priests of the endowment" is expressed by *hn-k> dt (y)pn* (Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 36, l. 1).

^fProbably a lacuna of more than one line.

Line of Entailment

203. I have not empowered any mortuary priest of the endowment, to give the lands, people or [anything which I have conveyed to them, for making mortuary offerings to me] ⁹therewith, in payment to any person; or to give as property to any person, except that [they] shall give [it to their children], ¹⁰entitled to the division of it with any mortuary priest among these mortuary priests.^a

Violation of Endowment

204. Whatsoever mortuary priest of the endowment shall violate, — — — — ¹¹of my mortuary offerings, which the king gave to honor me, the portion in his possession shall be taken from him — — — — ¹².^b

Endowment not Involved in Suits of Priests

205. ¹³Whatsoever mortuary priest of the endowment shall institute legal proceedings against his fellow, and he shall make a writ of his [claim] against the mortuary priest, by which [The] (the defendant?) [forfeits] the portion] ¹⁴in his possession; the lands, people and everything shall be taken from him,^c which I gave to him for making mortuary offerings to me therewith — — — — ¹⁵therewith. It shall be conveyed back to him because of not instituting proceedings before the officials, [concerning the lands, people and everything, which I conveyed] ¹⁶to the mortuary priests of the endowment, for making mortuary offerings to me therewith, in my eternal tomb, which is in the cemetery at [the pyramid: "Great-is-Khafre"].

Transfer of Priests to Other Service

206. ¹⁷Whatsoever mortuary priest of the endowment shall go forth to other service, in the presence of the officials, — — — — ¹⁸the

^aNot all their children were entitled to a share in the division, but only those who became mortuary priests; hence the document distinguishes particularly those "entitled to (lit. belonging to) the division of it (the property) with any given (ymn) mortuary priest of these mortuary priests" (viz., those endowed by this document). The paragraph occurs again in the enactment of Senuonekh (§ 233).

^bSethe suggests for the lacuna; "for or by the (priestly) order, to which he belongs," as in l. 17.

^cOf course, read *nḥm m c f* as in l. 11. See the similar clause in the decree of Senuonekh, § 235.

officials, he shall go forth to other service and the portion in his possession shall revert to the (priestly) order to which he belonged. — — — — —
¹⁸of lands, people and everything, which I conveyed [to] them, for making mortuary offerings to me therewith, in my tomb which is in [the cemetery at the pyramid: "Great-is-Khafre"]; ¹⁹he shall go forth with his meat.

Land Given by King

207. As for this field, which the king gave to me, to honor me — — — — — ²⁰for making mortuary offerings to me therewith in the cemetery.

Alienation of Endowment

208. As for whatsoever shall be paid out, of that which I gave to them, [I will enter into judgment with them in the place] ²¹wherein judgment is had. The portion which remains afterward, shall belong, by tenths, to these (priestly) orders to [whom] I have conveyed this — — — — — [the portion] ²²which remains, for making mortuary offerings to me therewith, in the cemetery in my eternal tomb, which is at [the pyramid: "Great]-is-Khafre."

Towns of the Endowment

209. [As for the towns] ²³of the (mortuary) endowment, which the king gave to me, to honor me, which are maintained for my mortuary offerings, according to the list — — — — — ²⁴forever, wherewith mortuary offerings are made to me, in my eternal tomb which is in the cemetery at the pyramid: "Great-is-Khafre," — [lands, people,] ²⁵and everything which I conveyed to them.

As for the towns of the (mortuary) endowment of the purification, wherewith purification is made ————. ^a

^aAt least three lines are lost at the end.

REIGN OF MENKURE

DEBHEN'S INSCRIPTION, RECOUNTING KING MENKURE'S ERECTION OF A TOMB FOR HIM^a

210. The unfinished condition of this interesting inscription renders it extremely fragmentary. But mutilated as it is, it tells us plainly enough of the king's visit to the Gizeh cemetery to inspect the work on his family pyramids, and of his detailing fifty men to build a tomb for Debhen. Later the king orders his own people, who are bringing limestone for a temple, to bring also the necessary false doors, etc., for Debhen's tomb from the quarry at Troja.

The Royal Command

211. ^{1b}———. ²He saith:

As for this tomb, it was the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkure, [living forever], who caused that it be [made], when [his majesty] was [upon] the road beside the pyramid, Hir^c (*Hr*), ³in order to inspect the work [on] the pyramid: "Divine-is-Menkure."

— — — [there came] the [naval] commander and the two high priests of Memphis, and the [work]men,^d ⁴standing upon it,^e to inspect

^aFrom his tomb (No. 90 on Lepsius' plan) at Gizeh; published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 37, b; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 18-21 (collated with Berlin drawing, No. 284). The inscription was left unfinished by the sculptor. The artist had drawn all the hieroglyphs in ink, but they were only partially cut, and the uncut portions of the lines disappeared.

^bThis line contained his titles, as the sole remaining sign shows.

^cName of pyramid usually supposed to be that of Menkure. It is, however, evidently one of the smaller three beside his own pyramid, the name of which here follows. "*Hir*" will have belonged to one of his family. That the two pyramids were close together is evident from the text. The king stands on the road by the Hir-pyramid to inspect the other. This disposes of the idea that the former was in Abu Roash (Petrie, *History of Egypt*, I, 56).

^dOnly the plural determinative of "*men*" is visible.

^eThe pyramid.

the work 'on¹ [the pyramid, "Divine-is-Menkure"]. — 50 men were assigned to do the work on it^a every day, besides 'exacting¹ of them, ⁵that which the '—¹ desired. His majesty commanded that [no man should be taken^b] for any forced labor, except to do the work on it,^a to his satisfaction.

Building of the Tomb

212. ⁶His majesty commanded to 'clear¹ the place of 'rubbish¹ — — — this tomb. His majesty commanded to 'hack¹ — — — — — ⁷in order to 'clear¹ the 'rubbish¹ — — — — —. [His majesty commanded] that the two treasurers of the god should come; [said his majesty to them] — — ⁸ — — — — — given to them — — — ⁹ — — — men, whom his majesty judged, that he should go around the work 'exacted¹ ¹⁰ — — — in his — that there be brought stone from Troja (*R²-w*) to clothe^c with limestone the temple there,^d ¹¹together with two false doors, and a front for this tomb, by the naval commander and the two high priests of Ptah, together with the king's master-builder, who came ¹² — — — [that there] be [brought] for me a statue 'much greater than¹ life ¹³ — — — every — every day. It is today '—¹ upon its highland, together with the pure house. ¹⁴ — — — together with two statues of the assistant, of which one was — — — — — [the other was] — — — — — ¹⁵ — — — feast of Apis in the temple ¹⁶ — — — [He did] this, in [order] that I might be his revered one by his lord ¹⁷ — — — for my [father] and my mother, for whom I have maintained ¹⁸ — — — green cosmetic, eye-paint — '—¹ — — ¹⁹outside of the place. Then ['I be']sought ['from my lord'] '—¹ — — in the Northland, of the cattle in this place '—¹. There was issued ²⁰a command of the king to the chief of [all works of the king to take¹] people to make it, a tomb of — cubits in its length, ²¹by 50 'cubits¹ in 'its width,¹ by — cubits [in its height¹] — — according to 'that which¹ this my father did, while he was living. Then the king caused ²² — — — .^e

^aDebhen's tomb.

^bRead *yn't*.

^cVerb *c yn*, meaning "to build or clothe with limestone of Ayan (*c yn*)."

^dThe expedition to the quarry which brought stone for the temple, brought also the false doors, etc., for Debhen's tomb. The temple meant is probably the pyramid-temple of Menkure.

^eThe remainder of the inscription was never executed.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY

REIGN OF USERKAF

TESTAMENTARY ENACTMENT OF NEKONEKH^a

213. Besides being the most elaborate document of the kind preserved to us, there are important historical facts contained in these inscriptions. They chiefly concern the disposal of two parcels of land of sixty stat each, given by King Menkure: the one as endowment of the temple of the local Hathor of Royenet (Tehneh); the other as a wakf or endowment of the tomb of Khenuka, a nobleman of Menkure's time. Both endowments were administered by one priesthood, who served at the same time as priests of Hathor and as mortuary priests of Khenuka. At the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty, its first king had honored one of his favorites, a steward of the palace named Nekonekh, by conveying to his single person the offices of priest of Hathor at Tehneh and of mortuary priest of Khenuka. In so doing—though, of course, nothing is said about it in these inscriptions—Userkaf, as the first king of the Fifth Dynasty was plainly dispossessing some supporter of the old dynasty, and strengthening his own house by winning the allegiance of another noble family. *A. C. L.*

214. Nekonekh, having the right to bequeath the two land-endowments to whom he will, now makes a will, stating the origin of both endowments in Menkure's time, and his own title to them by appointment from Userkaf, and decreeing that they shall now be distributed among his

^aFrom his tomb in Tehneh, excavated and copied by G. Fraser in 1890; published by him in 1902 in *Annales*, III, 122-30, and Pls. II-V (see also Maspero, *ibid.*, 131-38); again from Fraser, with useful restorations and corrections by Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 24-32.

children, acting corporately as his successor in both offices. Each child is annually to serve one month as priest of Hathor, and another month as mortuary priest of Khenuka. For this purpose twelve children were required, and, as Nekonekh had thirteen, he gave to eleven a month each, and divided the remaining month between two. The income from the land was also divided, each of the eleven children receiving the income from five stat for the Hathor temple, and five stat for Khenuka, while the remaining two each received half of this. The twelve months of the year were thus all provided for, the sixty stat belonging to each endowment were completely disposed of, and the thirteen children all made legatees. It is of importance to notice that the mortuary endowment, established in the latter half of the Fourth Dynasty, is still respected and continued in the Fifth Dynasty.

215. Nekonekh's will disposing of his own estate is also among the inscriptions in the tomb (§§ 223-25), though very fragmentary. Another document establishes and adjusts his own mortuary priesthood (§§ 226, 227), and in conclusion he and his wife, probably after decease, receive mortuary statues from two of their children (§§ 228-30).

I. THE PRIESTHOOD OF HATHOR

Introduction

216. ¹Steward^a of the Palace, governor of the New Towns, superior prophet of Hathor, mistress of Royenet, king's-confidant, Nekonekh (*N-k³-^cnḥ*); ²his wife [Hezethekenu (*Hḏt-ḥknw*)], revered by [Hathor].

³He makes a decree to his children, to be priests of Hathor, mistress of Royenet.

^aThe lines are too short at the beginning to number them all.

List of the Priests of Hathor

217. ⁹These are the prophets whom I have made, of my children, of the endowment,^a to be priests of Hathor. Now, it was King Menkure who conveyed two pieces^b of land, to these prophets to be priest therewith.

¹⁰King's-confidant, steward of the Palace, Nekonekh; his wife, the king's-confidante, Hezethekenu; her children.

^aRead *dt*; the *n* is misread from the hieratic, as commonly in this word; e. g., Sebni, l. 4 (Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 136). Maspero's correction, *wdtny*, producing a feminine relative form, is ungrammatical, for it follows a masculine noun. The endowment meant is probably that of Khenuka, which the same children administered.

^bThis was probably not a unit of measure, for the document afterward assigns 120 stat, 60 for the Hathor temple, and 60 for the mortuary service of Khenuka; and these 120 stat are obviously the itemization of the two pieces of land above mentioned (the 5 stat of l. 21 are not to be counted).

218.

		Five intercalary days		Land
		1st month	First Season ^a	
¹¹ King's-confidante, Hezethekenu, re- vered (woman) ^b		1st month		5 stat
¹² Scribe of the King's records, Hen- hathor (man)		2d month		5 stat
¹³ Shepseshathor, 'priest' (man)		3d month		5 stat
¹⁴ Nessuhathoryakhet (man)		4th month	5 stat	
¹⁵ Shepseshathor, 'priest' (man)		1st month	Second Season	5 stat
¹⁶ Webkuhathor ([<i>W^c b-k² w-</i>] <i>Hthr</i>) (man)		2d month		5 stat
¹⁷ Kisuthathor (<i>K²-y^swt-Hthr</i>) (man)		3d month		5 stat
¹⁸ Khebuathor (<i>H^c-b² w-Hthr</i>) (man)		4th month		5 stat
¹⁹ Khentisuthathor (<i>Hnt-y^swt-Hthr</i>) (dis- appeared)		—	Third Season	5 stat
²⁰ Royenet (<i>R²-yn¹ t</i>) (disappeared)		—		5 stat
²¹ Left vacant (disappeared)		—		5 stat ^c <i>sic!</i>
²² — meat, his tenth of all that is paid [into] the temple, beside the rations of bread and beer. Prophet, Henhathor (man with liba- tion vase)		3d month		5 stat
²³ Mortuary Priest	Mer — (man)	4th month		5 stat
²⁴ Mortuary Priest	'Keksire (<i>K² k-s² Re</i>) (man)			

^aWritten *h¹t* and determining the reading of this season. [Later: See Sethe, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 41, 89.]

^bIn the original, the names are arranged in perpendicular columns, and a figure of the person named is depicted below each name. I have added the sex of the person in each case. The first column is therefore the priests, the second (double) column is the time of service for each priest, and the third is the amount of land from which each draws the necessary income.

^cThis is an error of the scribe as the other table shows, for in it the entire line, date and all are vacant.

The Decree

219. ²⁵It was the majesty of Userkaf who commanded that I should be priest^a of Hathor, mistress of Royenet; whatsoever was paid^b into the temple, it was I who was priest over everything that came into the temple. ²⁶Now, it is these my children who shall act as priests of Hathor, mistress of Royenet, as I myself did, while I journey to the beautiful west, as one revered, — — in charge of these my children.

II. THE MORTUARY PRIESTHOOD OF KHENUKA

List of Priests of Khenuka

220. ²⁷Now, it is these people^c who make the mortuary offerings to the king's-confidant, Khenuka (*Hnw-k*³), his father, his mother his children, and all his 'house'.

^aThe text is perfectly clear and correct; emendation is entirely unnecessary.

^bRead *wḏb* (as Sethe has done) after the inscription of Persen (*Urkunden*, I, 37).

^cThe priests of Hathor just mentioned.

221.

^a Five intercalary days		
²⁸ 1st month	First Season	
²⁹ 2d month		Prophet, Henhathor
³⁰ 3d month		Royenet (<i>R</i> ³ -[<i>yn' t</i>])
³¹ 4th month		Khentisuthathor
³² 1st month	Second Season	Khebuhathor
³³ 2d month		Kisuthathor
³⁴ 3d month		Webkuhathor
³⁵ 4th month		Shepseshathor, 'priest'
³⁶ 1st month	Third Season	Nessuhathoryakhet
³⁷ 2d month		Shepseshathor, 'priest'
³⁸ Vacant		Left vacant
³⁹ 3d month		Scribe of the king's records, Henhathor
⁴⁰ 4th month		King's-confidante, Hezethekenu

^aThis table corresponds exactly with the preceding, and as it contains no column for the land, it is probable that the land column of the first table was intended to serve for both instead of repeating it. Thus both parcels of land mentioned in l. 9 were used: one for Hathor, and one for Khenuka.

The Decree

222. ⁴Now, it is these my children who make the mortuary offerings to the king's-confidant, Khenuka, his father, his mother, and all his 'house', at the feast of Wag, the feast of Thoth, and every feast-day.

III. NEKONEKH'S WILL

223. The document is largely lost; the fragments beside the statues are possibly not parts of it, but are relevant, as showing Nekonekh's own enactments regarding these persons.

Introduction

224. The steward of the Palace, king's-confidant, Nekonekh, revered; the king's-confidante, Hezethekenu; — said — — — [to] his children, while he was upon his two feet, alive before the king ———.

By Two Statues of Henhathor

225. — the scribe of the king's records, Henhathor (*Hn-Hthr*) is my heir upon my seat, and lord of all my possessions.

— her^a eldest son, honored of his father, scribe of the king's records, Henhathor.

— property; they shall deliver to this my heir, as they did ['to'] myself.

— 'given' to her 'for' the ration of bread and beer as property, 'while' upon my seat, — — as property. May they deliver the [ration of] bread and beer to this my heir, as they did ['to'] myself.

IV. NEKONEKH'S MORTUARY PRIESTHOOD

Scene

226. The deceased Nekonekh sits before a table of food-offerings, while his eight mortuary priests approach from behind in pairs, each pair being designated as under the authority of one of Nekonekh's sons.^b

^aThis figure is doubtless beside the mother, the other beside the father. Fraser's description is not explicit in this particular.

^bOnly one pair is perfectly preserved, and one is entirely lost, but the remains indicate that all four pairs were alike.

The Decree

227. [These mortuary priests^a] are under the authority of these my children. I have not empowered [any] person^b to take them for any forced labor, save to make mortuary offerings which are divided in this house — — — these mortuary priests. As for these my children, who shall do any work with these mortuary priests, and as for any man who shall violate (this will), I will enter into judgment with him.

V. NEKONEKH'S MORTUARY STATUE

228. A man and woman, the latter the daughter of Nekonekh, had three statues made, representing Nekonekh and themselves. The inscriptions are these:

Dedication

229. His daughter and his son, who made this for him, according to his honor with him.

Over the Three Figures

230. The revered by Hathor, king's-confidante, Ikhnoubet (*Y^o h-nb t*);

Inferior scribe of the king's records, king's-confidant, Nonekhsesi (*N-^c nh-ssy*).

Nekonekh, revered by the great god.

TESTAMENTARY ENACTMENT OF SENUONEKH, REGULATING HIS MORTUARY PRIESTHOOD^c

231. Senuonekh was a priest of Userkaf and Sahure. This decree from his tomb closely resembles and, in some parts, is identical with the decree of Khafre's unknown official (§§ 200–209), but it is better preserved, and also clearer in the wording.

^aSethe's very probable restoration.

^bThe connection renders Sethe's restoration certain.

^cFrom his tomb; published by Mariette, *Mastabas*, 318; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 36 f.

Installation of Priests and Descendants

232. ¹These mortuary priests of the endowment, and their children and further the children of their children whom they shall bear forever, are ————

Entailment of Endowment

233. ²I have not empowered them [to give] (it)^a in payment as property to any person; but they shall give (it) to their children, entitled to the division of [it with any mortuary priest of these mortuary priests].^b

Transfer of a Priest

234. ³As for any mortuary priest among them who shall 'default', or who shall be taken for other service, everything which I have given to him shall revert to the mortuary priests who are in his (priestly) order. I have not em[powered] — — — —

Endowment not Involved in Suits

235. ⁴As^c for any mortuary priest among them who shall institute legal proceedings against his fellow, everything which I have given to him shall be taken away, and shall then be given to the mortuary priest against whom he instituted legal proceedings. I have not empowered ————.

^aThe mortuary endowment.

^bWith this compare the similar precautionary clause of the unknown official of Khafre (§ 203, ll. 8, 9), and see also explanatory note, *ibid.*

^cSee similar clause in decree of an unknown official under Khafre (§ 205).

REIGN OF SAHURE

SINAI INSCRIPTIONS^a

Relief

236. King in the crown of Upper Egypt, smites kneeling Bedwi as in §§ 168, 169.^b

The texts, as in §§ 168, 169, and 176, contain only names and titles of the king:

Horus: Lord of Diadems; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Sahure (*S³ ḥw-R*); who is given life forever.

Smiter of all countries.

The Great God smites the Asiatics (*mnṯw*) of all countries.

TOMB STELA OF NENEKHSEKHMET^c

237. The stela is a well-executed false door of Turra limestone, contrasting strikingly with the poor material and mediocre workmanship of the modest tomb to which it belonged. The cause of this contrast is indicated in the inscription, viz., that the stela was a gift from the king.

The Request

238. The chief physician, Nenekhsekhmet (*Shmt-n-ḥ*) spoke before his majesty: "May thy person, beloved of Re, command that there be given to me a false door of stone for this my tomb of the cemetery."

^aCut into the rocks of the Wadi Maghara in the Peninsula of Sinai. Text and relief: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 39, a; Laval, *Voyage dans la Péninsule Arabique*, insc. hiér., Pl. 2, No. 2; Laborde, *Voyage de l'Arabie*, 5, No. 3; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1494 (inscriptions only); Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 32; Weill, *Sinai*, 106.

^bTwo gods stand behind the king.

^cFrom a mastaba at Sakkara, excavated by Mariette; text: Mariette, *Monuments divers*, 12, 203, 204; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 38-40. Erman's manuscript copy collated with original; Maspero, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XI, 309. Translated by Maspero (*ibid.*), with discussion of architectural terms; treated by Erman, *Aegypten*, 431.

King's Compliance

239. His majesty caused that there be brought for him two false doors^a from Troja (*R³-w*) of stone, that they be laid in the audience-hall^b of the house (called): "Sahure-Shines-with-Crowns," and that the two high priests of Memphis and the artisans of the [—] be assigned to them, that the work on them might be done in the presence of the king himself. The stone-work^c went on every day; there was an inspection of that which was done on them in the court daily. His majesty had [color] put on them, and had them painted in blue.

Presentation of the Gift

240. His majesty^d said to the chief physician Nenekhsekhmet: "As these my nostrils enjoy health, as the gods love me, mayest thou depart into the cemetery at an advanced old age as one revered." I praised the king greatly and lauded every god for Sahure's sake, for he knows the desire of the entire suite. When anything goes forth from the mouth of his majesty, it immediately comes to pass. For the god has given to him knowledge of things that are in the body,^e because he is more august than any god. If ye love Re, ye shall praise every god for Sahure's sake, who did this for me. I was his revered one; never did I do anything evil toward any person.

TOMB INSCRIPTION OF PERSEN^f

241. This inscription is over a scene showing people in the act of bringing mortuary offerings of food for Persen's tomb. According to the inscription, these offerings are

^aErman suggests that a double false door is meant. The same reference to a double false door is found in the tomb of Debhen (*Dbhn*). This is the same word (*rwty*) used later for a temple façade, which would explain the dual.

^b*D³dw*, see § 501, l. 2.

^cRead *št*, which I have rendered "*quarry-service*" in the Empire (II, 935, l. 6). In the Old Kingdom it retains its literal meaning, "*stone-cutting*." There was an "*overseer of stone-cutting*," or quarry service, in the Old Kingdom (§ 343).

^dThe following is the presentation of the false doors by the king.

^eOf anyone else, "*body*" or "*belly*" being the seat of the mind, as we use "heart."

^fLimestone slab in Berlin (15004); published by Mariette, *Mastabas*, 300; Schaefer, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus dem Königlichen Museum zu Berlin*, I, 22.

drawn from the income of the queen mother, Neferhotepes, coming to her from the temple of Ptah.

The bringing of the mortuary offerings to Pharaoh's overseer, Persen, being the payment of heth(*ht*)-loaves, pesen(*psn*)-loaves, and sefet(*sft*)-oil, which comes from the temple of Ptah-South-of-His-Wall, for the king's-mother, Neferhotepes, every day, as a perpetual offering, which he gave for making mortuary offerings there-with in the time of Sahure.

REIGN OF NEFERIRKERE

TOMB INSCRIPTIONS OF THE VIZIER, CHIEF JUDGE, AND CHIEF ARCHITECT WESHPTAH^a

242. It is much to be regretted that this unusually interesting inscription has suffered so sadly at the hands of time. Weshptah was the greatest man at the court of Neferirkere, being vizier, chief judge, and chief architect. His son Mernuterseteni was called upon to build his father's tomb, and thus narrates how this happened. The king, his family and the court were one day inspecting a new building in course of construction under Weshptah's superintendence as chief architect. All admire the work, and the king turns to praise his faithful minister, when he notices that Weshptah does not hear the words of royal favor. The king's exclamation alarms the courtiers, the stricken minister is quickly carried to the court, and the priests and chief physicians are hurriedly summoned. The king has a case of medical rolls brought; but all is in vain; the physicians declare his condition hopeless. The king is smitten with sorrow, and retires to his chamber, where he prays to Re. He then makes all arrangements for Weshptah's burial, ordering an ebony coffin made and having the body anointed in his own presence. Weshptah's eldest son, Mernuterseteni, was then empowered to build the tomb, the king furnishing and endowing it. The son therefore erected it by the pyramid of Sahure, and, as we have said, recorded the whole story on its walls.

^aFrom his tomb at Abusir; blocks in Cairo (Nos. 1569, 1570, 1673, 1702); published by Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 40-45 (from a copy by Erman).

Erection of the Tomb by His Son

243. ¹[It was] his eldest [son], first under the king, ¹advocate of the people¹, Mernuterseteni (*Štny-mr-ntr*), who made (it)^a for him, while he was in his tomb of the cemetery.

King Visits a New Building

244. ²———— Neferirkere (*Nfr-yr-k²-R^c*) came to see the beauty of^b ———— when he came forth upon them ⁴————. His majesty [caused] that it be ¹—¹ ⁵———— the royal children [s]aw ⁶———— and they ¹wondered¹ very greatly beyond ⁷[everything]. Then, lo, his majesty praised him because of it.^c

Weshptah's Sudden Illness

245. His majesty saw him, however, that [he] heard not. ⁸———— ¹—¹.^d When the royal children and companions, who were of the court, heard, great fear^e was in their hearts.

He is Conveyed to Court, and Dies

246. ¹— — — — [He was conveyed to¹] the court, and his majesty had the royal children, companions, ritual priests, and chief physicians come ²————. His majesty [had] brought for him a case of writings^f — ³————. They said before his majesty that he was lost^g ⁴————. [The heart of his majesty¹ was] exceedingly [sad¹] beyond everything; his majesty said that he would do everything according to his heart's desire, and returned to the privy chamber.

King Furnishes Him Sepulture

247. ⁵———— he prayed to Re ⁶———— [put¹] into writing on his tomb ⁷————. [His majesty commanded that there be

^aThis inscription.

^bEvidently some new building in course of erection by Weshptah should here follow, as Sethe has surmised.

^cThe fine tomb.

^dA speech of the king is lost in the lacuna, as is shown by a pronoun of the second person singular still discernible.

^eLit. "fear beyond everything."

^fThis is, of course, a medical papyrus, like the great Papyrus Ebers. This confirms the claim of this papyrus that some of its recipes were made and used already in the Old Kingdom.

^gMortally sick.

made for him a¹ coffin of] ebony wood, sealed. Never [was it done to one like him before¹] ——— laid therein. ⁹ ——— these — of the northern ¹⁰ ———. His majesty had him anointed by the side of his majesty.

His Eldest Son Builds the Tomb

248. ¹[It was] his eldest son, etc.,^a ——— ² ——— there was [made] for him a flight of steps ³ ——— plenty. When ⁴ ——— that he [might be consigned¹] therein to the earth ⁵ ——— he had him come ⁶ ——— all — from the court ⁷ ——— one caused that it be put into writing upon ⁸[his tomb]^b ——— [His majesty praised him^c] on account of it, and he praised the god for him (thanked him) exceedingly.

King Endows His Tomb

249. From the scanty fragments of a fourth inscription^d of the same length, it is evident that the king established a mortuary endowment for Weshptah's tomb "*which was by the pyramid: The-Soul-of-Sahure-Shines.*"

^aAs above § 243, l. 1.

^bSee l. 6, § 247.

^cThe son.

^dSethe, *Urkunden*, I, 44, 45. D.

REIGN OF NUSERRE

SINAI INSCRIPTION^a

Relief

250. King in crown of Upper Egypt smiting a Bedwi as in § 168. The texts, as in the similar Sinai tablets, contain only names and titles of the king.

Great God, Lord of the Two Lands, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Favorite (*Yš·t-yb*);^b Golden Horus: Nuter (*Ntr*); Nuserre (*N-wšr-R*)^c ^d; Smiter of all countries.

Horus: Favorite of the Two Lands (*Yš·t-yb-l³wy*), Nuserre, who is given life forever; smiter of the Asiatics of every country.

TOMB INSCRIPTIONS OF HOTEPHIRYAKHET^e

251. Hotephiryakhet was a priest of Neferirkere and of the sun-temple of Nuserre at Abusir. The motive which he proposes to future visitors in his tomb, to induce

^aCut on the rocks of the Wadi Maghara in the Peninsula of Sinai. Text: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 152, *a*; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1495 (inscriptions only); Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 53, 54; Weill, *Sinai*, 107.

^bElsewhere *Yš·t-yb-l³wy*, meaning "*Favorite of the Two Lands*."

^cThis name is to be read *N-wšr-R*. It is of the same formation as the name of Amenemhet III: *N-m³·t-R* for which we have the Greek *Δαμαρής*. It is a common formation in proper names, e. g., *N-k³w-Re*, *N-k³w-Pth*, *N-·nh-Šhm³·t*, etc., in all of which the divine name, written first, is to be read last.

^dThere is uncertainty in the arrangement of signs here; the title "*Son of Re*," inserted at this point, is later followed by the name "*Yn*" (Cf. Rougé, *Recherches sur les monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux VI premières dynasties*, 88, 89), and the cartouche containing it perhaps stood under the title in the space now broken away. Likewise the following "*Buto*" must belong to something lost below. The order of the fivefold titulary of the Middle Kingdom has not yet developed.

^eMariette, *Mastabas*, 342; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 49-51.

them to make mortuary offerings to him, is of especial interest. He offers to commend them to the god, just as Seti I later intercedes with the gods for Ramses II, his son (III, 253), and as Ramses III also did for his son (IV, 246 *et passim*).

252. ¹Judge, attached to Nekhen, Hotephiryakhet (*y³ hrw t-hi-p-hr*); he saith:

"I have made this tomb as a just possession, and never have I taken a thing belonging to any person. ²Whosoever shall make offering to me therein, I will do (it) for them; I will commend them to the god for it very greatly; I will do this for them, ³for bread, for beer, for clothing, for ointment, and for grain, in great quantity. Never have I done aught ⁴of violence toward any person. As the god loves a true matter, I was in honor with the king.

253. ¹Judge, eldest of the hall, Hotephiryakhet; he saith:

"I have made this my tomb upon the western arm in a pure place. There was no ²tomb of any person therein, in order that the possessions of him, who has gone to his ka, might be protected. As for any people who shall enter into ³this tomb as their mortuary property or shall do an evil thing to it, judgment shall be had with them for it, ⁴by the great god. I have made this tomb as my shelter; I was honored by the king, who brought for me a sarcophagus."

INSCRIPTION OF PTAHSHEPSES^a

254. This document is especially important for the concluding history of the Fourth Dynasty, and the chronology of the first half of the Fifth. Ptahshepses was born under Menkure, of the Fourth Dynasty, and was still living under Nuserre, the fifth king of the Fifth Dynasty;^b thus deter-

^aFrom a false door in his mastaba, discovered at Sakkara by Mariette, published by Mariette, *Mastabas*, 112, 113; Rougé, *Recherches sur les monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux VI premières dynasties*, 66-73; Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 79-80; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 51-53.

^bHe was priest in Nuserre's sun-temple (Mariette, *Mastabas*).

mining that the period from the last years of Menkure to the first of Nuserre was not longer than a man's lifetime. Unfortunately, the upper ends of the eight vertical lines containing the inscription are broken off at the top. The first two lines are occupied by two reigns, showing that Ptahshepses is narrating his life by reigns. Now, ll. 4, 5, 6, and 7 all begin alike at the point where the loss at the top ends. It is perfectly clear, therefore, that they each contain a reign.^a Line 3 is different and has "*his majesty*" so close to the top that it can hardly refer to a new king, but probably continues the reign of Shepseskaf from l. 2. As we know that Ptahshepses lived into the reign of Nuserre, we must insert this king at the top of the last line. Omitting the brief reign of Shepseskaf's successor, and the probably equally brief reign of Khaneferre in the Fifth Dynasty,^b the kings enumerated by Ptahshepses were not improbably as in following section.

^aConfer the same wording in the reigns of Menkure and Shepseskaf.

^bPtahshepses has omitted two reigns between Menkure and Shepseskaf, hence the other omissions assumed are not wholly arbitrary.

255.

FOURTH DYNASTY			FIFTH DYNASTY				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Birth and childhood	Menkure (preserved)						
Youth	Shepseskaf (preserved)						
Marriage		"his majesty," or Shepseskaf continued					
Manhood			Userkaf (name lost)				
Manhood				Sahure (name lost)			
Manhood					Neferirkere (name lost)		
Manhood						Neferefre (name lost)	
Old age							Nuserre (from Ptahshepses's titles)

Reign of Menkure

256. ¹ — — — ^a [in] the time of Menkure (*Mn-k^w-R^c*); whom he educated among the king's-children, in the palace of the king, in the privy chamber, in the royal harem; who was more honored before the king than any child (*hrd*); Ptahshepses (*Pth-špsš*).

Reign of Shepseskaf

257. ² — — — [in] the time of Shepseskaf (*špsš-k^w*); whom he educated among the king's-children, in the palace of the king, in the privy chamber, in the royal harem; who was more honored before the king

^aProbably: "I was born in the time of M."

than any youth (*yd*), Ptahshepses ³ — — — —. His majesty gave to him the king's eldest daughter, Matkha (*M^{3c} t-h*) as his wife, for his majesty desired that she should be with him more than (with) anyone; Ptahshepses.

Reign of Userkaf

258. ⁴[Attached^a to Userkaf, high priest of Memphis,] more honored by the king than any servant. He descended into every ship of the court; he entered upon the ways of the southern palace^b at all the Feasts-of-the-Coronation;^c Ptahshepses.

Reign of Sahure

259. ⁵[Attached^a to Sahure, more honored by the king than^a] any servant, as privy councilor of every work which his majesty desired to do; who pleased the heart of his lord every day; Ptahshepses.

Reign of Neferirkere

260. ⁶[Attached^a to Neferirkere, more honored by the king than] any servant; when his majesty praised him for a thing, his majesty permitted that he should kiss his foot, and his majesty did not permit that he should kiss the ground; Ptahshepses.

Reign of Neferefre

261. ⁷[Attached to Neferefre, more honored by the king than] any servant; he descended into the sacred barge at all Feasts-of-the-Appearance;^d beloved of his lord; Ptahshepses.^e

Reign of Nuserre

262. ⁸ — — — — attached^f to the heart of his lord, beloved of his lord, revered of Ptah, doing that which the god desires of him, pleasing in every artificer under the king; Ptahshepses.

^aFollowing Sethe, after Mariette, *Mastabas*, 375.

^bCf. the parallel in tomb of Sebu (Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 95) which renders the reading certain here.

^cThe appearances in public of the king at anniversaries of his coronation.

^dThe appearance of the gods in festal procession on the river.

^eThe remaining three lines contain chiefly conventional phrases and titles.

^fPtahshepses is now an old man; hence the change in form.

REIGN OF MENKUHOR

SINAI INSCRIPTION^a

263. The relief, if there was any, has cracked off. The text is as follows:

Horus: Menkhu (*Mn-k^cw*); King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Menkuhor (*Mn k³w-Hr*), who is given life, stability [like Re, forever].

Commission of [the king],^b which —^c executed.

The inscription is the earliest in Sinai in which the leader of the expedition has ventured to insert a commemoration of himself beside that of the king. Such a record of the leader and his followers now becomes customary.

^aCut in the rocks of Wadi Maghara on the Peninsula of Sinai; text: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 39, *e*; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1493 (inscriptions only); Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 54; Weill, *Sinai*, 109.

^bCf. Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 39, *d*, where the same phrase occurs uninjured (§ 264).

^cThe lacuna contained the name of the official who executed the commission.

REIGN OF DEDKERE-ISESI

SINAI INSCRIPTIONS

I^a

264. The relief, if any existed, has disappeared. At the top appears the titulary of the king, as follows:

Horus: Dedkhu (*Dd-h^cw*), Son of Re, who lives forever. ———
Dedkere (*Dd-k^c-R^c*), beloved of Buto and the souls of [Pe], [who is given] life, health, [all] joy [forever].

Commission of the king, which —^b executed.

II^c

265. There was apparently no relief; the text is both uncertain and owing to the crudity of the signs is very difficult. It furnishes an excellent example of the old method of dating by the fiscal census.

266. Year after the fourth occurrence of the numbering of all large and small cattle,^d when the god caused^e that costly stone be found in the secret mine [—] a [stela] with writing of the god himself;^f (under)

^aCut into the rocks of Wadi Maghara, Sinai; text: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 39, *d*; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1494 (inscriptions only); Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 55; Weill, *Sinai*, 118.

^bName of official has fallen out; "*hw — hk —*" is still preserved.

^cAlso in the Wadi Maghara; published by Birch, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1869, 26 f.; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1494, No. 20 (incomplete); Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 55, 56 (from a collation of a squeeze in the British Museum by R. Weill).

^dCompare § 340 (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 116, *a*); we have here dates according to the fiscus.

^eInfinitive in a date? Read *dy't ntr*.

^fI take it that the whole of this is a date, followed by the name of the king, and then the event below. A "*writing of the god himself*" is the customary designation of any ancient document. Some stela of their ancestors led them to the desired vein.

Horus: Dedkhu (*Dd-ḥ^cw*); king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Dedkhu; Golden Horus: Ded (*Dd*); Dedkere (*Dd-k^c-R^c*) Isesi, living forever.

Royal commission sent with the ship-captain, Nenekh-Khentikhet (*N-^cnḥ-Ḥnty-ḥt*)^a to the terrace,^b the name of which is "Malachite."^c

A list of the members of the expedition followed.^d

III^e

267. The king is shown smiting a Bedwi; beside him the words:

Smiter of all countries.

[The Great God]^f smites the [Asiatics].^g

IV^g

Same scene repeated; inscription:

Smiter of all countries.

Perhaps belonging to these scenes is the date:^h

Year of the ninth occurrence of the numbering of large cattle

TOMB INSCRIPTIONS OF SENEZEMIB, CHIEF JUDGE, VIZIER, AND CHIEF ARCHITECTⁱ

268. The most powerful man at Isesi's court here narrates his favors with the king, in the course of which he includes verbatim two letters from his lord, one of which his

^aA name of the same form as Nenekhsekhmet (*N-^cnḥ-Sḥm^ct*).

^bConfirming my note (*New Chapter*, p. 29, n. b).

^c*Fk^ct* as in the Pyramid Texts; see also the duplicate of Pepi II (§ 342).

^dWeill, *Sinai*, 110, and possibly also 114.

^eAlso in Wadi Maghara; published by Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1494, 21; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 56; Weill, *Sinai*, 119.

^fSo Sethe.

^gWadi Maghara; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1494, 19.

^hSethe, *ibid.*; Weill, *Sinai*, 118.

ⁱFrom his mastaba-tomb by the pyramid of Khufu at Gizeh; published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 76, c-j (cf. Text, I, 55, 56); Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 59-67 (collated with drawings in Berlin Museum, Nos. 366, 367).

majesty wrote with his own hand. A lake of 1,200 cubits' length is planned for by the architect, and the king expresses his delight with the plan. Unfortunately, the fragmentary state of the inscription renders the narrative very obscure.

269. The closing inscriptions were the work of Senezemib's son, who after his father's death recorded in the tomb the mortuary endowment of his father, and the presentation of the sarcophagus by the king.

Senezemib's Fidelity and Honors

270. ²¹[I was one who pleased the king¹ as mas]ter of secret things of his majesty, as favorite of his majesty in everything, ²— — — As for any work which his majesty commanded to do, I did (it) according to the desire of his majesty's heart toward it ³———— his majesty, while he was in the place^b of writings. When it came to pass ⁴———— his majesty caused that I be anointed with fat ⁵[by the side of his majesty]^c ————— [Neve]r [was done] the like by the side of the king for anyone ⁶————. [His majesty] himself wrote with his (own) fingers,^d in order to praise me ⁷[because I did every work which his majesty commanded to do¹] well and excellently according to the desire of his majesty's heart toward it.

Letter by the King's Own Hand

271. ⁸Royal command (to)^e the chief judge, vizier, chief scribe of the king's writings, ⁹chief of all works of [the king, Senezemib].

¹⁰My majesty has seen this thy letter, which thou hast sent to inform me that ¹¹———— for (the building called:) "Beloved-of-Isesi," which is built — for the palace of — —, ¹being truly¹ Senezemib — — — ¹²in rejoicing the heart^f of Isesi ; [for thou

^aLepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 76, d, Sethe, A. A horizontal line may have preceded this, and contained Senezemib's name and titles.

^bThe king thus visited the public archives in company with the vizier, Senezemib.

^cThe restoration is certain; see Weshptah (§ 247, l. 10).

^dDual; this is the letter given below, ll. 8-16.

^eOmitted also in the second letter and in the letter of Harkhuf (§ 351).

^fSenezemib's name means "Rejoicing the heart," and the king is punning on his official's name.

canst¹] ¹³speak that which Isesi loves, better than any men who are in this [whole land] — — — ¹⁴. When indeed — — — every vessel — — — ¹⁵it rejoices the heart of Isesi^a — true — — — ¹⁶most excellent — — —.

King Isesi Counsels with Senezemib^b

272. ¹———. "Thou shalt make a lake according as he saith in — ²——— his lord —. [My majesty] greatly desires to hear this thy word ³——— my majesty — everything — — — ." Said the chief of all works of ⁴[the king, Senezemib]^c ———.

Second Letter from the King

273. ⁷Royal command (to)^d the chief judge, vizier, chief of all works of the king, ⁸chief scribe of the king's writings, Senezemib.

⁹My majesty has seen the plan of this command ——— ¹⁰for the palace of Isesi (called): Nehbet^e ——— ¹¹—— [length] 1,200 cubits, [width] 221^f cubits, according to that which was commanded to [thee] — [—] — — —. ¹²Now, the god hath made thee the favorite of Isesi [more than any men] ¹³who are in this whole land —. I will do every great thing^g ———.

Endowment of Tomb

274. In the next section^h Senezemib's son, Senezemib, called Mehi (*Mhy*) says that "*a command was issued*" to "*gather the princes*"¹ and other people. The command evidently concerned the endowment of his father's tomb, called "*this his tomb which I made for him in only one year and*

^aSenezemib's name means "*Rejoicing the heart*," and the king is punning on his official's name.

^bLepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 76 f.; Sethe, B.

^cHere followed the reply of Senezemib in three lines, but it has almost entirely disappeared; the words "*whom Re loves*" still visible, show that he is addressing the king.

^dSee § 271, and note.

^fMay be a few units more.

^eSethe suggests a garden of the palace.

^gFragments of two more lines.

^hLepsius, *Denkmäler*, 76, c; Sethe, C.

‘three’ months, while he was in ‘— —’ in the eternal house^a which is at the pyramid: ‘Isesi ⁴-is-[Beautiful].’

The son then adds: *There was brought grain from the accounting of the divine offerings, from the North and the South, with a reference, after a break in the text, to the continuance of the offerings “until today as new. Then his majesty caused decrees to be sealed [with] the seal of writings,”* of course for the perpetuation of the mortuary offerings. A long lacuna doubtless contained other benefactions, after which we find, “*he appointed mortuary priests [of the endowment], and I had it put into writing.*” The record of it was placed in the tomb where “*it was [engraved] by the artists.*” The mortuary priests were “*divided into phyles,*” and the son then asked the king to give the equipment and furniture of the tomb, referring to the well-known quarry of Troja, whence came so much of the stone used in the Old Kingdom cemeteries.

Sarcophagus

275. Another inscription,^b now very fragmentary, narrates the bringing of the sarcophagus, etc., for which the son had asked. After a statement of the king’s command, we find the usual officials “*on a ferry-boat. Everything was done by these sailors, according to that which had been [commanded]*”⁹ concerning it in the court. ¹⁰———. *This sarcophagus, together with [its lid], arrived at the pyramid: ‘Horizon-of-Khufu,’*” where the tomb of Senezemib was located. The officers who conducted the work were praised by the king, and “*this sarcophagus*” was conveyed to its “*place.*”

^aA temporary resting-place, while the tomb was being built.

^bLepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 76, e; Sethe, D.

Relief

276. This inscription is accompanied by a relief, showing the transport of the sarcophagus across the river. Over the relief are the words:

The great ¹tow¹-boat, the name of which is "Mighty-is-Isesi."

Three men on the bow are designated as: *Overseer of ten*; [naval] *commander*; *overseer of* ¹—¹ (*sb*²); while one in the stern is called "*captain*." The sarcophagus and lid are shown, accompanied by the words "*sarcophagus*" and "*lid*."

Son's Inscription

277. The son Senezemib, called Mehi, left in his father's tomb a short inscription^a stating that he placed the above records on the walls of his father's tomb. Only the ends of the three lines remain, but the son closes the record of his pious work with a reminder to his own son by referring to himself as one "*whose son shall do the like for him*."

MORTUARY INSCRIPTION OF NEZEMIB^b

278. A short mortuary prayer, interesting for its quaint claim that the deceased was never beaten! Nezemib (*Nḏm-yb*) was probably a private citizen of the middle class, from whom very few monuments have descended to us.

279. O ye living who are (yet) upon earth, who pass by this tomb; let water be poured out for me, for I was a master of secret things. Let a mortuary offering of that which is with you come forth for me, for I was one beloved of the people. Never was I beaten in the presence of any official since my birth; never did I take the property of any man by violence; (but) I was a doer of that which pleased all men.

^aLepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 78, b; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 67.

^bCairo, 1732; published by Mariette, *Mastabas*, 417; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1212; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 75.

TOMB INSCRIPTION OF THE NOMARCH HENKU^a

280. This nomarch, with his brother, was ruler of the Cerastes-Mountain nome, the twelfth nome of Upper Egypt, opposite the Lycopolite, or thirteenth, nome. He flourished late in the Fifth or early in the Sixth Dynasty, and his descendants enjoyed the favor of the Sixth Dynasty Pharaohs (§§ 344 ff.). So little is known of the nomarchs of the Old Kingdom that the meager data of this inscription are of importance. Especially noteworthy are the statements regarding the settlement of people from other nomes in his nome. Besides being much mutilated, the inscription is frequently very obscure. I have only rendered the more important passages and those which are most intelligible.^b

281. ¹O all ye people of the Cerastes-Mountain; O ye great lords of other nomes, who shall pass by this tomb, I, Henku (*Hnkw*), tell good things:

.¹¹. . . .
 I gave bread to all the hungry of the Cerastes-Mountain; ¹²I clothed him who was naked therein. I filled its shores ¹³with large cattle, and its ¹⁴lowlands¹ with small cattle. ¹⁴I satisfied the wolves^c of the mountain and the fowl of heaven with ¹⁵flesh¹ ¹⁵of small cattle ¹⁶I was lord and overseer of southern grain in this nome ¹⁸I settled the ¹⁷feeble¹ towns in this nome with the people of other nomes;

^aIn a cliff-tomb at Der el-Gebrâwi; published by Davies, *Deir-el-Gebrâwi*, II, Pls. 24, 25; Sethe (from Davies), *Urkunden*, I, 76-79.

^bSee Davies' excellent remarks on Henku, *ibid.*, 42.

^cThis general beneficence toward man and beast includes here the animals sacred in Henku's locality. Across the river the jackal was the sacred animal, while in Henku's own nome the hawk was sacred. It is no accident that these are just the two animals which Henku fed, for the word translated "*wolf*," should be more general, designating all wild animals of the canine family and the like. We have here then the first symptoms from which the belief in the sacredness of whole classes of animals (as opposed to one member only) afterward grew up. The same thing in a later stage is observable in the Saite time. On a stela in Miramar a man says: "*I gave bread to the hungry, water [to] the thirsty, clothing to the naked; I gave food to the ibis, the hawk, the cat, and the jackal*" (Bergmann, *Hieroglyphische Inschriften*, Pl. VI, ll. 9, 10).

¹⁹those who had been peasant-serfs therein, I made their offices as officials (*šr*). ²⁰I never oppressed one in possession of his property, so that he complained of me because of it to the god of my city; (but) I spake, and told that which was good; ²¹never was there one fearing because of one stronger than he, so that he complained because of it to the god.

I arose then ²²to be ruler (*ḥḥ*) in the Cerastes-Mountain, together with my brother, the revered, the sole companion, ritual priest, Re-am (*R^c 𓂏 m*), ²³I was a benefactor to it (the nome) in the folds of the cattle, in the settlements of the fowlers. I settled its every district ²⁴with men and cattle — — small cattle indeed. I speak no lie, ²⁵for I was ²⁶one beloved of his father ²⁷praised of his mother, ²⁸excellent in character to his brother, ²⁹and amiable to [his sister].^a

^aSeven short lines are omitted.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY

REIGN OF TETI

INSCRIPTIONS OF SABU, ALSO CALLED IBEBI^a

282. Sabu, called also Ibebi, was a favorite official at the courts of Unis, the last king of the Fifth, and Teti, the first king of the Sixth Dynasty. Under both he held the important office of high priest of Ptah at Memphis, and to this oft-repeated title he adds also his other offices, mingled with a long series of self-laudatory epithets and phrases. Of these the inscriptions chiefly consist, but he gives us also a few interesting statements which throw light on the career of such a noble at court. The inscriptions are rendered below with all repetitions, as an unaltered example of such records in the Old Kingdom. In some phrases Sabu's inscription is identical with that of Ptahshepses (§§ 254 ff.).

Career under Unis^b

283. Attached to (King) Unis, high priest of Ptah, more honored by the king than any servant. He^c descended^d into every barge; a member of the court, [when he entered] the ways of [the southern palace] at feasts,^e Sabu (*S^obw*), whose beautiful name was Ibebi (*Ybby*).

284. ^eHonored by the king, doing his pleasure, one whom his lord

^aFrom his mastaba-tomb at Sakkara; the publications will be found with each section below.

^bMariette, *Mastabas*, 375 D; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 81 A, at the entrance on the right.

^cCompare Ptahshepses, § 258, l. 4.

^d*H>f* is evidently past tense here, as Unis was deceased when the inscription was made.

^eMariette, *Mastabas*, 375 C; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 81 B; at the entrance on the left.

loves, high priest of Ptah, attached to the Double House, feast-day attendant, prophet of Ptah, prophet of Sokar, Sabu, etc.^a

Career under Teti

285. ^bToday in the presence of the Son of Re: Teti, living forever, high priest of Ptah, more honored by the king than any servant, as master of secret things of every work which his majesty desired should be done; pleasing the heart of his lord every day, high priest of Ptah, Sabu. ²High priest of Ptah, cup-bearer of the king, master of secret things of the king in his every place, honored by the king, high priest of Ptah, attached to the Double House, feast-day attendant, pleasing every artificer, honored by every sovereign, a member of his court, attached to the heart of his lord, the favorite of his lord's heart, beloved of his lord, revered of Ptah, doing that which the god desired of him every day in the king's presence.

286. ^cToday in the presence of the Son of Re: Teti, living forever; high priest of Ptah, more honored in the king's presence than any servant. He descends^d into any barge; a member of the court when he enters upon the ways of the southern palace at the "Feasts-of-the-Coronation," high priest of Ptah, feast-day attendant, Sabu. When his majesty favored me, his majesty caused that I enter into the privy chamber, that I might set for him the people^e into every place; where I found the way.^f Never was done the like to any servant like me, by any sovereign, because his majesty loved me more than any servant of his; because I did that which he praised every day, because I was honored in his heart. I was useful in his majesty's presence, I found a way in every secret matter of the court, I was honored in his majesty's presence.

^aAs above, § 283.

^bFalse door now in Cairo Museum, No. 1565, right side; published by Mariette, *Mastabas*, 413, 414; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 82, 83 (from copy by Erman).

^cSame false door, left side; published by Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 95; Mariette, *Mastabas*, 412-414; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 83, 84 (from copy by Erman).

^dAs Teti was still living at the time the inscription was made, the verbs are evidently present tense; but in Ptahshepses (§ 258, l. 4) they are past.

^eThe people (*ꜥnhw*) of the court, to whom he assigned their places.

^fAs he pleased? The sense is doubtful, as there are several possible renderings of the construction.

INSCRIPTION OF SABU, ALSO CALLED THETY^a

287. This Sabu was the successor of Sabu, called also Ibebi (§§ 282 ff.), as High Priest of Ptah.^b His inscription is of importance as showing that before his time there were always two high priests of Ptah.

288. ———. Today in the presence of his majesty. His majesty appointed me [as High Priest of Memphis alone]^c ———. [The temple] of "Ptah-South-of-His-Wall" in its every place was under my charge, although there never was [a single High Priest of Ptah before]^a ——— Sokar in Shetyt (*Št*), all the sacred possessions and all duties which two high priests of Ptah did. ——— although never was the like done by any high priest of Ptah in the time of [any king] ——— of the house of the crown-possession as an honor from his majesty. His majesty appointed me ——— under my charge, although their offices were like (those of) [their] fathers ——— under my charge, which was done in the whole land; the heart of his majesty being mightier than anything that is done therein.

INSCRIPTION OF AN UNKNOWN BUILDER^d

289. The unknown, a mere fragment of whose tomb inscription here follows, was perhaps the builder of the pyramid-temple of Teti, for he relates a royal commission to conduct the work on a ka-temple (*ht-k*³) for which the materials came from the Troja quarry, opposite the Sak-kara cemetery where Teti's pyramid stands.

^aFragment of a false door in Cairo Museum, Nos. 1709, 1756; published by Mariette, *Mastabas*, 390; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 84, 85 (from copy by Erman).

^bStill another Sabu, a third of the name, was called "*Sabu the black*" (*S³bw km* Mariette, *Mastabas*, C 23), perhaps to distinguish him from the other two, for he was also high priest of Ptah.

^cSo restored by Sethe; and, in view of the following context, the restoration is very probable.

^dFragment in Cairo, No. 1433, published by Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 86, 87 (from copy by Erman).

290. I did so that his majesty praised me on account of it [—] ———. [His majesty caused that I enter] into the privy chamber, and that I become a member of the sovereign's court ———. Today in the presence of (king) Teti, my lord ———. His majesty sent me to conduct the works in the ka-temple made — — and in (the quarry) of Troja ——— I made a false door there, conducting [the work] ———. His majesty caused that I come downstream ———.

INSCRIPTION OF UNI^a

291. This is the longest narrative inscription and the most important historical document from the Old Kingdom. Uni's career is narrated from its beginning under King Teti, through the entire reign of Pepi I, to its termination under Mernere. Besides the general instructiveness of the life of a great lord of the court in the Old Kingdom, Uni's narrative tells us of the only important wars of the Old Kingdom of which we are informed.

The biography falls into three parts:

I. Career under Teti (l. 1), §§ 292-94.

II. Career under Pepi I (ll. 2-32), §§ 306-15.

III. Career under Mernere (ll. 32-50) §§ 319-24.

^aFrom his mastaba-tomb, discovered by Mariette at Abydos. It occupies a single block of limestone 1^m, 10 high and 2^m. 70 wide, which formed one of the walls of the exterior chapel of the mastaba (*Catalogue général d'Abydos*, 84, No. 522). It is now in Cairo. Published by de Rougé, *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et belles-lettres*, XXV, (Paris, 1866); Rougé, *Recherches sur les monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux VI premières dynasties*, VII-VIII; Mariette, *Abydos*, II, 44; Erman, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1882, 1-27 (text collated with copies by Brugsch and Golénischeff); a collation of Erman with the original by Piehl, *ibid.*, 1888, 111 f.; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1470-77; Grébaut, *Musée*, Pl. 27, 28 (photo.); Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 98-110. Grébaut's photograph and Sethe's copy from the Berlin squeeze (No. 1541) are the only correct texts. Beside Sethe, I had also a copy collated with the original by Erman and Borchardt.

I. CAREER UNDER KING TETI

292. Under this king Uni passed his childhood and entered upon his official career at the bottom of the ladder as an under-custodian of a royal domain.

Introduction

293. [Count, governor of the South], chamber-attendant, attached to Nekhen, lord of Nekheb, sole companion, revered before Osiris, First of the Westerners, Uni (*Wny*). He says:

Beginning of Career

294. ¹[I was a child]^a who fastened on the girdle under the majesty of Teti (*Tty*); my office was that of supervisor of [—] and I filled^b the office of inferior custodian of the domain of Pharaoh.^c

[Continued §§ 306 ff.]

^aRestored from the stela of Simontu (§ 597, l. 5); that we are to read "*girdle*" here, and not "crown" (Maspero, *Dawn*, 417), is shown by a pyramid passage (Pepi I, l. 428); see Erman; also Piehl, *Sphinx*, II, 134. Hence, the current description of the garland-wearing children is without support from the inscriptions.

^bLit.: "*made*," as often elsewhere.

^cPerhaps a word lost at end of line here.

REIGN OF PEPI I

HAMMAMAT INSCRIPTIONS^a

295. It is a question whether these inscriptions are the record of three expeditions or of one. If only one party left these records, it is probable that the jealousies between the bureau service and the practical craftsmen can be discerned in them.^b They are further interesting, because the master pyramid-builder accompanied the expedition, the object of which must therefore have been the securing of the hard and costly stone for the finer portions of Pepi I's pyramid and its temple at Sakkara.^c

I. THE KING'S INSCRIPTIONS

296. The royal memorial of this expedition occurs twice: in the first^d the king's figure appears twice, back to back, enthroned in the jubilee-hall, accompanied by his titulary and the words: "*First occurrence of the Sed Jubilee.*" The second^e shows the king with staff and war-club standing before the ithyphallic Min; above is his titulary, and in front: "*Beloved of the lord of Ooptos (Min).*" Behind the king: "*First occurrence of the Sed Jubilee.*"

^aEngraved on the rocks of the Hammamat quarry; on this place, see Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 472. They are published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 115, a, b, c, e, g, i, k; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 93-96.

^bSee Schaefer, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, XL, 75-77.

^cSee Schaefer, *loc. cit.*

^dLepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 115, a; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 96 A.

^eLepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 115, e; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 96 B. Three other inscriptions on vessels made for the jubilee celebration, and merely bearing the king's name and the words, "*First occurrence of the Sed Jubilee,*" will be found in Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 97 C, D, E.

II. THE EXPEDITION'S INSCRIPTION^a

297. This is the inscription recording the expedition as a whole, led by the chief architect and the two treasurers of the god.

298. Year^b after the eighteenth occurrence (of the numbering), third month of the third season (twelfth month), day 27 of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Merire (Pepi I), who lives forever; first occurrence of the Sed Jubilee. Royal commission which the chief of all works of the king, the sole companion, master-builder of the king, attached to the Double House, Merire-meriptah-onekh; his son, the ritual priest, Merire-meriptah-onekh; and the treasurers of the god, Ikhi (*Yhy*) and Ihu (*Yhw*), carried out.

The names of five "*assistant artisans*" and of three "*king's-confidants and master-builders*" are then recorded below.

III. CHIEF ARCHITECT'S INSCRIPTION^c

299. This record places all the bureau officers first and the two treasurers of the god last.

Year after — — —.

Royal commission which the chief of all works of the king, sole companion, master-builder of the king, attached to the Double House, Merire-meriptah-onekh, carried out.

^aLepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 115, g; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 93 (collated with drawing by Lepsius' expedition.)

^bThe date of the Sinai inscription, which is also coincident with the Sed Jubilee, is eleven days later. The discrepancy is easily explained by the fact that these expeditions were both sent out to secure materials for monuments in the year of this festival; the dates given were not intended to indicate its exact day. If the numberings took place every two years, then the first Sed festival occurred in the thirty-sixth or thirty-seventh year, which we know is impossible. Meyer supposes that the numberings had now become more frequent (*Aegyptische Chronologie*, 169-70), which is probable. See also Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, III.

^cLepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 115, k; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 94.

Overseer of the administration of divine offerings, attached to the Double House, first under the king, judge, inferior scribe, Sesi (*Ssy*).

Scribe of the king's records, Khenu (*Hnw*).

Judge, attached to Nekhen, Khui (*Hwy*).

Treasurer of the god, Ihu.

Treasurer of the god, Ikhi.

IV. INSCRIPTION OF THE TREASURER OF THE GOD, IKHI^a

300. One of the two treasurers of the god, perhaps incensed at being placed at the foot of the list in the preceding inscription, has in this inscription recorded himself alone as the leader of the expedition, omitting the chief architect and the bureau officials entirely, and even his colleague, Ihu.

At the extreme right, framed between two scepters and the sign for heaven at the top, is the titulary of Pepi I, accompanied by the words: "*First occurrence of the Sed Jubilee.*" At the left of this appears the inscription:

301. Royal commission which the treasurer of the god, Ikhi (*Yhy*), carried out.

His son, the ship-captain Ikhi.

Below appear the names of five "*assistant artisans of the palace*" and the "*master pyramid-builder, Thethi.*"^b

SINAI INSCRIPTION^c

302. 1. The titulary of the king in one line at the top is: "*King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Favorite of the Two Goddesses; Merikhet (Mry-ht); Merire (Mry-R^c), Pepi I,*

^aLepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 115, c; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 94, 95.

^bAnother inscription (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 115, b) contains only the names of the sons of some of the officials.

^cEngraved on the rocks at Wadi Maghara; text: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 116, a; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1496, No. 26; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 91-92 (from squeeze); Morgan, *Recherches*, I, 235; Weill, *Sinai*, 121.

given all life forever." It surmounts two reliefs: that on the right contains the Horus-name of the king: "*Meri-towe (mryy-t³wi, 'Beloved of the Two Lands')*," and the figure of the king striding as at a ceremonial, preceded by the words: "*First occurrence of the Sed Jubilee.*" *Establishment^a of the field* [— —]. The relief on the left shows Pepi I smiting the Asiatics in the manner conventional since prehistoric times.

303. 2. Below the reliefs is the inscription of the officers of the expedition, as follows:

Year after the eighteenth occurrence (of the numbering), fourth month of the third season (twelfth month), day 6. Commission which the commander of the army Ibdw (*Ybdw*),^b son of the commander of the troops Merire-onekh, carried out.

Then follows a list of fifteen subordinate officials and members of the expedition; such a list, better preserved will be found in § 343.

INSCRIPTION IN THE HATNUB QUARRY^c

304. In the year of the twenty-fifth numbering, Pepi I sent an expedition to the alabaster quarries of Hatnub, back of Tell el-Amarna, under charge of the nomarch of the Hare nome (XV) of Upper Egypt. Attached to the king's name is the phrase "*First occurrence of the Sed Jubilee*," and on any theory of the Sed Jubilee this date is in glaring contradiction of Pepi I's Sed Jubilee in the year of the eighteenth

^a(W)d "*put*" or "*place*," perhaps an endowment of land is indicated.

^bOr "*Ibdw's son . . . Merire-onekh.*"

^cBlackden-Fraser, *Hieratic Graffiti*, Pl. 15, 1; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 95, 96, after Blackden-Fraser, but with useful corrections of evident errors; whence also the restorations.

Appointment as Judge

307. ²— — — [I was] eldest of the [—] chamber under the majesty of Pepi (*Ppy*). His majesty appointed me to the rank of companion and inferior prophet of his pyramid-city. While my office was — ³his [majesty made me] judge attached to Nekhen (*Nhn*). He loved me^a more than any servant of his. I “heard,”^b being alone with (only) the chief judge and vizier,^c in every private matter ⁴— in the name of the king, of the royal harem and of the six courts of justice;^d because the king loved me^a more than any official of his, more than any noble of his, more than any servant of his.

Equipment of His Tomb by the King

308. ⁵Then I [be]sought — the majesty of the king^e that there be brought for me a limestone sarcophagus from Troja (*R²-w*).^f The king had the treasurer of the god ferry over, together with a troop ⁶of¹ sailors under his hand, in order to bring for me this sarcophagus from Troja; and he arrived with it, in a large ship belonging to the court, together with [its] lid, ⁷the false door; the [setting]¹, two [—], and one offering-tablet.^g Never was the like done for any servant, for I was excellent to the heart of his majesty, ⁸for I was pleasant to the heart of his majesty, for his majesty loved me.

Appointment as Superior Custodian

309. While I was judge, attached to Nekhen, his majesty appointed me as sole companion and superior custodian of the domain of Pharaoh, and [—]^h of the four superior custodians of the domain of Pharaoh, who were there. I did so that his majesty praised me, when preparing

^aLit.: “his heart was filled with me.”

^bMeaning: heard cases in court as judge.

^cOne person; this vizier, whose name is not mentioned, was perhaps Zau (§§ 344 ff.).

^dLit.: “six great houses.”

^eLit.: “the majesty of the lord.”

^fQuarries opposite Memphis, five or six miles south of Cairo.

^gCf. note on l. 40, § 322. *Gmhw* is connected by Lemm with *gmh't* “wick,” and thought to be an oil basin (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1887, 115).

^h*Nj* with a strange determinative; see Gardiner, *Inscription of Mes*, p. 25, n. 2.

court,^a when preparing the king's journey (or) when making stations. I did throughout ¹⁰so that his majesty praised me for it above everything.

Prosecution of the Queen

310. ^bWhen legal procedure was instituted in private^b in the harem against the queen,^c Imtes (*Ymts*)^d his majesty caused me to enter, in order to hear (the case) alone. No ¹¹chief judge and vizier at all, no prince at all was there, but only I alone, because I was excellent, because I was pleasant to the heart of his majesty; because his majesty loved me. I alone was the one who put (it) in writing, ¹²together with a single judge attached to Nekhen; while my office was (only) that of superior custodian of the domain of Pharaoh. Never before had one like me heard the secret of the royal harem, except that the king caused ¹³me to hear (it), because I was more excellent to the heart of his majesty than any official of his, than any noble of his, than any servant of his.

War against the Bedwin

311. His majesty^e made war on^e the Asiatic Sand-dwellers (^c*m-hryw-š*) and ¹⁴his majesty made an army of many ten thousands: in the entire South, southward to Elephantine,^f and northward to Aphroditopolis; in the Northland on both sides^g entire ¹⁵in the 'stronghold',^h and in the midst of the 'strongholds', among the Irthet (*yrtt*) negroes, the Mazoi (*Mḏ*) negroes, the Yam (*Ym*) negroes, ¹⁶among the Wawat (*W*²*w*²*t*) negroes, among the Kau (*K*²*w*) negroes, and in the land of Temeh (*Tmh*).ⁱ

^aThere is a contrast here between his duties at the fixed court and making preparations for the king's journeys. The third reference is perhaps to the duty of assigning court stations to noblemen according to rank.

^bLit.: "When the matter was contested." Cf. similar phrase, note l. 14 and note l. 29.

^cLit.: "great king's-wife."

^dAcc. to Sethe, *ym* (Verbum I).

^eLit.: "repulsed the matter of the A" (*hsj yḥt*), which Erman holds to be an idiom for "punish" (*Gespräch*, 72).

^fSee § 320, l. 33 and note.

^gSee Griffith, *Kahun Papyri*, II, 21.

^hSome particular stronghold is apparently meant; Erman suggests "the old fortress in the eastern part of the Delta," but this is a conjecture.

ⁱThis list of Nubian lands has been treated by Brugsch, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1882, 30-36; Cf. also Lepsius, *Nubische Grammatik*, lxxxvii ff. The discovery of the Harkuf inscription has thrown light on the location of Yam, showing that the journey thither and return occupied seven months.

Uni Leads the Campaign

312. His majesty sent me at the head of this army ¹⁷while the counts, while the wearers of the royal seal, while the sole companions of the palace, while the nomarchs and commanders of strongholds belonging to the South and the Northland; the companions, the caravan-conductors, ¹⁸the superior prophets belonging to the South and the Northland, the overseers of the crown-possession, were (each) at the head of a troop of the South or the Northland, of the strongholds and cities which they commanded, and of the negroes of these countries. ¹⁹I was the one who made for them the plan while my office was (only) that of superior custodian of the domain of Pharaoh of 1— — 1. Not one thereof 1—^{1a} with his neighbor; ²⁰not one thereof plundered 1dough1 (or) sandals from the wayfarer; not one thereof took bread from any city; ²¹not one thereof took any goat from any people. I despatched them from the Northern Isle, the Gate of Ihotep (*y-htp*), the bend^b of Horus, Nibmat^c (*Hr-nb-m^ct*, Snefru).^d While I was of this rank ²²— — everything, I 1inspected^e the number of these troops, (although) never had any servant inspected.^e

Return of the Army

313. This army returned^f ²³in safety, (after) it had hacked up the land of the Sand-dwellers; this army returned in safety, (after) it had destroyed the land of the Sand-dwellers; ²⁴this army returned in safety, (after) it had overturned its strongholds; this army returned in safety, (after) it had cut down ²⁵its figs and its vines; this army returned in

^aVerb.^bA river bend, or a district.^cSee Sethe, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, XXX, 62.

^dAre these three places in apposition or are they three different localities? Erman (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1891, 120, n. 1) thinks we should, as in some other analogous cases, consider the two following names as partitive appositions denoting two places located in the "northern isle." The latter is, I think, the same as the "Isle of Snefru," reached by Sinuhe on his flight through the same region (§ 493, l. 9). In view of the "bend of Snefru" above, this is at least very probable. The name is of course due to the activity of Snefru in this frontier region necessitated by his opening the mines in the Sinai peninsula.

^ewh². It occurs also in Harknuf inscriptions, § 334, where the meaning is modified to "explore."

^fThis verb is regularly used of the return from Asiatic campaigns in the Empire, and must have the same meaning here.

safety, (after) it had thrown fire in all its [troops]; this army returned²⁶ in safety, (after) it had slain troops therein, in many ten thousands; this army returned in safety (after) [it had carried away^a] ²⁷therefrom a great multitude as living captives. His majesty praised me on account of it above everything.

Revolts of the Bedwin

314. His majesty sent me to despatch [this army] ²⁸five times, in order to traverse the land of the Sand-dwellers at each of their rebellions, with these troops. I did so that [his] majesty praised me [on account of it].

Campaign in Southern Palestine

315. ²⁹When it was said there were revolters because of a matter among these barbarians in the land of Gazelle-nose,^b I crossed over ³⁰in troop-ships with these troops, and I voyaged to^c the back of the height of the ridge^d on ³¹the north of the Sand-dwellers. When this army had been [brought¹] in the highway, I came and smote them all ³²and every revolter among them was slain.^e

[Continued §§ 319 ff.]

^aThere was probably a first object before *ymf*, with which "multitude" was in apposition.

^b*bm šrt* [—]. The reading "*Tiba*" for this name, given by Maspero (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1883, 64) is not supported by the careful collation of Erman and Borchardt, nor by Piehl (*ibid.*, 26, 112); nor by Sethe.

^cThe same use of *m* as in Harkhuf, ll. 6 and 8, *et passim* in that text.

^dThe Palestinian highlands; Maspero in placing this region between Gaza and the Serbonis Lake seems to have overlooked the word "*ridge*;" there are no highlands in the locality defined by him. Uni must have landed a little farther north and reached the highlands of southern Palestine. See also Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 33.

^eThe end of Uni's career under Pepi I is marked by a line of separation on the stone.

REIGN OF MERNERE

INSCRIPTIONS AT THE FIRST CATARACT

316. These important inscriptions, which record a visit of Mernere to the region immediately above the first cataract, are supported in their statement that the Nubian chiefs came to do him obeisance, by the biography of Uni (ll. 46-47, § 324), whom Mernere sent to excavate a channel through the cataract. The same negro tribes who furnished the wood for Uni's quarry-boats, here do reverence to his king. This visit and his construction of the canal, are important evidences of Mernere's activity on the Nubian frontier, thus preparing the way for the conquest of lower Nubia in the Twelfth Dynasty.

Northern Inscription^a

317. The king stands leaning upon his staff, with the lion's tail as his only symbol of royalty. Behind him is the god Khnum, and before him the chiefs of Nubia.^b Over his head are the usual name and titles:^c "*King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Mernere;*" behind him the words:^d "*Beloved of Khnum, Lord of the Cataract;*" below him the date: "*Year 5, second month of the third season^e (tenth month), day 28.*"

^aRoughly cut on a block of granite south of the first cataract "on the eastern bank of the Nile, facing the southern extremity of the island of El-Hesseh;" (not "on" the island as stated, *Egypt Exploration Fund Archaeological Report*, 1903-1904, 12); text by Sayce, *Recueil*, XV, 147; manuscript copy by Borchardt; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 110.

^bThere must be a row of Nubian chiefs before him (not noticed by Sayce) as in § 318.

^cThe treasurer's seal at the beginning is probably an error in the reading.

^dBelonging to the lacking Khnum figure, for undoubtedly there is a figure of Khnum at the left of this column, not noticed by the copyists.

^eSayce has *ḥ.t*.

Before the king is a column of text, as follows:^a

The coming of the king^b himself, standing^c behind the hill-country, while the chiefs of^d Mazoi (*Mꜣꜣ*),^e Irthet (*Yrꜥt*), and Wawat (*Wꜣwꜣt*), did obeisance^f and gave great^g praise.

Southern Inscription^h

318. This is practically a duplicate of the preceding, but there is no date; one of the Nubian chiefs is still visible standing before the king, and the accompanying record is slightly fuller, thus:

The coming of the king himself, appearing behind the hill-country, that he might¹ see that which is in the hill-country, while the chiefs of, etc. (as above).ⁱ

INSCRIPTION OF UNI

[Continued from § 315]

III. CAREER UNDER MERNERE

319. By Mernere Uni is at length appointed to exalted office, for this king made him governor of the South. As such he was entrusted by the king with the expedition to the granite quarries at the first cataract to secure the neces-

^aThis text contains apparently only the beginning of this column; for the rest we fortunately possess a duplicate in Petrie, *Season in Egypt*, XIII, 338. See § 318.

^b"King" is from Petrie, *Season in Egypt*.

^cRead *ch*.

^dSo far Petrie, *Season in Egypt*, is parallel and must be corrected to *st hꜣw nw*; the copyists could read no farther, as the line is badly preserved.

^eThe final *t* is of course misread from the determinative. Later: Verified by Borchardt's copy.

^f*sn-tꜣ* "smelled the earth;" Sayce has misread the *tꜣ*-sign as *n*.

^gAdverb *wr t*.

^hOn the rocks, "road valley near Philae," Petrie, *Season in Egypt*, XIII, 338 = Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 116, *b*=de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, I, 17, No. 78. Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 111 (from the publications); de Morgan's text is simply a copy of Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, with all the mistakes; the best copy is Petrie, *Season in Egypt*.

ⁱBut only the *m* of "mazoi" and part of the word "praise" can be read.

sary stone for the royal pyramid. Likewise he led another expedition to the quarry of Hatnub, back of Amarna, to procure an alabaster altar of vast size for the pyramid-temple. He then canalized the first cataract, excavating five channels, probably the first ever made there. This is in accordance with the interest in Nubia, displayed by Mernere, who visited the cataract in person and received the homage of the lower Nubian chiefs (§§ 316 ff.). Finally, under Mernere, short as his reign was, Uni seems to have died.

Appointment as Governor of the South

320. When I was 'master of the footstool' of the palace and sandal-bearer, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Mernere (*Mr-n-R*^c), my lord, who lives forever, made me count (*h³ty-*^c), and governor of the South, ³³southward to Elephantine, and northward to Aphroditopolis;^a for I was excellent to the heart of his majesty, for I was pleasant to the heart of his majesty, for his majesty loved me.

³⁴When I was 'master of the footstool' and sandal-bearer, his majesty praised me for the watchfulness^b and vigilance, which I showed in the place of audience, above his every official, above [his every] noble, ³⁵above his every servant. Never before was this office conferred upon any servant. I acted as governor of the South to his satisfaction.^c Not one therein '—^{1d} with [his] neighbor. ³⁶I accomplished all tasks; I numbered everything that is counted^e to (the credit of) the court in this South twice; all the corvée that is counted to (the credit of) the court in this South twice. I performed the '— — ³⁷—^{1f} in this

^aThe northern and southern limits of Upper Egypt. See Griffith, *Ptahhotep*, II, p. 25.

^bRead *hr rsw* (with determinative of staff and hide) these determinatives make it certain that we have the word *rs* "watch" as in Harkhuf (Letter I. 14, also with the hide).

^cLit.: "for him . . . to satisfaction."

^dSame verb as in I. 19.

^eFor the same use of "count to" see Rekhmire, II, 717.

^fThis obscure sentence is plainly parallel with the preceding, thus:

1. *yꜣy yꜣt nb yꜣt n ꜥnw m rs ꜣn*.

2. *yꜣy sꜣt yꜣt ꜥd m rs ꜣn*; this suggests the rendering: "I exercised the prince-ship that is exercised '—¹ in this South." *Sr't* would then be a feminine abstract from *sr* "prince," but *ꜥd* remains a problem. Possibly *my* has been omitted before it.

South; never before was the like done in this South. I did throughout so that his majesty praised me for it.

Expedition to the Southern Quarries

321. His majesty sent me ³⁸to Ibhet^a (*Ybhꜣꜥt*), to bring the sarcophagus (named): "Chest-of-the-Living," together with its lid and the costly, splendid pyramidion for the pyramid (called): "Mernere-Shines-and-is-Beautiful," of the queen.^b

322. ³⁹His majesty sent me to Elephantine^c to bring a false door of granite,^d together with its offering-tablet, doors and 'settings' of granite; ⁴⁰to bring doorways and offering-tablets^e of granite, belonging to the upper chamber of the pyramid (called): "Mernere-Shines-and-is-Beautiful," of the queen.^b Then I sailed down-stream ⁴¹to the pyramid (called): "Mernere-Shines-and-is-Beautiful," with 6 cargo-boats, 3 'towl'-boats and 3 '—l'-boats to only one warship. Never had Ibhet

^aThis unknown quarry must be in the vicinity of Assuan, where black granite is found; the material of the sarcophagus (not given here) as discovered in Mernere's pyramid at Sakkara in January, 1881, by Mariette (just a few days before his death) is a fine black granite. (See Maspero, *Recueil*, IX, 178, and *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XI, 312). Brugsch however says: "aus rothgesprenkeltem Granit" (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1881, 4, and Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1478). Maspero is corroborated by Petrie (*History of Egypt*, I, 97). The lid mentioned in our text is pushed back, but still lying on the sarcophagus, within which Mariette's native assistant, Mustapha, found the body of the king Mernere, now in Cairo Museum.—The "pyramidion" or final capstone of the pyramid was of finer material than the other masonry; it is no longer preserved, but tomb paintings often show this final block colored black by the artist. Cf. Maspero, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XI, 312.

^bThe exact place and meaning of the last three words are uncertain; possibly they refer to a burial place of the queen in connection with the pyramid.

^cThis voyage was made in connection with the preceding, as Ibhet could not have been far from Elephantine (see l. 42).

^dLit.: "Granite, a false door."

^eThese terms have been compared with the pyramid as existent today by Maspero (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XI, 304-17). The meaning of *rwꜣt* "false door" and *stꜣ* "offering-tablet" had already been established by Erman (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1882, 22 and *Festschrift für Georg Ebers*, 431); the *ꜥw* or "doors" Maspero thinks are the three portcullises found in the entrance passage; and the *rwꜣꜥt*, he thinks are the granite settings in the side walls in which the portcullises played. His identification of the "upper chamber" with the exterior chapel is obvious (so also Erman).

and ⁴²Elephantine^a been visited^b in the time of any kings with only one warship. Whatsoever his majesty commanded me I carried out^c completely according to all that his majesty commanded me.

Expedition to the Alabaster Quarry at Hatnub

323. His majesty sent me to ⁴³Hatnub (*Ht-nb*) to bring a huge offering-table of hard stone^d of Hatnub. I brought down this offering-table for him in only 17 days, it having been quarried^e in Hatnub, and I had it proceed down-stream in this^f cargo-boat. ⁴⁴I hewed for him a cargo-boat of acacia wood of 60 cubits in its length, and 30 cubits in its breadth, built^g in only 17 days, in the third month of the third season (eleventh month). Although there was no ⁴⁵water on the r—^h, I landed in safety at the pyramid (called): “Mernere-Shines-and-is-Beautiful;” and the whole was carried out by my hand, according to the mandate which the majesty of my lord had commanded me.

Second Expedition to Southern Quarries

324. His majesty sent [me]ⁱ to dig five canals^j ⁴⁶in the South and to make 3 cargo-boats and 4 ⁴⁷tow^l-boats of acacia wood of Wawat

^aShowing both were visited on one trip.

^bLit.: “*been made or done*,” this rare idiom “*to do a place*” meaning “*to visit it*” occurs also in Harkhuf (Letter l. 9); and Khui (§ 361); see Breasted, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, May, 1901, 237–39.

^c*Hpr* transitive.

^d*Rwd t* “*enduring or hard stone*” (not *šs*, alabaster, which is masculine) is applied to the stone of Hatnub in the Middle Kingdom also; (see § 696, l. 2).

^eThis word *wh* is used of cutting grain, papyrus, plucking grapes, separating blocks from the quarry, and the like. It is used (in pseudo-participle) exactly as here, in the Hammamat inscription of the official Sesostris (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 138, e): *twt . . . wh m rnp t tn*, “*a statue . . . quarried in this year*,” and often in the quarry inscriptions. The meaning “suppression” given it in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XI, 315, does not exist.

^fThe boat of which the description follows.

^gLit.: “*bind*” (*sp*), taken from the binding of reed boats, cf. Breasted, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, May, 1901, 238 f., note. It occurs also in Pepinakht, l. 12 (§ 360).

^hThis uncertain word (*šw*) = perhaps “*flats*,” a pure guess. Maspero guesses “*dos de sable*.” The word also occurs in Ikhnofret’s stela (§ 669, l. 21). Petrie has made our passage the basis for reckoning the date of the period (*Season*, 19–21); but see § 43 above.

ⁱOmitted in text.

^jThese must be for passing the cataracts; cf. the canal of Sesostris III (§§ 642 ff.).

(*W³w³·t*). Then the negro chiefs of Irthet (*Yrrt*), Wawat, Yam (*Y³m*) and Mazoi (*Md³*)^a drew timber therefor, and I did the whole in only one year. They were launched and laden with very large granite blocks for the pyramid (called): "Mernere-Shines-and-is-Beautiful." I then *fr*^b for the palace in all these 5 canals, because I honored, because I *fr*, because I praised the fame of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Mernere, who lives forever, more than all gods, and because I carried out everything^c according to the mandate which his ka commanded me.

I was one beloved of his father, and praised of his mother; first-born⁵⁰—pleasant to his brothers, the count, the real governor, of the South, revered by Osiris, Uni (*Wny*).

INSCRIPTIONS OF HARKHUF^c

325. The important inscriptions of this tomb inform us more fully than any other source, of the commercial relations of the Old Kingdom with the Negro peoples of the extreme

^aThe same chiefs do obeisance to King Mernere at Assuan in the year 5. See §§ 316 ff.

^b*sn*_gs.

^cThe tombs of the Assuan nobles were first noticed (1885) and excavations in them were begun by Mustafa, British consular agent at Assuan. They were then excavated by Gen. Sir F. W. Grenfell (1885), assisted by Budge in 1886. See Budge, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, X, 4-40, and Bouriant, *Recueil*, X, 181-98 (supplemented by Scheil, *Recueil*, XIV, 94-96), who published the shorter texts, discovered before the end of 1886. The entire series of inscribed tombs discovered up to date has been published with plans by de Morgan (*Catalogue des monuments*, 141-201). They are seventeen in number, and unfortunately de Morgan's copyists have collated so carelessly that the more difficult texts are worthless. Only three of the tombs have furnished texts of length or great historical importance: that of Sebni (§§ 362 ff.), of Pepi-nakht (§§ 355 ff.), and Harkhuf. Curiously enough, the fellahin on the island of Elephantine discovered a mass of correspondence on papyrus belonging to the same noblemen who are interred in the cliffs opposite. These papyri of the Old Kingdom are in a very fragmentary condition, but will be published by the Berlin Museum, where they now are. One letter has already been translated by Erman in *Aus den Papyrus der Königlichen Museen*, Berlin, 1899, 91, 92.

The inscriptions of Harkhuf were first noticed by Schiaparelli and published by him in *Memorie della Reale Accad. dei Lincei anno CCLXXXIX*, Ser. 4^a, Vol. I, Part I, 21-53 (1892). It was discussed by Maspero, *Revue Critique*, 1892, II, 357-66;

south, involving indirect traffic with the Sudan. Harkhuf was the most successful of the energetic caravan-leaders among the Assuan nobles. He made four journeys to the distant southern Nubian country of Yam and finally thence westward into unknown regions. Three of these journeys were under Mernere (§§ 332-35) and the last under Pepi II (§§ 350 ff.). His inscriptions and those of the other Assuan nobles, for the first time reveal to us the active commerce with the south conducted by these nobles residing on the southern frontier.

326. Harkhuf's full titles were:^a "*Count (ḥ³ty-^c), governor of the South,^b wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, ritual priest, caravan-conductor.*" Besides these offices, he was also, "*chamber-attendant, attached to Nekhen, lord of Nekheb.*"

327. He first enumerates some of the less important incidents of his life, in connection with some of the qualities of his character.

328. I came today from my city, I descended from my nome, I built a house, I set up the doors. I dug a lake, and I planted trees. The king praised me. My father made a will for me, (for) I was excellent ——— [one beloved] of his father, praised of his mother,

translated and discussed by Erman, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XLVI, 574-79; with text, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1892, 78-83 (journeys), and *ibid.*, 1893, 65-73 (letter). The entire tomb with plan and texts is published by de Morgan (*Catalogue des monuments*, I, 162-73), but very inaccurately. As Erman's text (in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*) is based on indistinct photographs, no accurate text has yet been published. The accompanying translation is based upon my copy of the Berlin squeezes, photographs by Borchardt, and Erman's recent collation of the original, which he kindly placed at my disposal.

Since writing the above, the excellent text of Sethe has appeared (*Urkunden*, I, 120-31).

^aThis and the following statement of his virtues are inscribed over the door of the tomb. See also the list of titles introducing the journeys.

^bHarkhuf must have succeeded Uni in this office, who held it under Mernere also, dying under this king; but it was now becoming merely a rank.

whom all his brothers loved. I gave bread to the hungry, clothing to the naked, I ferried him who had no boat.

329. O ye living, who are upon earth, [who shall pass by this tomb whether] going down-stream or going up-stream, who shall say: "A thousand loaves, a thousand jars of beer for the owner of this tomb;" I will [—] for their sakes in the nether world. I am an excellent, equipped spirit, a ritual priest, whose mouth knows.^a

330. As for any man who shall enter into [this] tomb [as his mortuary possession, I will seize^b] him like a wild fowl; he shall be judged for it by the great god.

331. I was one saying good things and repeating what was loved. Never did I say aught evil, to a powerful one against any people, (for) I desired that it might be well with me in the great god's presence. Never did I [judge two brothers^c] in such a way that a son was deprived of his paternal possession.

Introduction^d

332. ¹Count, sole companion, ritual priest, chamber-attendant, judge attached to Nekhen, lord of Nekheb, wearer of the royal seal, caravan-conductor, privy councilor of all affairs of the South (*tp-rs̄y*), favorite of his lord, Harkhuf (*Hr-hw̄f*), ².^e who brings the products of all the countries to his lord, who brings the tribute of the royal ornaments, governor of all countries of the South (*tp-rs̄y*), who sets the terror of ³Horus^f among the countries, who does that which his lord praises,^e the revered by Ptah-Sokar, Harkhuf.

First Journey

333. ⁴He says:

The majesty of Mernere (*Mr-n-R̄*) my lord, sent me, together with my father, the sole companion, and ritual priest, Iri (*Yry*) to Yam (*Y'm*), in order to explore a road to this country. ⁵I did it in only seven

^aThis is again a promise to intercede with the powers of the hereafter on behalf of the living who repeat a prayer for the sake of the deceased; as in § 252.

^bSee Seneni, § 338, l. 4.

^cSee Pepinakht, § 357, ll. 3, 4.

^dAt the right of the door in fourteen columns on the façade, before the figure of Harkhuf with staff.

^eSome of the same titles repeated.

^fThe king.

months,^a and I brought all (kinds of) gifts from it [— —]. I was very greatly praised for it.

Second Journey

334. His majesty sent me a second time ⁶alone; I went forth upon the Elephantine road, and I descended^b from Irthet (*Yrtt*), Mekher (*M^c hr*), Tereres (*Trrs*), Irtheth (*Yrtt*), being an affair of eight months. When I descended^b ⁷I brought gifts from this country in very great quantity. Never ⁸before was the like brought to this land.^c I descended from the dwelling of the chief of Sethu^d (*Stw*) and Irthet (*Yrtt*), ⁹after I had explored^e these countries. Never had^f any companion or caravan-conductor who went forth to Yam (*Y³ m*) ¹⁰before this, done (it).^g

Third Journey

335. His majesty now sent me a third time to Yam; ¹¹I went forth from [—] upon the Uhet (*Wh³ t*)^h road, and I found the chief of Yam ¹²going to the land of Temeh (*Tmh*)ⁱ to smite Temeh ¹³as far as the western corner of heaven. I went forth after him to the land of Temeh, ¹⁴and I pacified him, until he praised all the gods for the king's sake.

^aThis is the length of the entire journey to and from his destination, including his stay there.

^b"Descend" usually means "return;" but it is uncertain whether it has this meaning in both cases here, though it certainly does in the second.

^cEgypt.

^dSee Maspero (*Recueil*, XV, 103 f.), who places Sethu on both sides of the river south of Keneset, which is the first district south of Assuan.

^e*wb³*, cf. § 312, Uni, l. 22, note.

^f*Gmyy* is perhaps a particle.

^gThe conclusion of this journey describes the unusual road taken to reach home, after he has already narrated the journey out, and the gifts brought back.

^hAccording to the analogy of l. 6 ("Elephantine road"), Uhet must be the starting-point of the road. Hence Griffith's proposal to identify this word with *wh³ t* "oasis," seems to me improbable (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XVI, 50). The verb *wh³* commonly means "to quarry stone;" may this not be a word for "quarry," and the road is then the old quarry road still used at the cataract? Harkhuf then later crosses to the west side.

ⁱSame as later Temeh (*Tmh*) or Temehu (*Tmhw*).

Supplement to Third Journey^a

336. 1—————^bt,^c Yam (*Y^om*) who followed — — in order to inform the majesty of Mernere, my lord, 2—————^b after the chief of Yam. Now when I had pacified that chief of Yam 3————— below^d Irthet (*Yrtt*) and above Sethu (*Stw*), I found the chief of Irthet, Sethu, and Wawat 4— — 1— — 1.

I descended with 300 asses laden with incense, ebony, heknu, grain, 5panthers, — — 1, ivory, 1throw-sticks1, and every good product. Now when the chief of Irthet, Sethu, 6and Wawat saw how strong and numerous was the troop of Yam, which descended with me to the court, and the soldiers who had been sent with me, (then) 7this [chief] brought and gave to me bulls and small cattle,^e and conducted me to the roads of the highlands of Irthet, because I was more excellent, vigilant, and — 8than any count, companion or caravan-conductor, who had been sent to Yam before. Now, when the servant^f there was descending to the court, one^g sent the —, 9sole companion, the master of the bath, Khuni (*Hwny*),^h up-stream with a vessel laden with date-wine, 1cakes1, bread, and beer. 10The count, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, ritual priest, treasurer of the god, privy councilor of decrees, the revered, Harkhuf.

[Continued §§ 350 ff.]

^aIn horizontal lines from right to left, on the left side of the door (on the façade). Below it Harkhuf's son, Zemi (*Dmy*), offers him incense.

^bOver one-third line. Harkhuf evidently sent a messenger to inform the Pharaoh that he had gone "*after the chief of Yam.*"

^cEither Wawat or Irthet preceded, as determinative shows.

^dHe is here giving his return route.

^fModest for "I."

^eOr gazelles; not asses.

^gThe king.

^hOr *R^c-wny*, the *R^c* or *h*-sign is possibly a hole; one is tempted to find our old friend Uni here.

REIGN OF PEPI II

CONVEYANCE OF LAND BY IDU, CALLED ALSO SENENI^a

337. Idu, or Seneni, was priest of Pepi I, Mernere, and Pepi II, This document recorded in his tomb constitutes a gift of land to his wife, apparently as her mortuary endowment, though it is not so called. Strangely enough, the location, size, and limits of the field are not given.

338. ¹Seneni, he saith:

²"As for this field, which I have conveyed ———— ³which I have given to my beloved wife, Disnek (*Dꜥꜣꜣꜣ s-nk*) [⁴'it is her¹] true [⁵'possession. As for any persons¹] ⁴who shall take it from this Disnek, they shall be —^b for it by the great god, ⁵lord of heaven, and I will seize them [like^c] wild fowl. I am (now) an — and excellent spirit. I know ⁶———— ⁷[I have done] this for this Disnek, because she was so greatly honored in ¹⁰my heart; she said nothing to oppose my heart"

Disnek, she saith:

"I was one amiable — —, beloved of her entire city. As for any persons who shall take this land from me, I will enter into judgment with them, by^d the great god."

SINAI INSCRIPTIONS^e

339. There is no relief with the king's titulary, but the queen-mother is depicted with her inscription. The

^aInscription in his cliff-tomb in Kasr-es-Saiyâd; published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 114, a; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 115-117.

^bSome verb of condemnation is lost.

^cSee Harknuf, § 330.

^dWe expect "before."

^eCut on the rocks of Wadi Maghara; text: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 116, a, and Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1496, No. 25; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 112, 113; Morgan, *Recherches*, 236; Weill, *Sinai*, 126; see Rougé, *Recherches sur les monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux VI premières dynasties*, 130, 131.

date, the royal names and titles occupy four vertical columns, and beneath these is the inscription of the officers and officials who conducted the expedition.

Date

340. Year of the second numbering of all large and small cattle of the North and South.^a

King's Name

Horus: Nuterkhu, Neferkere (*Ntr-ḥ^cw*, *Nfr-k^o-R^c*), who lives forever; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Golden Horus: Khrep; Neferkere, who lives forever, like Re.

Queen's Name

341. King's-mother, attached to^b the pyramid: "Neferkere-Remains-Living," king's-wife, his beloved, attached to the pyramid: "Merire-Remains-Beautiful," Enekhnes-Merire, whom all the gods love.

Leader of the Expedition

342. Royal commission, sent with the treasurer of the god, Hepi (*Hpy*), to the terrace, the name of which is "Malachite:"^c

Members of the Expedition

343. Captain, Bekneptah.

Overseer of stone-work,^d Uzai (*Wd^oy*).

Chief scribe, Senezem.

Captain and } { Merire-onekh.

Caravan-conductor } { Neke-onekh (*N-k^o-c nḥ*).

^aCf. the same fiscal date under Isesi (§ 266). It is remarkable that we find "North" placed first here.

^bThis is not a simple genitive *n(y)t* belonging to the preceding as it has always been rendered, but an independent title: *n(y)t Nfr-k^o-R^c mn c nḥ* = "One who belongs to the pyramid, etc.," compare the title of the princess Henetre: *n(y)t Wnys nfr yšwt* (Mariette, *Mastabas*, 360). *N* masculine is employed in the same way with kings' names, as in Sabu's tomb (Mariette, *Mastabas*, 375).

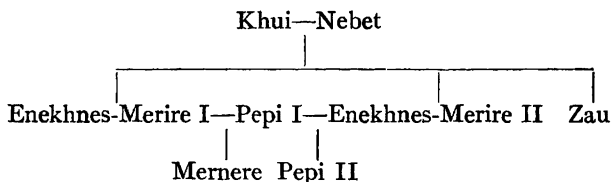
^cSee duplicate under Isesi (§ 266).

^dRead *št*, see § 239, note.

Captain	}	{	Yekerib (<i>Ykr-yb</i>).
and Chief			Khnum-enkhef (<i>Hnm-^cnh·f</i>).
Overseer	}	}	Hemukhrow (<i>Hmw-hrw</i>).
Judge and	}	{	Zaty (<i>D³tyy</i>).
Scribe			— khet.
Leader of the	}	{	Henemi (<i>Hnmy</i> or <i>my</i>).
Crew of			Senezem.
Recruits	}	}	
Caravan-conductor, — khuf (— <i>hwf</i>).			

STELA OF THE TWO QUEENS, ENEKHNES-MERIRE^a

344. The history of the royal family disclosed by this stela is of great interest as well as of historical importance. Zau, the vizier and chief justice under Pepi II, and perhaps earlier, erected the monument in memory of his brothers and sisters at Abydos. He was the son of a prince, named Khui, and his mother's name was Nebet. Both his sisters married king Pepi I; one became the mother of Mernere, the other of Pepi II, so that besides being half-brothers, the two kings were on the mother's side also cousins. The family tree appears thus:



With both his sisters queens and likewise successively the mother of the king, we can see how Zau became vizier

^aTablet found built into a well at Abydos by Mariette, now in Cairo, No. 1431; complete text: Mariette, *Abydos*, I, 2; Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 153, 154; see also Mariette, *Catalogue général d'Abydos*, No. 523, and Rougé, *Recherches sur les monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux VI premières dynasties*, 129–84; I also had access to Erman's collation for the lexicon, which corrected a number of mistakes in the published texts. This collation is now published by Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 117–19.

and chief justice under Pepi II; Pepi II's mother Enekhnes-Merire II was much honored by him, and appears with him in the dating of his Sinai inscription (§ 339).

Inscription over First Queen

345. King's-wife, (attached to)^a the pyramid (called): "Merire-Remains-Beautiful," very amiable, very favored, 'great in possessions', companion of Horus,^b '—' of Horus,^b king's-mother, (attached to) the pyramid (called): "Mernere-Shines-and-is-Beautiful," Enekhnes-Merire.

Inscription over Second Queen

346. King's-wife, (attached to) the pyramid (called): "Merire-Remains-Beautiful," very amiable, very favored, daughter of the god, 'great in possessions,' companion of Horus,^b '—' of Horus, king's-mother, (attached to) the pyramid (called): "Neferkere-Remains-Alive," Enekhnes-Merire.

Inscription over Man

347. Their brother, the chief justice and vizier, Zau (*D^cw*).

Below the preceding is Zau's dedicatory inscription introduced by an enumeration of his five brothers, all of whom bore the name Zau. Thus, the whole family, six brothers Zau, and two sisters Enekhnes-Merire, are all commemorated.

Dedicatory Inscription

348. Their brother, the real hereditary prince, count (*h³ty-ꜥ*) and governor of the pyramid-city, chief justice and vizier, overseer of the king's records, prophet of the gods of Buto, prophet of the gods of Nekhen, chief ritual priest, sem priest and master of all wardrobes, wearer of the royal seal, judge '—', revered by the god, Zau.

349. I made this in Abydos of Thinis, as one in honor with the majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Neferkere, who lives

^aThat the pyramid names in these titles are to be so rendered is made certain by the Wadi Maghara inscription of Pepi, I (§§ 302 ff.), where they occur also, but with *n(y)t* preceding; see note, *ibid.*

^bThe king.

forever, with the majesty of King^a Merire and King^a Mernere, out of love for the nome in which I was born by the favorite of the king, Nebet (*Nb·t*), to my father the hereditary prince, count, (meri-nuter) priest, honored by the great god, Khui (*Hwy*). O ye living, who are upon earth, every superior prophet, every prophet, every [—], of the temple of the majesty of my lord, Osiris (*Hnty ymntyw*); as the king lives for you,^b ye shall take for me the mortuary offerings from the income of this temple, of that which I have conveyed by a decree, and of that which ye convey for yourselves, when ye see my offices with the king; because I was more honored by my lord than [any] noble

INSCRIPTIONS OF HARKHUF

[Continued from § 336]

LETTER OF PEPI II

350. Harkhuf has made a fourth voyage to Yam, and having sent word to the king of his safe return with many products of the south and especially a dancing dwarf, the king writes him a letter of thanks, promising great rewards, etc., if the dwarf is safely brought to court. This letter, Harkhuf had engraved on the façade of his tomb, which was already complete, so that a further space for the letter had to be smoothed on the extreme right of the façade, where none of the other Assuan tombs has any inscriptions at all. Thus was preserved to us the only complete royal letter of the Old Kingdom.^c It is as follows:

^aSame as preceding title of Neferkere. Both these kings were deceased at this time, as they do not receive the predicate "*who lives forever*."

^bAn oath.

^cWith the exception of the Berlin papyrus fragments (§ 325, note) and the fragmentary letters (§§ 271, 273), it is the only letter of any kind surviving from the Old Kingdom.

Date and Introduction

351. ¹Royal seal, year 2, third month of the first season, (third month), day 15.

²Royal decree (to)^a the sole companion, the ritual priest and caravan-conductor, Harkhuf (*Hr-hwf*).

Acknowledgment of Harkhuf's Letter

³I have noted the matter of this thy letter, which thou hast sent to the king, to the palace, in order that one^b might know that thou hast descended ⁴in safety from Yam with the army which was with thee. Thou hast said [in] this thy letter, that thou hast brought ⁵all great and beautiful gifts, which Hathor, mistress of Imu (*Ym²w*) hath given to the ka of the ⁶king of Upper and Lower Egypt Neferkere (*Nfr-k²-R^c*), who liveth forever and ever. Thou hast said in this thy letter,^c that thou hast brought a dancing dwarf^d ⁷of the god from the land of spirits, like the dwarf which ⁸the treasurer of the god Burded (*B²-wr-dd*) brought from Punt in the time of Isesi (*Yssy*). Thou hast said to my majesty: "Never ⁹before has one like him been brought by any other who has visited^e Yam."

Harkhuf's Rewards

352. Each year ¹—¹thee ¹⁰doing that which thy lord desires and praises; thou spendest day and night ¹¹with the caravan¹ in doing that which ¹²thy lord desires, praises and commands. His majesty will make ¹³thy many excellent honors to be an ornament for the son of thy son forever, so that all people will say ¹⁴when they hear what my majesty doeth for thee: "Is there anything like this^f which was done for the sole companion, Harkhuf, ¹⁵when he descended from Yam, because of the

^aOmitted also in both the letters to Senezemib (§§ 271, 273).

^bCircumlocution for "the king."

^cBy emending in accordance with the preceding sentence.

^dLit.: "a dwarf of dances;" cf. the same usage in Hebrew syntax. See Erman's explanation, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1893, 72, 73, and Pietschmann, *ibid.*, 73, 74.

^eThe verb is *yry* "to make or do" with Yam as direct object; the reading is certain. The same usage occurs in Uni (l. 41), and Khui (§ 361); see Breasted, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, May, 1901, 237-39.

^f*Nf*.

vigilance which he showed, to do that which his lord desired, praised and commanded!"

King's Instructions

353. ¹⁵Come northward^a to the court immediately; [—] ¹⁶thou shalt bring this dwarf with thee, which thou bringest living, prosperous and healthy from the land of spirits, ¹⁷for the dances of the god, to rejoice and 'gladden' the heart of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Neferkere, who lives forever. ¹⁸When he goes down with thee into the vessel, appoint excellent people, who shall be beside him ¹⁹on each side of the vessel; take care lest he fall into the water. When [he] sleeps at night appoint excellent people, ²⁰who shall sleep beside him in his tent;^b inspect ten times a night. ²¹My majesty desires to see this dwarf more than the gifts of Sinai^c and ²²of Punt (*Pwnt*). If thou arrivest at court this dwarf being with thee ²³alive, prosperous and healthy, my majesty will do for thee a greater thing than that which was done for the treasurer of the god, Burded (*B²-wr-dd*) ²⁴in the time of Isesi (*Yssy*), according to the heart's desire of my majesty to see this dwarf.

354. ²⁵Commands have been sent to the chief of the New Towns,^d the companion, and superior prophet, to command that sustenance^e be taken ²⁶from him in every store-city and every temple, without stinting therein.

INSCRIPTIONS OF PEPI-NAKHT^f

355. This nobleman of Elephantine was of high rank, and was entrusted with important commissions by King Pepi II.

^aIt is not necessary to emend *dh't* to *dp't*; undoubtedly *hd't*, infinitive of *hd* "sail down-stream" is meant; *hd* makes feminine infinitive in early texts; see Sethe, *Verbum*, I, 238.

^bThis word (*hn*) is certain from Merneptah's Karnak text, l. 62 (III, 589), where it also means "tent."

^c*By*, the name of a mining region in Sinai; as it is sometimes used with the demonstrative (*pn*, "this"), I have rendered it "mine" in the inscriptions of the Middle Kingdom, where it is not uncommon.

^dSee § 628.

^e*ss* = lit.: "a causing to be satisfied;" the reference is to the provisioning of the expedition by the places passed as it returns. The king has sent orders to the proper officer in each place that he shall furnish such provision.

^fFrom his cliff-tomb opposite Assuan (see § 325, note, on the excavation of this tomb); it is No. 9 in de Morgan's plan (*Catalogue des monuments*, 142). The inscription occupies the façade, seven columns on each side of the door; and

He led two campaigns in Nubia (§§ 358, 359), and a remarkable expedition to the north Red Sea for the rescue of the body of a nobleman bound for Punt, who had been killed by the Sand-dwellers while building his ship for the voyage (§ 360).

356. His titles were as follows:^a

¹Custodian of the domain, scribe of the phyle of the pyramid (called): "Neferkere-Remains-Alive," wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, Hekib (*Hḫꜥ-ȝb*);^b governor of the pyramid-city: "Pepi-Remains-Beautiful," sole companion, ritual priest, caravan-conductor, who brings the products of the countries to his lord, Pepi-nakht; ³chief of the phyle of the pyramid: "Mernere-Shines-and-is-Beautiful;" who sets the terror of Horus [among] the countries, the revered Hekib, ⁴count, sole companion, chamber-attendant, judge attached to Nekhen, lord of Nekheb, revered by the great god, Pepi-nakht.

One more title: "*Governor of foreign countries*," is found in column 14.

357. His narrative inscription^c is as follows:

1.^d

Pepi-nakht's Character

²I was one who said that which was good, and repeated that which was loved. Never did I say anything evil to a powerful one against any people, (for) I desired that it be well with me in ³the great god's presence. I gave bread to the hungry, and clothing to the naked. Never

originally four lines of titles at the top on each side, but only two remain on the north (right) side. The texts (with plan of tomb) are published in de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 174-76, but de Morgan's copyists (see 325, note) have failed of the correct reading in all difficult passages. The accompanying translation is based upon my copy of the Berlin squeezes; a collation of the original by Erman and Steindorff, very kindly placed at my disposal. [Later: Sethe's collation with the squeezes has since been published by him (*Urkunden*, I, 131-35).]

^aFour lines at the top, south side, omitting repetitions.

^bNorth side, last upper line states that this was Pepi-nakht's "*beautiful name*."

^cSeven columns on each side of the door; we take the right side first.

^dTitles (next the door); numbering then passes to outside (right) and proceeds toward the door.

did I judge two brothers ⁴in such a way that a son was deprived of his paternal possession. I was one beloved of his father, praised of his mother, ⁵whom his brothers and sisters loved.

First Nubian Expedition

358. The majesty of my lord sent me, to hack up Wawat (*W³w²·t*) and Irthet (*Yrtt*). I did ⁶so that my lord praised me. I slew a great number^a there consisting of chiefs' children and excellent commanders of [—]. I brought ⁷a great number of them to the court as living prisoners^b, while I was at the head of many mighty soldiers as a hero. ⁸The heart of my lord was satisfied with me in every commission with which he^c sent me.

Second Nubian Expedition

359. Now, the majesty of my lord sent me to pacify these countries. ⁹I did so that my lord praised me exceedingly, above everything. I brought the two chiefs of these countries to the court in safety, ¹⁰bulls and live [goats] which they [—] to the court, together with chiefs' children, and the two commanders of [—], who were with them. ¹¹— that which the lords of the South do, because I was excellent in watchfulness and because I did that which my lord desired.

Expedition against Asiatics

360. Now the majesty of my lord sent me ¹²to the country of the Asiatics (*c²m[w]*) to bring for him the sole companion, [commander]^d of the sailors, the caravan-conductor, Enenkhet (*c²n-^cnht*), who was building a ship there for Punt, ¹³when the Asiatics (*c²mw*) belonging to the Sand-dwellers^e (*hr(y)w-š^c*) slew him, together with a troop of the army which was with him^f ¹⁴.^g

^a*hr* a variant of *tnw*.

^bDeterminative of men and women.

^cThe pronoun (*f*) is in the joint of the masonry.

^dSome such title must have been in the lacuna; this title and the preceding (*smr*) "*companion*" are written beside the column. The whole is totally unrecognizable in de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*.

^eThe Sand-dwellers have either pushed very far south at this time (if able to disturb the building of ships for the Punt voyage) or these ships were built in the extreme northern Red Sea. The former supposition is the more probable.

^fAn idiom for: "*under his command*."

^gPepi-nakht's name and titles.

15_____a 16_____ 17among his people. I [—] and I slew
people among them, (I) and the troop of the army which was with me.
.....^b

INSCRIPTION IN THE TOMB OF KHUI^c

361. One of the pillars contains the following text over Khnemhotep, one of the officials so commonly called *hrp-sh*, who is carrying offerings to Khui (*Hwy*):

The *hrp-sh*, Khnemhotep, says: "I went forth with my lord, the count and treasurer of the god, Thethi (*Tty*) to Kush, and (my lord the count and treasurer of the god), Khui^d (*Hwy*), to Punt, [11] times. I was brought back in safety after I had visited^e these countries.

INSCRIPTIONS OF SEBNI^f

362. The adventure which Sebni engraved upon the façade of his tomb is not merely a tale of the greatest interest, but also very important for its religious, geographical, ad-

^aIt is probable that this fragment of four lines (of which only two are preserved) form the conclusion of the expedition against the Asiatics. Sethe has also inserted them here.

^bPepi-nakht's name and title.

^cIn the cliffs opposite Assuan; No. 9 on de Morgan's plan (*Catalogue des monuments*, 142); texts, *ibid.*, 157, 158, but so badly that it is very difficult to use them, and I unfortunately had no other copy (for this tomb was overlooked by both Budge and Bouriant, see § 325, note on excavation), for my note (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, May, 1901, 238), where text is also published. Sethe has since published the same text (*Urkunden*, I, 140, 141), and his explanation is more probable than mine, though it does not affect the conclusions of my note.

^dIt is quite incomprehensible that Khui's name should not appear here as the lord of Khnemhotep. Hence Sethe's restoration is very probable. This Thethi's tomb is located in the same cliff (de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 199); besides the titles above, he bore the title: "*who brings the products of the southern countries to the king*," which we should expect of one who voyaged to Kush.

^eLit.: "*done*," as in Uni, § 322, l. 41 and Harkuf, Letter, § 351, l. 9.

^fFrom his tomb hewn in the cliffs on the west shore at Assuan (for the excavation see § 325, note); it bears the No. 26, and is called No. 2 on de Morgan's plan (*Catalogue des monuments*, 14). It is the largest tomb at Assuan. It is described by Budge with plan (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, X, 16-23) and by Bouriant (*Recueil*, X, 182-85) both of whom took squeezes and

ministrative, and historical data, coming from a period of which we know so very little. Unfortunately, we possess only the second half of the narrative, and this in a condition so fragmentary that a general outline is necessary in order to make the contents clear.

363. The first half, now no longer legible, must have contained the narrative of an expedition into Nubia by Sebni's father, Mekhu. On this expedition Mekhu in some way meets his death.^a Here the surviving portion of the inscription begins; information of Mekhu's death is brought to his son Sebni, and he sets out with troops and 100 asses, laden with presents to rescue his father's body for embalmment; otherwise of course there would be no life hereafter for Mekhu (ll. 1-3). He sent messengers to the king to inform

promised (1887) soon to publish the long text. It was finally published (1893) by de Morgan (*Catalogue des monuments*, 147, 148), but his copyists have clearly spent no time on the difficult collation, and the publication is unusable; the inscription has never been translated or treated. The long text occupies nineteen columns on the right of the door; these are the continuation from the beginning on the left of the door, which has now unfortunately almost totally disappeared. The nineteen columns are crossed by six wide horizontal cracks, some of which were filled up and did not interrupt the scribe's writing, and some of which he jumped over. It is always a question whether the crack has caused a lacuna, e. g., in ll. 11-17 in the third crack from the top there are no lacunæ. Moreover, the whole text is very badly weathered, and one can sit for hours pouring over one line in varying lights, without being certain of the reading. The accompanying translation is based on my copy of the Berlin squeezes, collated with Erman's collation of the original; Erman and I then spent an entire day going over the doubtful passages in the squeezes together, and it is to be hoped that the text is now fixed. Sethe has since published all our readings and his own collation of the squeeze (*Urkunden*, I, 135-40).

^aIt is certainly remarkable that of the three narrative inscriptions of Assuan, two contain accounts of the death of a nobleman on a foreign expedition and the rescue of the body: Mekhu in Nubia and Enenkhet on the northern shores of the Red Sea (§ 360). For the tomb of an Egyptian buried in Sinai, see Borchardt, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1897, 112. Another Egyptian who apparently perished in the desolate quarries of Hammamat is commemorated on the rocks as follows: "O ye living, the ones who come to this land, who desire to return to the king, bearing their gifts to their lord; say ye, '1000 loaves, 1000 jars of beer, etc., etc., for the wearer of the royal seal, etc., Sheme (Šm>).'" Text in Golénischeff, *Hammamat*, III, No. 1.

him of his departure and the purpose of his journey (l. 3). He reached Wawat, and pacified it and its further neighbors, secured the body of his father and started upon the return (ll. 3-6). On reaching Wawat again, he sent the officer Iri and two companions to the court with some of the native products which his father had acquired (ll. 6, 7). They were evidently instructed to return with embalmers and equipment for embalming the deceased Mekhu, for as Sebni descended the river he met Iri returning from the court with all the people and paraphernalia necessary for the embalmment (ll. 8-10). Iri brought also written instructions from the king to Sebni, containing promises of great reward for his pious deed (ll. 10-12). Sebni then buried his father and proceeded to Memphis with the Nubian products which his father had gotten (ll. 12, 13). He was highly praised by the king, and given very rich gifts (ll. 14-16). Later a communication from the vizier reached him, conveying to him a gift of land, either as a further reward for his good deed to refund him his expenses, or as an endowment of his father's tomb (ll. 17-19).

364. Sebni's titles are:^a *Count, wearer of the royal seal, governor of the South, sole companion, ritual priest, Sebni* (*S³ bny*).

365. The long text is as follows:

Information of Mekhu's Death

1_____b [[Then came¹] the ship captain, Intef (*Yntf*), and the overseer of —「—」— Behkesi (*Bhksy*),^c to give information^d that the sole companion, and ritual priest ²Me[khu] [[was dead¹]].

^aDe Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 146, omitting repetitions.

^bOne-third line.

^cProbably the name of a Nubian; it is determined by the soldier, but bearing an ^{c2}*m*-club; a similar club is before the *y* (!) which renders the reading questionable. Of course, one thinks of *nhšy*, but we have the wrong *s*.

dr rd' t rh ntt.

Departure of Sebni

366. [Then I took¹] a troop of my estate, and 100 asses with me, bearing ointment, honey, clothing, oil (*thnt*) and [—] of every sack,^a in order to [make presents [in]¹ these countries [and I went out to]¹ these countries of ³the negroes.

Sebni's Message to the King

367. ———^b [Then I sent¹] people^c who were in the Door,^d and I made letters to give information that I had gone out to bring this my father, from Wawat (*W³w³t*), and Utheth (*Wtt*).

Expedition of Sebni

368. I pacified ⁴these countries ———^e [in¹ the countries of [—] the name of which is Mether (*Mtr*). [I loaded¹] the body of this sole companion upon an ass, and I had him carried by the troop of my estate. ⁵I made for him a coffin ———^f I brought [—] — — — in order to bring him out of these countries. Never did I send [—] or any negro-caravan ⁶———^g. I was greatly praised on account of it.

Return of Sebni

369. I descended to Wawat and Uthek (*Wtk*)^h and I [sent¹] the royal attendant Iri (*Yry*) with two people of my estate as [—],ⁱ ⁷bearing incense, clothing,^j ———,^k 3 cubits long, one tusk, in order to give information that my [best one¹] was 6 cubits long; one [hide¹], and that I had brought this my father and all kinds of gifts from these countries.

^aOr "every equipment" (*c pr*) or "every costume" (*db*)?

^bOne-third line,

^cThe determinative and plural ending are all that is visible.

^dElephantine is often called the "Door of the South;" and it is probably meant here.

^eOne-quarter line.

^fOne-quarter line, followed by fragmentary words.

^gOne-quarter line.

^hOr "Uthek of Wawat." The *z* of Uthek is doubtful.

ⁱIt is possible that this curious word contains the names of the two people.

imnh' t-ntr.

^kOne-fifth line.

Embalmmnt of Mekhu

370. ⁸When I descended to give information ———^a from the bend, (*W^cr^rt*) behold, Iri [^rcame] from the court, [^ras I] came, to embalm^b the count, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, ritual priest, ⁹this Mekhu (*M^hw*). He brought ——— embalmers, the chief ritual priest, *ymy-w^cb*, — *shd*,^c the mourners and all offerings of the [^rWhite] House. He brought festival oil from the double White House ¹⁰and secret things from the double *w^cb^rt^d*house, — — from the *c^h*-house, clothing of the double White House, and all the burial equipment which is issued from the court, like the issuance for the hereditary prince, Meru.

Sebni's Letter from the King

371. Now, when this ¹¹Iri arrived, he brought to me a command (also), [^rto] praise me on account of it. It was said in^e this command: "I will do for thee every excellent thing, as a reward for this great deed, because of bringing thy [father]^f ———. ¹²[N]ever^g has the like happened before.

Mekhu's Burial

I buried this my father in his tomb of the necropolis; never was one of his rank^h (so) buried [before].

Sebni's Honors at Court

372. I [went north] to Memphisⁱ bearing the gifts ¹³of these countries which this count^j had brought. I deposited every gift which this my father deposited — before this my army and the negroes [^r —]. ¹⁴The servant^k there was praised at the court, and the servant there [^rgave praise] to the king, because the servant there was so greatly favored

^aOne-fifth line.

^cTitles of funeral functionaries.

^bOr ceremoniously to receive.

^dThe "*pure*" house.

^eas in the letter of Harkhuf, § 351, l. 7.

^fThe determinative of "*father*" is still visible.

^gThe negative *n* is not visible either on the squeeze or original.

^hLit.: "*his equal*." Zau affirms the same regarding his father (§ 382); there is a remarkable resemblance between this and the inscription of Zau.

ⁱLit.: "*the wall*," a designation for Memphis, e. g., several times in Papyrus Harris.

^jHis father.

^kCommon circumlocution for "I."

by 'the king' ¹⁵f—]. There was given to me a chest of carob wood, — containing — and containing ointment; there was given [to me] '—] — — — with clothing; ¹⁶there was given to me the gold of praise; there were given to me rations, meat, and fowl. Now, when '—] — — '—] — — ¹⁷by my lord.

Sebni's Reward

373. Said the servant ^athere: "There came to me a command of the chief judge — — — [lord of] Nekheb, ¹⁸the inferior prophet Ini (*Yny*) while he was '—] in Per^b-Hathor-Resit (*Pr-Ḥthr-ršy't*) ['saying: that I might bring^c] this ['my father'] immediately ¹⁹that I might bury this ['my father'] in his tomb north of Nekheb.

Sebni's Reward

374. There were given to me 30 (+^dx) stat of land in the North and Southland, in the domain^e of the pyramid: "Neferkere-Remains-Alive," — — in order to honor the servant there.

INSCRIPTIONS OF IBI^f

375. The nomarch, Ibi, begins the history of a new family in the twelfth nome, whose relations with the royal house are especially instructive. In all probability Ibi was the son of the powerful Zau of Abydos (§§ 344 ff.), nomarch of the Thinite nome, whose two sisters became the queens of Pepi I. Ibi was a contemporary of Pepi I, Mernere, and Pepi II during the first part of his reign. Although Mernere appointed him to the nomarchy of the Cerastes-Mountain, it

^aCommon circumlocution for "I."

^cI see traces of *ng* on the squeeze.

^bSee II, 728.

^dNot more than 70.

^eOr possibly "*as custodian of the domain of the pyramid, etc.*;" meaning that he received the gift by virtue of his office.

^fFrom his tomb in the southern necropolis of Der el-Gebrāwi; published by Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir-el-Gebrāwi*, Pl. 23 and 7; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 142-5 (from Davies).

is also probable that he was appointed to it in confirmation of his title to it through his marriage to a lady named Rahenem (*R^c hnm*), in whom we may recognize the heiress to the said nome. He thus became the head, not only of his hereditary nome of Thinis, the ancient capital of Egypt, but also of the twelfth nome. To the latter for some reason he transferred his residence. It is possible that he had not at first received the Thinite nome, and that on his marriage, he went to the Cerastes-Mountain first, as his only nome, and remained there even after his appointment to the Thinite nome. But it is his office in the latter of which he is most proud.

376. The office of “*great lord*” or at least that of “*count*” (*h³ ty-^c*) of a nome, was at this time evidently one of appointment by favor of Pharaoh. The royal house thus maintained control of the landed lords, who were the descendants of the local governors of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties.

Ibi introduced a severe and effective discipline into the organization of the nome, and must have prospered greatly from its revenues. His son Zau-Shemai succeeded him in both nomes.^a (§ 380)

377. ²Wearer^b of the royal seal, commander of a stronghold, sole companion, great lord of the Thinite nome, Ibi (*Yby*); he saith:

“I was a youth who bound on the gir[dle under] ‘the majesty’ [‘of’] the King of Upper and Lower Egypt [Merire (Pepi I)].”

[“The majesty of] ³my lord, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Mernere, living — ‘—’ [appointed me] as count (*h³ ty-^c*), sole companion, and great lord of the nome of the Cerastes-Mountain.”

378. “The majesty of my lord, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt [Neferkere (Pepi II)], appointed me governor of the South.”

The real governor of the South, ⁴Ibi; he saith: “As for any people who shall enter into this tomb [as] their mortuary property, [I] will

^aDavies, *ibid.*, 33, 34.

^bOver the east wall, on the left, Davies, Pl. 23.

seize [them] ⁵like wild fowl. I am an excellent, equipped soul, I know every charm and the secrets of the court, the ¹—¹ which is in the nether world. I was ⁶one beloved of [his] father [praise]d of his mother, honored by the king, honored by his city-god, possessed of love, Ibi.”

^a———— “Now, I gave [bread] to [the hungry], clothing ⁵to the naked of grain, ⁶of oxen, and of the peasants of my domain.

379. ¹. ^b I have made this^c from the towns of my domain as a mortuary possession, and from the royal mortuary offering which the majesty of my lord gave to me; in order to make for me ————
²with peasants of my domain, filled with bulls, goats, and asses, as ¹—¹ —, except the possessions of my father, while I was commander of the stronghold of the granary: 203 stat of land [which] the majesty of my lord gave [to me], to make me rich.

INSCRIPTION OF ZAU^d

380. This nomarch of the Cerastes-Mountain was the grandson of Ibi whom Mernere had appointed to this nome. Ibi's son Zau-Shemai died early, and his son Zau succeeded him. He was a contemporary of Pepi II, under whom he held the office of “*keeper of the door of the South*,” an office usually belonging to the nobles of Elephantine. At his father's death he was obliged to petition the king that he might succeed to the paternal nomarchy.^e His account

^aOver the east wall, on the right; Davies, Pl. XXIII.

^bOn the east wall over the scenes of cattle and under women bringing offerings (Davies, Pl. VII). The omitted introduction contains only name and titles of Ibi, preceded by “*For [the k> o].*”

^cThe endowment from which the offerings depicted before him are drawn. It includes eleven villages or settlements.

^dIn the Gebel Marâg, marked on the Fund map (Pl. IV) as “Dêr-el-Gebrâwi Tombs,” north of Assiut on the east side of the river. Text copied by Sayce and published in *Recueil*, XIII, 65–67; comments by Maspero, *ibid.*, 68 ff. Corrections by Sayce, *ibid.*, XX, 170 ff.; better by Davies, *Deir-el-Gebrâwi*, II, Pl. XIII, but unfortunately the inscription suffered much in the interim between Sayce's and Davies' visits; Sethe (from Davies), *Urkunden*, I, 145–47. See also Newberry, *Egypt Exploration Fund Archaeological Report*, 1892–1893, 14, 15.

^eSee Davies, *ibid.*, II, 35 ff.

of his construction of a common tomb for his father, and himself, is the most remarkable expression of sentiment which this remote age has bequeathed us. He seems to have been the last of his line.

Introduction

381. ¹His eldest son, his beloved, of his body; — — — ²his favorite, his darling,^a prince of the palace, wearer of the royal seal, commander of a stronghold, ³real sole companion, great lord^b of the nome of Cerastes-Mountain,"^c Zau (*D^cw*). I say: "I ⁴was one beloved of his father, praised of his mother, ⁵whom his brothers and sisters loved.

Father's Burial

382. I buried ⁶my father the count, Zau, beyond the splendor, beyond the goodliness of any [⁷equal⁷] of his ⁷who was in this South. I requested as an honor^d ⁸from the majesty of my lord, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Neferkere (Pepi II), who lives forever, that ⁹there be taken^e a coffin, clothing, and festival perfume ¹⁰for this^f Zau. His majesty caused ¹¹that the custodian of the royal domain should bring a coffin of wood, festival perfume, ¹²(*sft*-)oil, clothing, 200 (pieces) of prime (*h⁷tyw*) linen, ¹³and of fine southern linen of [¹⁴—], taken from the double White House ¹⁴of the court for this Zau. Never had it been done ¹⁵to another of his rank.

Son's Burial

383. Now, I caused that I should be buried in the same tomb ¹⁶with this Zau, in order that I might be with him in one place; ¹⁷not, however, because I was not in a position^g to make a second tomb; but I did this in order that ¹⁸I might see this Zau every day, in order that I might be with him in one place."

^aLit.: "in his heart, belonging to the place of his heart."

^bThe rule that this title (*hry-d⁷gd⁷-c⁷*) is to be found only in the Middle Kingdom (*Bersheh*, II, 4) does not hold. The title arose in the Sixth Dynasty.

^cName of the Antaeopolite nome.

^dThe same rare word *šwr* "honor" as in Harkhuf, Letter, § 352, l. 11.

^e*šd*; it occurs in precisely the same connection in the Abydos inscription of *D⁷w*, see § 349, and is the regular word for legally collecting.

^fThe demonstrative is customary in referring to the dead; cf. the deceased Mekhu in the Sebni inscription or the pyramid texts *passim*.

ghr-c; lit.: "having the hand" or "power."

Zau's Prayer

384. The count, commander of a stronghold, sole companion,¹⁹Zau; I say: "O ye living, who are upon earth, servants like me; those whom the king shall love ²⁰and their city-god shall favor, are they who shall say: 'A thousand loaves, beer, oxen, geese, clothing for Zau, son of Zau.'"

Zau Succeeds His Father

385. I requested ²¹[fro]m [his majesty]^a that I might fulfil the office of count, of this Zau. His majesty caused that there be issued (lit., made) the decree appointing him^b count, as an offering which the king gives.^c

^aSomething similar must have been in the lacuna (nearly one-third line); there is not room for "*as an honor from*," as in ll. 7, 8.

^bThe change of person is very sudden, but Zau can be referring to no other than himself, from the standpoint of the command issued.

^cThe mode of obtaining the office of *h²ty-c* "*count*" at this time, points clearly to its source in the royal favor. The designation of the appointment as "*an offering which the king gives*," the usual term for a mortuary gift of the king, certainly indicates that this term did not originally designate solely a mortuary gift, but must have at first enjoyed a wider application, which in course of time was narrowed to exclusively funerary largesses of the king. [Later: A letter from Eduard Meyer suggests that the rank of count was given to the deceased father after his death as a mortuary honor. This would explain its designation as a mortuary gift, and the pronoun "*him*."]]

REIGN OF ITY

HAMMAMAT INSCRIPTION^a

386. This is the only inscription of King Ity known. His pyramid mentioned in the inscription has never been found^b and the place of the king in the series of Pharaohs is uncertain. The inscription is dated in his first year, and records an expedition which was sent to procure the finer stone necessary for the king's pyramid.

387. Year of the first occurrence (of the numbering), fourth month of the first season, day 2.

— Ihy (*Yhy*); Khufu (*Hwf*); commander of the army — Yakhetirni (*Y³ h³ t yrn(y)*).^c

Came the ship captain, Ipi (*Ypy*), and Nekuptah (*Pth-n-k³w*) to do the work on the pyramid (called): "Fame-of-Ity" (*Yty*); together with 200 soldiers and 200 workmen, making¹ 200 (sic!).

^aCut on the rocks in the Wadi Hammamat; text: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 115 f.; partially Golénischeff. *Hammamat*, VII; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 148; see Maspero, *Recueil*, 17, 56 ff.

^bSee Maspero, *ibid.*, 56 ff.

^cThese names were perhaps later inserted between the date and the following.

REIGN OF IMHOTEP

HAMMAMAT INSCRIPTION

388. This unknown king, from whom we have no other documents, sent his eldest son Zaty, who held the office of treasurer of the god, as well as that of general in the army, to the Hammamat quarries to procure a monument, possibly a statue for the king. Zaty left the following record of the enterprise:

389. ¹Commission which the eldest king's-son, the treasurer of the god, commander of the army, Zaty (*D³ty*), called Kenofer (*K³-n³r*) executed.

390. ²I was at the front of the people (*h³m*) in the day of battle, ³I controlled the going in the day of attack, by my counsel. ⁴I was exalted above multitudes, I made this work of Imhotep^a ⁵with ⁶1,000 men of the palace, 100 quarrymen, ⁷1,200 'soldiers' and 50 '—'. ⁸His majesty sent this numerous troop ⁹from the court. ¹⁰I made this work while '—' in every '—', while his majesty gave ¹¹50 oxen and 200 asses^b every day.

Palace-overseer, Intef.

Scribe of the marine, Mereri.

^aThe name is in a cartouche with the determinative of a king.

^bFor the transport of the monument.

THE NINTH AND TENTH DYNASTIES

INSCRIPTIONS OF SIUT^a

391. Of the five inscribed tombs of Siut, three^b date from the period of the Ninth and Tenth Dynasties, and form our only contemporary source of information for that obscure epoch. They belonged to three princes of the Lycopolite nome: Tefibi (§§ 393-97), his son Kheti I (§§ 398-404), and another Kheti (II) (§§ 405-14), whose relation to the two others is not clear. These princes as nomarchs all bore the same titles: "*Hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, superior prophet of Upwawet, lord of Siut.*" They were the continual friends and supporters of the weak Heracleopolitan kings, forming a buffer state, warding off the attacks of the rebellious Theban princes, who are the ancestors of the Eleventh Dynasty.^c Unfortunately, they do not mention any of the Thebans against whom they fought, and only one of the Heracleopolitans whom they served—Merikere.

392. The language of these texts is exceedingly obscure and difficult; these hindrances, together with the very

^aIn an upper row of three tombs, side by side, high up in the face of the cliffs overlooking the modern city of Assiut (or Siut). First copied by the expedition of Napoleon, they were almost wholly neglected till late in last century, having in the interim been frightfully mutilated (serving as a stone quarry!). Finally, after repeated visits, from 1886 to 1888, Mr. F. Ll. Griffith published a careful text, not only of the difficult original, but, where necessary, also of all existing earlier fragmentary copies (*The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rîfeh*, London, 1889). Mr. Griffith furnished an account of his edition, and a digest of the content of the texts in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, III, 121-29, 164-68, 174-84, 244-52, where he also gives an exhaustive bibliography. Maspero (*Revue critique*, II (1889), 410-21) reviewed Griffith's work and gave a very free paraphrase of the texts, some of which is repeated, *Dawn*, 456-58.

^bFor the remaining two, which belong to the Twelfth Dynasty, see §§ 535 ff.

^cSee §§ 415 ff.

fragmentary state of the texts, often make translation quite impossible. The restorations make no claim to reproduce the lost words, but merely indicate the probable connection.

I. INSCRIPTION OF TEFIBI^a

393. The conflict with the South is here clearer than anywhere else, but unfortunately the unfinished condition of the inscription (see l. 16, n., § 396) breaks all continuity. The content in outline is as follows: Tefibi adjures all passers-by to pray for him (l. 1). He sets forth the beneficence of his rule—a rule without distinction of persons, maintaining the security of all, even if abroad at night (ll. 2–12). Because of his beneficent rule his son, when a child, succeeded him without opposition (ll. 13–15). On his (Tefibi's) first campaign, the southern nomes from Elephantine to an uncertain point on the north were united against him (l. 16). He defeated them first on the west shore, driving them as far as "*the fortress of the port of the South*" (Abydos? ll. 16–18). He then crossed to the east shore, where he defeated a second army of the enemy (ll. 19–22) and also discomfited a hostile fleet (ll. 23, 24). He thus suppressed rebellion and had opportunity to promote deserving officers (ll. 25–27). The result was widespread respect for his energetic government, prosperity of the temples. and envy of the evil-minded (ll. 36–40).

Address to Passers

394. ¹O ye living! O ye who are upon earth, children who shall be born; those who shall sail down-stream, those who shall sail up-stream,

^aTomb III. The southernmost of the three tombs on the same terrace, north wall east of pillars. Published by Griffith, *Sint*, 11, 12. See above, § 391, note.

those who shall come in the following of Upwawet, lord of Siut, those who shall pass by this bend,^a those who shall enter into this tomb, those who shall see that which is in it; as Upwawet, lord of Siut and Anubis, lord of the 'cave', live for you, ye shall pray for the mortuary offering for the prince Tefibi.

Tefibi's Kind Rule

395. ^aThe hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, superior prophet of Upwawet, lord of Siut, Tefibi (*Tj-yby*), says: —————^b 3f—1. Harken to me, ye who are to come. I was open-handed to everyone, f— —1 —————^b 4f— —1, I was one of excellent plans, one useful to his city, one f—1 of face toward a petition, —————^b 5f— — —1 one of open face to the widow. I was a Nile^c —————^b 6f for his people. 7.^d 10 When night came, he who slept on the road gave me praise, for he was like a man in his house; the fear of my soldier was his protection. 13. Then^e came my son in my place, the officials were funder1 his fauthority1. He ruled as a child^f of a cubit (high); the city rejoiced over him, she remembered 14 the good.^g Because, any noble who shall do good to the people, who shall surpass the virtue of him that begot him, he shall be — 15 blessed in the hereafter, his son shall abide in his father's house, his memory shall be pleasant in the city, his statue shall be glorified and fcarried^h by the children of his house.

^aUsed alike of the cliffs or the river.

^bAbout one-third line.

^cAmenhotep IV also calls himself a Nile for his people.

^dThe omissions contain obscure phrases, chiefly referring to Tefibi's kindness to his people.

^eSee Sethe, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1893, 108.

^fThe text has "*person*." The stature indicated, "*1 cubit*," is that of a newborn child, as shown by Papyrus Westcar (X, 10), where the three children are each "*of one cubit*" at birth. The same statement is made of Khety II (§ 413, l. 21), where it is confirmed by the context), and seems to be a favorite boast of such princes: in Benihasan (Tomb 13), the owner, Khnumhotep, boasts of being one "*whose place was advanced while he was a child*." The Pharaohs make the same boast.

^gMeaning the good his father had done, as the following shows.

^hIt shall receive the proper ceremonies and be carried in the festal processions. Cf. the contracts of Hepzefi, §§ 535 ff.

War with the South

396. ^{16a}The first time that my soldiers fought with the southern^b nomes, which came together southward as far as Elephantine and northward as far as [the] ———, [they smote them] as far ¹⁷as the southern boundary.^d [the] — — the west side.^e When I came to the city,^f I overthrew [the foe] ———^g [I drove him] ¹⁸— as far as the fortress of the port of the South.^h He gave to me land, while I did not restore his town ———^g ¹⁹[— —] I reached the east side, sailing up-stream; [there came] another,ⁱ like a jackal [— —] ———^g

^aLines 16-40 were never finished; the lower third was never cut (my restorations chiefly indicate the probable connection). Moreover, they were plastered over, and a new inscription containing the conventional encomium was painted on the plaster. As the content of this very portion of the text is political, this must have been the motive for effacing it. See Griffith, *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, III, 128. As the effacement was done before the inscription was finished, it would seem that there was interference from the south during the construction of the tomb.

^bThe word "southern" is broken and not quite certain. It exactly fits the remaining traces as well as the context, and later course of the war.

^cMaspero reads "Gaou" (*Kau*), (*Revue critique*, 1889, II, 416), but wisely adds? The same name occurs at Benihasan (§ 620, note), but cannot be located.

^dThe southern boundary of the Heracleopolitan kings (?), which was then not far north of Abydos; cf. § 423. In this case there would have been an invasion of the Heracleopolitan kingdom by the Thebans, who were then driven out.

^eA reference to his campaign on the west shore of the river; the east shore follows in l. 19.

^fThis must have been a city on the frontier between the territory of the north and south, for he has just passed "the southern boundary," and in the next line reaches "the fortress of the port of the South."

^gAbout one-third line.

^hSee Erman (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1891, 120), who suggests that *tp rśy* is really the south, and *šm*^c middle Egypt. This distinction is apparently maintained in these Siut texts, and is clear at this point, where Tefibi drives his enemy as far as the southern (*rśy*) border of the Northern Kingdom, and then "as far as the fortress of the port of the South (*tp rśy*)." The northernmost point to which *tp rśy* is applied is the Thinite nome. Now, the Theban king, Intef (Horus: *Wꜥḥ ꜥnh*), states that he captured all of the Thinite (Abydos) nome, and "opened all her fortresses" (§ 423), using the very word for fortress (*yth*) employed in l. 18, above. He also made the Aphroditopolite nome (just north of the Thinite nome) "the door of the North" (*ibid.*). Remembering that Tefibi's campaign is thus far confined to the west shore, one would suspect that Tefibi's "port of the South" is Intef's "door of the North." All the indications, therefore, point to this region as the southern extremity of Tefibi's campaign.

ⁱWith the determinative of a person.

²⁰with another army from his confederacy. I went out against him with one —. There was no fear ———.^a ²¹He hastened to battle like the [light¹]; the Lycopolite nome — like a bull going forth ———.^a ²²— forever. I ceased not to fight [to the end [making use¹ of the south wind] as well as the north wind, of the east wind as well as [of the west wind] ———.^a ²³— —]. He fell in the water, his ships ran aground, his army were like bulls, ———.^a [When attacked by wild beasts, and running¹] ²⁴with tails to the front.^b [— —] — — — fire was put ———.^a ²⁵— — — —] I drove out rebellion by —, by the plan of Upwawet, ———.^a ²⁶of a mighty bull. When a man did well, [I placed] him at the head of my soldiers ———.^a ²⁷for his lord.^c ———.^a ³⁶Heracleopolis. The land was under the fear of my soldiers; no highland was free from fear. If he made ———.^a ³⁷fire in the southern nomes. He did it as an affair of his land, to equip ———.^a

Conclusion

397. ³⁸The temples were made to flourish, offerings were made to the gods; the wicked saw it, ———.^a ³⁹he put not eternity before him, he looked not to the future, he saw evil ———.^a ⁴⁰.

II. INSCRIPTION OF KHETI I^d

398. Kheti (called I^e to distinguish him from Kheti II of the next tomb) was the son of Tefibi of the preceding tomb. He inherited the lands and titles of his father, being a nomarch by inheritance from his mother (l. 8). Besides the usual functions of the Assiut nomarchs, he was also

^aAbout one-third line.

^bOf the pursuer.

^cThe following lines, to l. 35, inclusive, are very fragmentary and obscure. In l. 28 there is reference to "the South" ("Oh, speak a word to the South (*tp ršy*)"). In l. 33 the goddesses "Bast of the South" (*Bꜣst nt tp-ršy*) and Hereret (*Hrrt*) are mentioned, and the following lines (to l. 35, inclusive) consist of epithets in the feminine, referring to one of them. In l. 35 there is reference to Middle Egypt (*šmꜥ*) and the building of "its fortresses."

^dIn the middle tomb (IV) of the three on the same terrace, on the north wall, opposite the scene of the soldiers with large shields. Text in Griffith, *Siut*, Pls. 13, 14, 20. See also § 391.

^eGriffith, *Siut*, IV, 75; cf. Kheti II's title, § 410.

“military commander of the whole land.” His inscription is of great importance for the inner history of the Heracleopolitan kingdom, but is unfortunately fragmentary and obscure. After some references to Kheti's services to the king, Merikere (ll. 1-7), and the ancient origin of Kheti's family (ll. 7-9), it is stated that he has chastised Middle Egypt for the king's sake (l. 10), a clear indication of insurrection within the Heracleopolitan kingdom. This trouble quelled, Kheti conducts the king up-river, probably to receive the homage of the kingdom, which, including the nobles of Ehnas, was in great fear, as Kheti's enormous fleet passed up (ll. 10-15). Returning to Ehnas-Heracleopolis, the king is received with acclamation by old and young (ll. 16, 17). Kheti now returns to his home and is commissioned to restore the ancient temple of Upwawet, which, at the present day, lies somewhere beneath the modern buildings of Siut (ll. 17-31). The people lived in peace and security during the remainder of Kheti's reign (ll. 31-34).

399. Of the first seven lines only the upper portion (from a third to a half line) is preserved. The content was important, but only the merest scraps are now intelligible. They show that the text is an address to the deceased Kheti, of historical import, and are as follows: “——— a stock^a of ancient time ——— 3. King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Merikere (Mry-k³-R^c) ⁶of Heracleopolis. Thou overthrowest the rebels. —— ‘lord of the two regions, beloved of the god, shade of the whole land.’” These last epithets (l. 7) refer to the king; and probably Kheti's services to him in overthrowing the rebels, furnish the connection. The text now becomes more connected, though still very obscure in places.

^aReferring to the ancient origin of Kheti's family; see also l. 8.

Kheti's Lineage

400. [Heir]⁸ of a ruler, ruler of rulers,^a son of a ruler, son of the daughter of a ruler, an ancient stock ———^b [son of] the daughter of a ruler, [—] of the beginning, a noble [without] an equal.¹⁰^c for thou hast put [fear] in the land, thou hast chastised Middle Egypt for his^d sake alone.

Services for the King

401. Thou didst convey him up-river, the ¹¹heaven cleared for him,^e the whole land was with him, the counts of Middle Egypt, and the great ones of Heracleopolis, the district^f [of] the queen^g of the land, who came ¹²to repel the evil-doer. The land trembled, Middle Egypt [feared], all the people were in terror, the villages in [panic], ¹³fear entered into their limbs. The officials of Pharaoh were (a prey) to fear, the favorites to the terror of Heracleopolis. ¹⁴The land burned in its^h flame

^aGriffith (*Babylonian and Oriental Record*, III, 164) and later Maspero (*Revue critique*, II [1889], 413) have interpreted this passage as indicating that Kheti was the descendant of five princes. It seems to me there are two convincing objections to this: (1) five princes could be written in Egyptian only by employing the usual construction with the numeral 5, not by repeating the word "prince" (*ḥkꜣ*) five times! (2) The usual method of indicating a line of descent is the one employed in this very passage, by repeating the paternity of the parent (*sꜣ sꜣt ḥkꜣ*); hence a male descent through five generations of princes would be written (*sꜣ ḥkꜣ*) "son of a ruler," repeated five times. (I have rendered the politically very unprecise title *ḥkꜣ* by the equally unprecise "ruler;" it is probably synonymous with nomarch in this passage.) Of the 5 *ḥkꜣ*-signs, the first is genitive after a lost noun preceding, as shown by the surviving *n*; the second is *nomen regens* of a genitive construction in which the following plural of *ḥkꜣ* (written three times as often) is *nomen rectum*. The last construction, written in the same way with four *ḥkꜣ*-signs, is found in Sirenpowet's tomb (Assuan, de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 185, l. 8), and often with other words, e. g., in the name of Amenhotep IV's queen (*nfr-nfrw* with four *nfr*-signs).

^bAbout one-third line.

^cKing Merikere's benefits to Kheti are referred to.

^dThe king's sake.

^eSee Erman (*Gespräch*, 69, 70), who makes the verb transitive: "he cleared the heavens."

^fLit.: "(river)-bend" (many different localities are so designated) apparently in apposition with Heracleopolis. See Erman, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1891, 120, and Griffith, *Kahun Papyri*, II, 21, and *infra* index.

^gSome protecting goddess.

^hThe pronoun refers to Heracleopolis.

.....¹⁵..... Never was the front of a fleet brought into Sheshotep, while its rear was still at [—]^a.....¹⁶..... They descended by water and landed at Heracleopolis. The city came, rejoicing over [her] lord, the son of her lord; women ¹⁷mingled with men, old men and children.

Old Age

402. ^bThe ruler's (*hḥ*²) son, he reached his city, entering into the house of his father. He saw the ¹⁸approach¹ to their house,^c his sarcophagus, his old age. When a man is in his place (his tomb), the city [— —] ¹⁹of eternity [— —].

Building the Temple

403. Thy city-god loves thee, Tefibi's son, Kheti. He hath ¹presented¹ thee, that he might look to the future in order to ²⁰restore his temple, in order to raise the ancient walls, the original places of offering, to [—] the venerable ground, ²¹[— — —] which Ptah built with his fingers, which Thoth founded, for Upwawet, lord of Siut,^d ¹by¹ command of the king, ²²the ruler (*hḥ*²) of the Two Lands, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Merikere, to make a monument for the souls of Anubis, the great god; that he (the king) might spend for him (the god) millions of years, that he might repeat Sed Jubilees; ²³under the leadership^e of the confidant of the king, Tefibi's son, Kheti, great lord of Middle

^aThe reading of this second locality is unfortunately quite uncertain. Maspero reads "Hou" (*Revue critique*, II (1889), 418). Sheshotep is the modern Shatb (Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1902, 205), just south of Assiut, while Hou is 125 miles farther up-river. It is impossible that the fleet should have been 125 miles long. Moreover, the direction of the fleet's movement (l. 10) is up-river, so that the rear must have been at a place below Sheshotep. The return down-river is narrated in l. 16 following. [Since writing the above, I notice that Maspero (*Dawn*, 457) has changed "Hou" to "Gebel-Abufodah," which would make the fleet about 30 miles long; but this is a guess like "Hou."]

^bAs the preceding paragraph closes very abruptly, it is possible that the following paragraph contains the words of the rejoicing multitude to the king as he enters the city.

^cHis own approach to the house, meaning the tomb of his ancestors; hence his death.

^dThis "by" would of course not refer to the building by the gods, but to the proposed restoration.

^eMeaning that the building of the temple is to be under Kheti's leadership.

Egypt. Behold, thy^a name shall be forever in the temple ²⁴of Upwawet, thy memory shall be beautiful in the colonnade. Some shall communicate it to others,^b [—] the future [—] ²⁵in years, one hundred after another hundred,^c of added life upon earth; thou shalt (still) be among them that dwell on 'earth.' ³¹.....^d

Peaceful Rule

404. How beautiful is that which happens in thy time, the city is satisfied with thee. That which was concealed from the people, ³²thou hast done it 'openly', in order to make gifts to Siut, — by thy plan alone. Every 'official' was at his post, ³³there was no one fighting, nor any shooting an arrow. The child was not smitten beside his mother, (nor) the citizen beside his wife. There was no evil-doer ³⁴in [—], nor any one doing violence against his house [—]. Thy city-god, thy father who loveth thee, 'leadeth' thee.

III. INSCRIPTION OF KHETI II^e

405. Kheti II's relation to the two preceding nomarchs is not quite certain, but the unmolested rule which he enjoyed would seem to indicate that he lived before the war with the Thebans, and hence before Tefibi. His inscription curiously inverts the order of his life, placing his youth last, but does not mention the name of his father.^f On the death of his maternal grandfather, who was lord of the Lycopolite nome, Kheti's mother ruled until he grew up to succeed to his maternal heritage (ll. 40–25). Meantime, he was educated with the royal children by the king (ll.

^aPronoun refers to Kheti.

^bThe text has a dittography of *n kt*.

^cSee Sethe, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1893, 113.

^dThe intervening lines contain praise of Kheti as builder of the temple. The text then proceeds to the government of the nome.

^eIn tomb V, the northernmost of the three tombs on the same terrace, in a false door on the back wall (ll. 1–24) and on the south wall, inner half. Text, Griffith, *Siut*, Pl. 15. See § 391.

^fOn his mother's name, see note on l. 38.

22, 23), and was installed in his nome at an early age (l. 21). His life was peaceful and prosperous, and devoted to the development of the material resources of the nome. He dug a much-needed irrigation canal, conducting the water to land unreached by the inundation (ll. 1-8). He was rich in grain, which he dispensed to the people (ll. 9, 10). He remitted taxes (ll. 10, 11), and his herds greatly multiplied (ll. 11-14). He built in the temple, increased its offerings (ll. 14-16), was a good soldier, and, as military commander of Middle Egypt, he raised a troop (ll. 16-18); like Kheti I, he had a navy (ll. 18, 19). His people and those of Heracleopolis were pleased with his government, and recognized the instruction of a king in it (ll. 23, 24). It is possible that Kheti II became an official of the contemporary Theban king (Eleventh Dynasty) after the triumph of Thebes and the consolidation of the country (see note on l. 38).

406. The inscription opens with the usual titles of the Siut nomarchs,^a and Kheti states that there is no falsehood in his narrative, but that all which he did was done in the face of the people (ll. 1, 2); and then proceeds:

New Canal

407. I brought a gift for this city, in which there were no families of the Northland, nor people^b of Middle Egypt (*\$m^c*); ³making a monument in ————^c I substituted a channel of ten cubits.^d I excavated for it upon the arable land. I equipped a gate ¹for¹ its ————^e it

^aSee § 391.

^bThe determinative shows that people of some sort are meant, parallel with "*families*." The remarkable statement perhaps means that no forced labor was employed on the canal, from any part of Egypt composing the Heracleopolitan kingdom, viz., the "*Northland*" (Delta) and "*Middle Egypt*."

^cAbout one-third line is lost; it doubtless contained some reference to an insufficient canal. Kheti's gift to the city, is a larger canal "*of 10 cubits*," probably in breadth.

^dA little over 17 feet.

^eAbout one-third line.

in the ground of [—] in one building, free from [—]. I was liberal as to the monument [—] s[—] ———. ^a [“I sustained”] the life of the city, I made the [—]^b with grain-food, to give water at [mid]day, ^cto [—] ———. ^a [“I supplied water”] in the highland district, I made a water-supply^c for this city^d of Middle Egypt in the [mountain],^e which had not seen water. ⁷I secured the borders — — — [—]. I made the elevated land a swamp. I caused the water of the Nile to flood over the ancient [landmarks], ⁸I made the arable land — — water. Every neighbor was [supplied with water, and every citizen had] Nile water to his heart’s desire; I gave waters to his neighbors, and he was content with them.

Wealth and Generosity

408. ⁹I was rich in grain. When the land was in need, I maintained the city with *khaf*^f and with *heket*.^f I allowed ¹⁰the citizen to carry away for himself grain; and his wife, the widow and her son. I remitted ¹¹all imposts which I found counted by my fathers. I filled the [pastures] with cattle, ¹²[“every”] man had many colors;^g the cows^h brought forth twofold, the folds were full of ¹³calves. I was kind to the cow, when she said, “It is [—].”ⁱ I was one rich in bulls ¹⁴— his ox; — — he lived well.

^aAbout one-third line.

^bThe determinative is a man. The word itself *hbs* means “to reckon.” Maspero says: “*Hobson* (reading the root as *hbs*) est l’homme qui paie la redevance annuelle, le contribuable” (*Revue critique*, II (1889), 413, n. 8), and hence renders “sujet,” but I cannot find any such usage elsewhere. Furthermore, the grammatical construction is not clear.

^cThe same word (*c-mw*) is used in enumerating the duties of the vizier (II, 698), among which was care of the water-supply in the whole land.

^dThis means Siut. Maspero (*loc. cit.*, 414, n. 2) calls it Thebes. But *šm* in these inscriptions means Middle Egypt, not South; and “this city” in a nomarch’s inscription means his own city; see II, 11.

^eThe sign for mountain is certain, but an uncertain sign precedes it; the parallelism with “highland” demands a word like “mountain.”

^f*H*⁷ and *hk*⁷ are measures of capacity referring here to grain. See Griffith, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*. XIV, 425.

^gDoubtless referring to breeds of cattle.

^hThe text has “bulls” (!) misread from l. 13, where the word “bulls” occurs with “many” before it, as in this line.

ⁱCompare the talking cows in Papyrus d’Orbigny.

Kheti's Monuments

409. I was one rich in monuments of the temple, ¹⁵————^a [who
 'increased'] that which he found, who repeated offerings. I was a favor-
 ite, ¹⁶————^b.

His Army

410. I was one strong with the bow, mighty with his sword, ¹⁷great
 in fear among his neighbors. I made a troop of soldiers —————^a
¹⁸as commander^c of Middle Egypt.

His Fleet

411. I had goodly ships, — — — — a favorite of the king ¹⁹when
 he sailed up-river.^d

His Tomb

412. I was one 'vigilant' in that which he said; with a 'determined'
 heart on the evil ['day']. I had a lofty ²⁰tomb with a wide stair before
 the chamber.

Kheti's Childhood

413. I was a favorite of the king, a confidant of his princes, his
 'exalted ones' ²¹before Middle Egypt. He caused that I should rule as
 a child of a cubit^e (in height); he advanced my seat as a 'youth'^f.
²²He had me instructed in swimming along with the royal children. I
 was one correct of 'speech', ²³free from 'opposition' to his lord, who
 brought him up as a child. Siut was satisfied with ²⁴my administra-
 tion; Heracleopolis praised god for me. Middle Egypt and the North-
 land (Delta) said: "It is the instruction of a king."^g

^aAbout one-half line.

^bAbout two-thirds line.

^cThe title (*h' tpy*) was also borne by Kheti, son of Tefibi (§ 398), but with the addition "of the whole land."

^dFrom Heracleopolis to Siut.

^eSee note, § 395, l. 13.

^fThe phrase is literally "as a hairy one," and the parallelism demands a word like "child" or "youth." It is possibly a reference to the lock of childhood.

^gThe description of Kheti's childhood is now continued in the fragmentary lower ends (mostly less than half the height) of sixteen columns on the south wall (Griffith, p. 11; but on the west wall according to Pl. 15). Originally there were twenty-four columns. The numbering of the lines on Pl. 15 (ll. 25-40) must be reversed, but I have retained it for convenience, beginning with 40 and going back to 25. The probable connection between the fragments is indicated as usual in brackets, but without pretense to even approximate restoration for which the basis is lost. For the interpretation of these lines, see § 405.

Death of Kheti's Grandfather

414. 40Saith [Kheti] ——— 39f.—l ——— born of 38Si[t]^a —
 ——— night watch 37 ——— in glorifying his^b name.

36 ——— [‘Then mourned’] the king himself, all Middle Egypt
 and the Northland (Delta) 35 ———. The king himself and the
 counts were gathered together 34 [‘for the burial. He was interred in
 his tomb of the’] highlands.

Regency of Kheti's Mother

The son of his daughter made his name to live and glorified 33[him].
 ——— [‘His daughter ruled in’] Siut, the worthy stock^c of her father
 32[‘reigned in the city’] ——— beloved of Upwawet, rejoicing^d in
 doing good to ‘her city’ 31 ———^e 30 ———
 beloved^f of the king, his favorite.^f The city was satisfied with that
 which she said. 29 ——— [‘She acted as’] lord, until her son became
 strong-armed^g 28. 25.^h

^aThe Kheti who appears with an unidentified Intef offering homage to Nib-
 khru-Re = Mentuhotep at Shatt er-Regâl (cf. § 425) is elsewhere an official of the
 same king (§ 426), and his mother's name is Sitre. This renders it possible that
 he is the same as the Siut Kheti of our text whose mother was “Si[t] —.” Our
 Kheti II may therefore have become an official of the Theban Mentuhotep II
 after the subjugation of the North. His tomb and inscriptions would then have
 been made before the union of North and South, and show no trace of it.

^bThe deceased is the grandfather of Kheti.

^cWith a feminine determinative.

^dFeminine ending.

^eThis obscure phrase occurs also, Griffith, *Siut*, III, 7.

^fFeminine.

^gSee Sethe, *Verbum*, § 366, 2.

^hThe remaining fragments are apparently the usual encomium, but too dis-
 connected for translation.

THE ELEVENTH DYNASTY

THE ELEVENTH DYNASTY

415. The plan of these volumes does not include dynastic discussion, but a few reasons must nevertheless be offered for the order of the kings here adopted.^a Any arrangement of the Eleventh Dynasty must proceed from the fact that the war between the Heracleopolitans and Thebans was still going on in the reign of Horus-Wahenekh-Intef. Now, a great-grandson of a Thinite official of this king erected his tombstone at Abydos in the thirty-third year of Sesostri I (§§ 529 ff.). It was therefore not less than four generations from the reign of the said Intef to the thirty-third year of Sesostri I. Allowing 40 years to the generation, this period was some 160 years in length, of which 53 years fell in the Twelfth Dynasty. The close of this Intef's reign was therefore not later than about 100 years before the accession of the Twelfth Dynasty. The war between Thebes and the North, therefore, continued perhaps as late as 100 years before the accession of the Twelfth Dynasty, and Wahenekh-Intef's accession was not later than 150 years before the end of the Eleventh Dynasty, as we know that he reigned at least 50 years (§ 423).

416. Now, the Turin Papyrus gives 160 years as the length of the Eleventh Dynasty,^b which corresponds admirably with the above result, viz., that the Eleventh Dynasty must have succeeded the Heracleopolitans at the latest 150 years before the rise of the Twelfth Dynasty. The Turin Papyrus had

^aOther indications will be found in connection with the following translations. See also my essay, "New Light on the History of the Eleventh Dynasty," *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, XXI, 163 ff.

^bThe number is $160 + x$, the x not being more than 9 years, of course. That this total refers to the Eleventh Dynasty is perfectly certain; it immediately precedes the heading of the Twelfth Dynasty, and does not reach back to a beginning point behind the Eleventh Dynasty, because there is a summation preceding the seven kings of the Eleventh Dynasty. See Wilkinson, fragg. 61 and 64.

seven kings in the Eleventh Dynasty, of whom Nibkhrure-Mentuhotep, Senekhkere-Mentuhotep, and a lost name at the end were the last three. The last king, whose name is lost, was, of course, one who ruled the whole country, and whose reign shows no trace of war with the North. Among the remaining kings of the time the only one who clearly fulfils these conditions is Nibtowere-Mentuhotep. The second half of the dynasty is thus fairly certain. Working back from Nibkhrure-Mentuhotep, we find that he was suzerain of a vassal king, Intef (§ 424), giving us then an Intef and three Mentuhoteps as the order of this group, thus:

Intef (other names unknown),
Nibkhrure-Mentuhotep,
Senekhkere-Mentuhotep,
Nibtowere-Mentuhotep.

417. The first and second of these three Mentuhoteps reigned not less than 74 years.^a The third had a prosperous reign, as the inscriptions of his second year in Hammat show; so that the above three Mentuhoteps may easily have reigned in all 80 years, and the whole group more than this. Now, Horus-Wahenekh-Intef was still reigning some 100 years before the end of the dynasty. He therefore did not long precede the above group of four. But he never ruled north of Abydos, for on his tombstone in his fiftieth year he tells of having established his northern frontier there (§ 423), and his treasurer, Thethi, corroborates this (§ 423D). He must therefore have preceded Nibhotep-Mentuhotep, who openly boasts of having gained the Two Lands by conquest. But as Wahenekh-Intef was succeeded by his son, a second Intef, both these Intefs must have preceded Nibhotep-Mentuhotep, forming a group of three which evidently immediately preceded the above group of four. The only other ruler of the period remaining is the

^aSee table on p. 197.

nomarch Intef, who of course should head the line;^a but he was not included in the Turin Papyrus.

418. We thus obtain seven names in the dynasty, as the Turin Papyrus prescribes. As four of these are Mentuhoteps, we have another proof that there were not more than three Intefs in the Eleventh Dynasty.^b Thus reconstructed, the dynasty is as follows:

	Years
Horus-Wahenekh-Intef I	50 ^c (+x)
Horus-Nakhtneb-Tepnefer-Intef II	x
Nibhotep-Mentuhotep I	x
Intef III (Shatt er-Regâl) ^d	x
Nibkhure-Mentuhotep II	46 ^e (+x)
Senekhkere-Mentuhotep III	28 ^f (+x)
Nibtowere-Mentuhotep IV	28 ^g (+x)
Total	126 (+x)

As the Turin Papyrus gives at least 160 years to the dynasty, we have at least 34 years to be distributed among the seven above x's.

^aAs in the erratic Karnak list, Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, I: better in *Zwölfte Dynastie*; Prisse, *Monuments*, I; Burton, *Excerpta hieroglyphica*, I. The publications are all very inaccurate; Prisse being probably the best. I had my own copy of the original in the Bibliothèque Nationale. That there may have been a series of Theban kings preceding the list of the dynasty as given in the Turin Papyrus, is perhaps probable, in view of the Intefs and the Mentuhotep who follow the nomarch Intef in the Karnak list.

^bSteindorff has shown that we have contemporary monuments from only three Intefs before the Twelfth Dynasty (besides the nomarch, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1895, 77-96). No one without preconceived opinions will appeal to the Karnak list to prove that the Intefs all ruled before the Twelfth Dynasty. If we are to depend on the Karnak list, then Sesostri I ruled immediately before or after the Seventeenth Dynasty! And such absurdities abound in this list. But accepting this preposterous list as usable, we find that it puts *Nb-hpr (w)-Re* s, Intef either just before or just after the Seventeenth Dynasty. Hence Petrie's statement (*History of Egypt*, I, 5th ed., xxi) that "the ancient lists are entirely against" the above arrangement of the Intefs must be rejected. All the other evidence, moreover, is in favor of dividing the Intefs into two groups.

^cI, 423.

^dEduard Meyer writes me that he would not include this vassal king in the dynasty, but would gain the seven kings demanded by the Turin Papyrus, by inserting a Mentuhotep before Intef I, as in the Karnak list. This would give us five Mentuhoteps, thus: Mentuhotep I, two Intefs and four Mentuhoteps in succession; but the value of the erratic Karnak list seems to me very dubious.

^eTurin Stela of Meru, No. 1447, Cat. I, 117.

^fHis highest date is the year 8; his successor celebrated a Sed Jubilee in his second year, and must therefore have been appointed crown prince 30 years earlier by Mentuhotep III, who thus reigned at least 28 years.

^gI, 435.

THE NOMARCH, INTEF

MORTUARY STELA^a

419. The Karnak list^b places as first of the Intefs a nomarch, without royal title.^c He is the founder of the Theban line, and is so recognized by Sesostri I, who dedicated a statue to him in Karnak with the inscription: "*The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Kheperkere (Sesostri I); he made it as his monument for his father, the hereditary prince (rp^c·ty), Intefo, born of Ikui (Ykwy).*"^d The following mortuary stela probably belonged to him.

420. At the top is a three-line inscription, beginning with the usual mortuary formula, for the benefit of

The hereditary prince, count, great lord of the Theban nome, satisfying the king as keeper of the Door^e of the South, great pillar of him,^f who makes his Two Lands^f to live, superior prophet, Intef.

^aLimestone stela, discovered by Mariette, in Drah abu-ḥ-n-Neggah, now in Cairo, Cat. 20009; also published by him in *Monuments Divers*, 50, b, and p. 16; also Maspero, *Guide*, pl. and p. 34; *Dawn*, 115; Petrie, *History of Egypt*, I, 126.

^bLepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, I. (See § 417, note.)

^cThe family came from Hermonthis, where they were nomarchs. Inscriptions from the tomb of an Intef, one of these nomarchs, are in Copenhagen and Berlin (No 13272; see Lange, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 34, 25-35, and plate).

^dDiscovered by Legrain, in March, 1899 (*Recueil*, XXII, 64). The addition of o (°), "*great*," is not found in the royal list of Karnak with the name of the Rp^c·ty Intef; but as there is only one rp^c·ty in the Karnak list, the two must be identical.

^eSee Piehl, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1887, 35, and Brugsch, *ibid.*, 1884, 93 f. The title continued from the Sixth Dynasty, into Saite times (IV, 995).

^fThis participial epithet is usually applied to Intef, but this is impossible; for Intef, who acknowledges a king in the phrase, "*satisfying the king*," cannot speak of himself, a mere nomarch, as "*making his two lands live*." Nor can "*two lands*," so commonly in parallelism with the title "*King of Upper and Lower Egypt*," be made to mean the two shores of the river in Intef's nome. Compare, e. g., § 441, l. 8. Š^cnh-ṯwy is an epithet, like š^cmnḥ-sw, designating the king. It is in excellent parallelism with "*king*," and indeed serves as king Senekhkere's Horus-name. This Intef therefore ruled before the rebellion against the North, and the "*king*" referred to is an Heracleopolitan.

REIGN OF HORUS-WAHENEKH-INTEF I

ROYAL TOMB STELA^a

421. This is the stela referred to in the remarkable passage in the Papyrus Abbott (IV, 514), where it is described as bearing a figure of the king standing with one of his dogs. The name of the dog given in the papyrus, Behka, is still preserved on the stela. It is a Berber name,^b and the stela accompanies it with a translation into Egyptian. The king stands on the right with his five dogs; before him were seven columns of inscription, of which only the lower half is preserved. The first two lines were occupied with an account of the king's good works for the gods; among these we may discern the following:

I filled his (Amon's) temple with august vases, in order to offer libations. I built their temples, wrought their stairways, restored their gates, established their divine offerings for all eternity. I 'found' ———.

^aLower portion of a large limestone stela, now about 80 cm. high and 130 cm. wide; now in Cairo, No. 20512. It was discovered in 1860, by Mariette, in the brick pyramid of Intef II, at Drah abu-n-Neggah (Thebes). After making an incomplete and inaccurate copy, Mariette left the stela where he found it, to be taken by a fellah, twenty years later, and broken up for use in a sâkiah. Two years later some of the fragments were rescued with much difficulty by Maspero, and installed at Bulâq (now Cairo; cf. *Guide du Visiteur*, 67, and Mariette, *Monuments divers*, Texte, 15; *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, IV, 193, 194). Apparently no search has ever been made on the spot for the upper portion, already lacking in Mariette's time. His copy was published in *Monuments divers*, 49 (p. 15 also); another copy by E. de Rougé (*Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 161, 162). I have collated these with a careful copy of the original in Schaefer's manuscript of the Cairo catalogue.

^bOn the Berber name of one of these dogs, see Maspero, *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, V, 127, and *Études de mythologie et d'archéologie*, III, 331. The others also bore foreign names, and the ancient scribe has appended a translation to each. Daressy (*Recueil*, XI, 79, 80) found a fifth dog; Basset (*Sphinx*, I, 87-92) admits a second name as possibly Berber; see also Birch, *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, IV, 172-86. Finally, Maspero explains another name as Berber (*Recueil*, XXI, 136).

422. The statement of his good works is followed by a narrative of his conquest of territory on his northern frontier. He does not state against whom he contended, but it is of course against the Heracleopolitans, defended by the princes of Siut (see § 391). It is the only distinct reference in the Eleventh Dynasty inscriptions to the geographical location of the northern enemy in the civil wars which raged between North (Heracleopolis) and South (Thebes) for at least several generations before the overthrow of the Heracleopolitans.

423. ³——— her northern boundary as far as the nome of Aphroditopolis.^a I drove in the mooring-stake^b in the sacred valley, I captured the entire Thinite nome, I opened all her fortresses, I made her the Door of the North.^c

⁴——— like a flood, great in possessions, like a sea, splendid for the glory of Thebes (*nw' t*), great for the [— — —] of this land, which I myself have bequeathed to my son,^d [—] ⁵———. There is no lie that has come forth from my mouth, there is no word like that which I have spoken. There was no 'violence' for one (dwelling) upon his sandy land, nor —^e for one in possession of his paternal property, nor — — ⁶——— them forever and ever.

Year 50, when this stela was set up [—] by — Horus, Wahenekh (*W³ h-^c nh*), King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Son of Re, In[tef], the great (*Yn[tj-]^c*).^f

^aRead the serpent and feather. That this is the proper reading is rendered almost certain by the connected data. King Intef is here speaking of the establishment of his northern boundary. The inscription of Intefoker (§§ 529 ff.) shows that he ruled as far north as Akhmim, which is directly across the river from the nome of Aphroditopolis, and the latter is just north of the Thinite nome.

^bThis simply means "I landed," as in § 612, l. 14; and Papyrus Ebers, 58, 9. Cf. Sethe, *Verbum*, I, 257.

^cThis is parallel with the phrase "Door of the South" applied to Elephantine. Thus the Aphroditopolite nome under this Intef occupied the same frontier position in the North as the region of the first cataract in the South (see § 396, l. 18, note). I have retained the gender of the pronouns to show this; the Thinite nome is masculine.

^dThis is corroborated by the treasurer Thethi (§ 423G).

^ePartially broken out; read *chc*; it is evidently a synonym of the first word (*ch* with determinative of bowstring), rendered "violence," with which it is parallel.

^fThis is the proper reading of the name as shown by l. 7, where it occurs as above restored, preceded by the same Horus-name.

REIGN OF HORUS-NAKHTNEB-TEPNEFER- INTEF II

STELA OF THETHI^a

423A. This new and important document contains the autobiography of Thethi, the chief treasurer of Intef I and II. It is the first document from the Eleventh Dynasty clearly narrating the succession of the kingship from father to son,^b and it also places for us the Horus-name of Intef II for the first time.^c Besides these facts it also gives us the northern and southern boundaries of Intef I's kingdom, although the southern limit given cannot be identified with certainty as yet. The northern boundary is given as Thinis, corroborating Intef I's tomb stela (§ 423); but as Thethi's stela was made after Intef I's death, it is evident that this king never reigned north of that point. The account of Thethi's appointment and duties is also of the greatest interest.

Introduction

423B. "[Live] Horus: Wahenekh; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Son of Re, Intef (I), fashioner of beauty, living like Re forever.

Thethi's Titles

423C. His real and favorite servant, having an advanced seat in the house of his lord, great and favorite official, knowing the private

^aStela seen by G. C. Pier in the hands of a native dealer in 1903. Mr. Pier was able to make only a hurried copy, which he published in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, April, 1905, 159 ff. The text is in places, therefore, still uncertain. The following translation was also first published, *ibid.*, 163 ff.

^bBut see § 423, l. 4.

^cIn my publication of the text, I overlooked the earlier occurrence of this Intef's Horus-name on a stela at Abydos (Mariette, *Catalogue d'Abydos*, 96, No. 544).

affairs of his lord, following him at all his goings, 'great' hearted ²— in very truth, head of the grandees of the palace, in charge of the seal in the privy office, one whom his lord trusted more than the grandees, who delighted the heart of Horus (the king) with that which he desired, favorite of his lord, his beloved, chief treasurer, in charge of ³the privy office which his lord loved, chief treasurer, first under the king, the revered, Thethi (*Tṯy*), says:

Career under Intef I

423D. I was one beloved of his lord, his favorite every day. I passed a long period of years under the majesty of my lord, Horus, Wahenekh, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, ⁴Son of Re, Intef, this land being under his authority up-river as far as 'Thes' and down-river as far as Thinis; while I was his servant, his subject, his real subordinate. He made me great, he advanced my seat, he set me in his ⁵confidential office, in his palace because of '—'; the treasury was put in my charge (*m^cy*), under my seal-ring, as one chosen for the sake of every good thing brought to the majesty of my lord, from South and from North at every 'accounting'; for the sake of pleasing (the king) with the tribute of this whole land; because of his apprehension lest ⁶this land diminish that which was brought to the majesty of my lord from the sheiks^a who are in the Red Land; and because of his apprehension lest the highlands diminish. Then he gave this (office) to me, recognizing the excellence of my ability. Then I reported it to him; never was anything lacking ⁷therein '—',^b because of my great wisdom.

423E. I was one who was a real favorite of his lord, a great and favorite official, the coolness and the warmth in the house of his lord, ['to whom'] the arms were drooped (in respect) among the grandees, I did not '—'^c behind ⁸the two '—', for which men are hated. I was one loving good, and hating evil, a character beloved in the house of his lord, attending to every procedure according to the '—'^d of the desire of my lord. Now, at every procedure on account of which he (the king) commanded me to arise ⁹.^e I did not exceed

^aCompare § 429.

^b*Nt ḥsf.*

^c*Wd, "put, place."*

^dIf this is *ḏdw*, "*audience-hall*," then *šm't*, "going" (rendered above "*procedure*"), is literal, viz., "*every going to the audience-hall at the desire, etc.*"

^eWhen the king dismissed him, the court arose as he went out. The following dozen obscure words indicate the compliments of the court as Thethi passed out.

the number^a which he commanded me; I did not put one thing in the place of another^b [— — — — 10 —] I did not take a thing from a legacy, (but) every procedure was attended to. Now, as for all royal food which the majesty of my lord commanded to give to him, I made for it a list of all that his ka desired; then I rendered it to him; I carried out successfully all their administration; never ¹¹was a thing lacking therein, because of my great wisdom.

Death of Intef I

423F. I made a barge^c for the city, and a boat^d for following my lord.^e I was counted with the grandees at every time of [— —], while I was honored and great. I supplied [myself —] ¹²with my own things, which the majesty of my lord gave to me because he so greatly loved me, (even) Horus, Wahenekh, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Son of Re, Intef (I), living like Re, forever; until he journeyed to his horizon^f (tomb).

Career under Intef II

423G. Then, when his son assumed his place, ¹³(even) Horus, Nakht-neb-Tepnefer, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Son of Re, Intef (II), fashioner of beauty, living like Re, forever, I followed him to all his good seats of pleasure. Never did he [— — —] therein, because of my great wisdom. He gave me the function ¹⁴which I had in the time of his father, making it to prosper under his majesty, without anything being lacking therein. I passed all my time on earth, as first under the king, his subject; being mighty and great under his majesty. I was one fulfilling his character, whom his lord praised every day.

^aIn treasury business.

^bPerhaps meaning that in the count he did not substitute less valuable for more valuable things.

^c*Mb*.

^d*Sky*.

^eOne for official use at Thebes, and another for use when the king was on a journey.

^fThis is the brick pyramid-tomb on the western plain of Thebes, containing his mortuary stela (§§ 421, 422); the same tomb which the Ramessid inspectors investigated a thousand years later than this and found uninjured (IV, 514). It has now disappeared.

REIGN OF NIBHOTEP-MENTUHOTEP I

TEMPLE FRAGMENTS FROM GEBELEN^a

423H. These scanty fragments tell a remarkable story, not yet noticed, as far as I know, in any of the histories. The first block bears the Horus-name of the king, and thus identifies him as Nibhotep-Mentuhotep^b (I). It represents him smiting an enemy bearing the inscription: "*Chief of Tehenu and* 1—1." The second block represents the king again smiting the enemy, four in number. The king bears the inscription: "*Son of Hathor, Mistress of Dendera, Mentuhotep.*" The first enemy is without inscription, but represents an Egyptian!^c The other three are designated as: "*Nubians, Asiatics (sttyw), Libyans.*"^d Over the whole is the inscription: "*Binding the chiefs of the Two Lands, capturing the South and Northland, the highlands and the two regions, the Nine Bows and the Two Lands*" (sic!). The king makes no distinction between his victories over foreign foes and his conquest of Egypt itself, and actually places the figure of the conquered Egyptian among those of the barbarians on the temple wall. Mentu-

^aInscribed blocks, now in Cairo, from a temple of Mentuhotep I at Gebelen, which had been rebuilt into a Ptolemaic temple wall. They have been very inaccurately published by Daressy (*Recueil*, XIV, 26, and XVI, 42); much better by Frazer (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XV, 409, Pl. XV). Fortunately, I also found Erman's copy of them among the Lexicon manuscripts.

^bThe Intef-custom of putting "*Son of Re*" within the cartouche is observable here.

^cOverlooked by Daressy; and seemingly not identified by Frazer.

^dOf these three, the first two are the same in appearance; the Libyan as usual wears a feather. They symbolize the foes of Egypt on south, east, and west, in harmony with the same king's inscription on the Island of Konosso (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 150, b = de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 73, 44) which states: "*all countries are beneath his feet.*"

hotep I therefore acquired the land of Egypt by conquest, and made no effort to conceal the source of his title by pretense to legitimacy. It was evidently this conquest which overthrew the Heracleopolitans of the Tenth Dynasty. Hence the reign of Mentuhotep I marks the conclusion of the war with the North. The place of his reign is clearly after Intef II, and before the last three Mentuhoteps who controlled the whole country.^a

^aSchaefer states that similar representations were found by Borchardt in the temple of Nuserre at Abusir. The conception may therefore be more general than I have supposed above. See also Papyrus Anastasi II, II, 7, for similar statements concerning Ramses II.

REIGNS OF INTEF III AND NIBKHRURE- MENTUHOTEP II

RELIEFS NEAR ASSUAN

424. The Intef whom we have called the third, appears in no other monuments which can be identified as his, because we do not know his other names. He can hardly be the same as the preceding Intef II, from whom he is separated by Mentuhotep I. He was obliged to give way to another member of the family, Mentuhotep II, who permitted him to reign as a vassal.

425. The most important of Mentuhotep II's monuments^a is the relief on the rocks at Shatt er-Regâl, near Assuan,^b where, accompanied by his mother, a lady not of royal lineage, he receives the homage of this vassal, King Intef, who is ushered into the royal presence by Mentuhotep II's chief treasurer, Kheti. This Kheti was an important officer, who appears again on the rocks near Assuan in the presence of Mentuhotep II, with the following inscription:^c

426. Year 41,^d under (the majesty of) Nibkhrure (*Nb-ḥrw-R*), came the wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, chief treasurer, Kheti, born of Sitre,^e triumphant; and ships to Wawat — — — —.

^aSee list, Maspero, *Dawn*, 462, n. 1.

^b*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1881, 99, 100; Petrie, *Season in Egypt*, XVI, 489; not in de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*; *Dawn*, 463.

^cPetrie, *Season in Egypt*, VIII, No. 213. I had also a photograph, kindly loaned me by Professor Petrie.

^dHis highest date, "year 46," is on the tablet of Meru at Turin (No. 1447, *Catalogue Turin*, I, 117).

^eThis Kheti may be the same as Kheti II at Assiut. See § 405, and § 414, l. 38, note.

This was doubtless an expedition against the Nubians of Wawat. Mentuhotep II's inscriptions are elsewhere not infrequent, but contain only a word or two, chiefly his titles. His appearance on the monuments of later generations is such as to show that he was regarded as the first great king of the Theban line.

REIGN OF SENEKHKERE-MENTUHOTEP III

HAMMAMAT INSCRIPTION OF HENU^a

427. As the only document of Mentuhotep III, this inscription is of great historical importance. The lists of Sakkara and Abydos show him as the immediate predecessor of the Twelfth Dynasty and the successor of the powerful Mentuhotep II; but the Turin Papyrus has after his, a lost name belonging to the last king of the dynasty. Mentuhotep III's minister, Henu, drew men for this Hammamat expedition from territory between Oxyrrhyncus and Gebelen (l. 10), which shows that practically all of Egypt above the Delta was under this king's rule. The Delta was also certainly subject to Senekhkere, for Henu calls himself (l. 8) one "*who quells the Haunebu*," the peoples of the distant north in the Mediterranean, who could only be reached in the Delta.

Introduction

428. ¹Year 8, first month of the third season (ninth month), day 3; ²his real favorite servant, who does all that he praises every day, wearer of the royal seal, [sole] com[panion], — overseer of that which is and that which is not, overseer of the temples, overseer of the granary and White House, ³overseer of horn and hoof, chief of the six courts of justice, high-voiced in proclaiming the name of the king on the day of warding off [—] who judges the prisoner according to his desert.
⁷.^b Satisfying the heart of the king as keeper of

^aCut on the rocks in the Wadi Hammamat. Text: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 150, a; better, Golénischeff, *Hammamat*, XV-XVII. For old literature, see Maspero, *Dawn*, 495, n. 1. I had also a collation of the Berlin squeeze by Mr. Alan Gardiner, which he kindly permitted me to use.

^bThe omitted lines contain similar but exaggerated epithets indicating Henu's high rank and great power; but no formal titles; omissions of similar character follow.

the Door of the South; over the ⁸administration of the nomes of the South, chief treasurer who quells (*s'bdš*) the Haunebu (*H²-nbw*), to whom the Two Lands come bowing down, to whom every office reports; wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, ⁹the steward, Henu says:

Preparation for the Expedition

429. [My lord, life, prosperity],^a health! sent me to dispatch a ship to Punt to bring for him fresh^b myrrh from the sheiks over the Red Land, by reason of the fear of him in the highlands. Then I went^c forth from Koptos ¹⁰upon the road, which his majesty commanded me. There was with me an army of the South from —^d of the Oxyrrhyncus nome, the beginning thereof^e as far as Gebelen; the end thereof as far as [—]^f; every office of the king's house, those who were in town and field, united, came after me. The army [—] cleared the way ¹¹before, overthrowing those hostile toward the king, the hunters and the children of the highlands^g were posted as the protection of my limbs. Every official body of his majesty was placed under my authority. They reported messengers to me, as one alone commanding, to whom many hearken.

Departure and Provisions

430. I went forth with an army of 3,000 men. ¹²I made the road a river, and the Red Land (desert) a stretch of field,^h for I gave a leathern bottle, a carrying pole (*sšs*), 2 jarsⁱ of water and 20 loaves to each one among them every day.^j The asses were laden with sandals [— — —].

^aRestored from Hammamat inscription of Amenemhet (vizier), § 446, l. 7 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 149. e, l. 7.

^bRead *w>g*.

^cNo lacuna as in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*.

^eRead *š>c ym*.

^dSee same phrase, § 442, l. 13.

^fRead *š>bt*.

^gThis passage indicates a campaign before the expedition, in order to clear the country of the Troglodytes.

^hSee a similar statement by the vizier Amenemhet (§ 447, l. 10). The same rare phrase "*stretch or tract of field*" (*>d*) occurs also in Sinuhe (Berlin, ll. 9, 10).

ⁱRead *gš* later *dš*.

^jThe loaves are small like the German "Brödcchen." The "*every day*" doubtless applies only to the last two articles, the rest being intended for carrying the rations. At the rate of 60,000 loaves a day, this expedition (which could not have lasted less than a month) consumed 1,800,000 loaves, which they must have brought with them from Coptos. Water skins could be replenished at the quarries. See the elaborate arrangements of Ramses IV for provisioning his expedition (IV, 467).

Wells Dug

431. Now, I made 12 wells^a in the bush, ¹³and two wells in Idehet (*Yd²ht*), 20 ¹square cubits^b in one, and 31 ¹square cubits^b in the other. I made another in Iheteḥ (*Y²htḥ*), 20 by 20 cubits on each side ¹— — —
—¹.

Ship Built and Sent

432. Then I reached the (Red) Sea; then I made this ship, and I dispatched it^c with everything, when I had made for it a great oblation of cattle, bulls and ¹⁴ibexes.

Return and Quarrying at Hammamat

433. Now, after my return from the (Red) Sea, I executed the command of his majesty, and I brought for him all the gifts, which I had found in the regions of God's-Land. I returned through the ¹valley^{1d} of Hammamat, I brought for him august blocks for statues belonging to the temple. Never was brought down the like thereof for the king's court; never ¹⁵was done the like of this by any king's-confidant sent out since the time of the god. I did this for the majesty of my lord because he so much loved me.^e

^aMr. Griffith (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XIV, 420), has read the sign before 12 as a measure of area; giving "a well of 12 — ?" As this would leave the word "well" without either determinative or feminine ending, it is improbable. The sign in question is more probably a part of the word for well (*nm*), giving *hnmt* as usual.

^bSee Mr. Griffith, *ibid*.

^cHenu only equipped and dispatched the ship, but did not accompany it to Punt; he then returned to Egypt by way of Hammamat (l. 14).

^dPossibly *W²g*, another land.

^eFurther asseverations of the king's favor follow. The same obscure phrases also Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 149, e, l. 13 = Golénischeff, *Hammamat*, XIII l. 13.

REIGN OF NIBTOWERE-MENTUHOTEP IV

HAMMAMAT INSCRIPTIONS^a

434. These are among the most important of the Hammamat inscriptions. Besides their unusual archæological interest, they throw great light on the reign of Nibtowere-Mentuhotep (IV), from whom we have no other inscriptional material. They show clearly that the wars with the North (Heracleopolis), had long ceased, and that the North was now united under his rule; for he had an army of 3,000 men from the Delta to transport the lid block of his sarcophagus to Egypt (§ 453, l. 21; similar indications in § 451, 3, ll. 8-10). The only place that he can have held in the series of Eleventh Dynasty kings is therefore at the end of that dynasty. The place of Mentuhotep II and III is certain from the Turin Papyrus. Our Mentuhotep cannot precede Mentuhotep II, who supplanted an Intef; nor does the Turin Papyrus permit him to follow Mentuhotep II. The only place open after the close of the war with the North is at the end of the dynasty after Mentuhotep III, where the Turin Papyrus shows a lost name.

I. THE FIRST WONDER^b

435. A relief shows the king offering wine before Min of Coptos; behind the king are the words: "*First occurrence*

^aCut on the rock-walls of the Wadi Hammamat. Text: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 149, c to g; Golénischeff, Hammamat, X-XV; and partially in the manuscripts of Nestor l'Hôte in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. I had also collations of the Berlin squeezes by Mr. Alan Gardiner, of which he very kindly gave me the use.

^bLepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 149, c = Golénischeff, *Hammamat*, X. Copy in manuscript of Nestor l'Hôte; translated by Erman, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1891, 60.

of the Sed Jubilee; at the top the date: Year 2,^a second month of the first season (second month), day 3."

436. Then the following:

¹This wonder which happened to his majesty: that the beasts^b of the ²highlands came down to him; there came a gazelle great with young, going with her face toward the people before her, ³while her eyes looked backward¹; (but) she did not turn back, until she arrived at this august mountain,⁴at this block, it being still in its place, (intended) for^c this lid of this sarcophagus. She dropped her young upon it while this army of ⁵the king was looking. Then they cut off her neck before^{1d} it (the block) and brought fire. ⁶It descended in safety.^c

437. Now, it was the majesty of this august god, ⁷lord of the highlands, who gave the offering (*m^{2c}*) to his son, Nibtowere (*Nb-t²wy-R^c*), Mentuhotep IV, living forever, in order that his heart might be joyful, that he might ⁸live upon his throne forever and forever, that he might celebrate millions of Sed Jubilees.

438. ⁹The hereditary^f prince, count, governor of the city and vizier, chief of all nobles of judicial office, supervisor of that which heaven gives, the earth creates, and the Nile brings, supervisor of everything in this whole land, the vizier, Amenemhet.

II. THE OFFICIAL TABLET^g

439. The above prodigy, which doubtless occurred soon after their arrival, found record twelve days before the official record of the expedition, which is as follows:

^aThis king was therefore nominated as crown prince 28 years before his father's death, as he celebrates his 30-years' jubilee in his second year. Thus Mentuhotep III reigned at least 28 years.

^bSuggested by Gardiner; Erman: "*Gebirgs (arbeiter)*."

^cUndoubtedly this explanation of Erman is correct.

^dRead *hnt-hrf*? l'Hôte shows a *šms*-sign before *hr*^f; and Gardiner saw a similar sign. The soldiers sacrificed the gazelle upon the block.

^eThat is, the block reached Egypt in safety.

^fThe leader of the expedition here adds his name and titles. A double line separates them from the king's inscription above them.

^gLepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 149, *d*=Golénischeff, *Hammamat*, XI.

Date

440. ¹Year 2, second month of the first season, day 15, ²(of) Nibtowere-Mentuhotep^a (IV) living forever.

Erection of Stela

441. ³His majesty commanded to erect^b this stela to his father Min, lord of the highlands in this ⁴august, primeval mountain,
⁵. . . . ⁶. . . .^c in order that his ka may be satisfied and that the god may [—] in his desire, as ⁷does a king who is upon the great throne, first in thrones; enduring in monuments, excellent god, lord of joy, ⁸mighty in fear, great in love, heir of Horus in his Two Lands, whom ⁹the divine Isis, Min, and Mut, the great sorceress reared for the dominion ¹⁰of the two regions of Horus, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nibtowere (Mentuhotep IV), living like Re, forever; ¹¹he says:

Dispatch of Expedition

442. My majesty sent forth the hereditary prince, governor of the city and vizier, chief of ¹²works, favorite of the king, Amenemhet, with an army of 10,000^d men ¹³from the southern nomes, Middle^e Egypt, and the [—]^f of the Oxyrrhyncus ¹⁴nome; to bring for me an august block of the pure costly stone which is in this mountain, ¹⁵whose^g excellent things¹ Min makes; for a sarcophagus, an eternal memorial, and for monuments ¹⁶in the temples of Middle Egypt,^h according as a king over the Two Lands sends ¹⁷to bring for himself the desire of his heart, from the highlands of his father Min.

^aFull five-name titulary.

^bThe word "erect" (lit., "cause to stand") is here loosely used from habit, although the inscription is cut on a natural wall of rock, which could not have been "erected."

^cEulogistic epithets of the god.

^dGardiner gives the sign as certain; Golénischeff also has apparently a finger (= 10,000); both give the top pointing wrong, but this is a peculiarity of the Hammamat inscriptions (cf. Henu, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 150, a, l. 7, thrice!) and is only one of many instances of the influence of the hieratic in these texts. This peculiarity occurs frequently also in the Assiut texts of the same period. Cf. the 8,368 men of a later expedition, IV, 466.

^eŠm c' w, perhaps "South."

^fUnty written only with the nose; determinative house.

^gReferring to "stone" (feminine).

^hŠm c' w, perhaps "South."

Dedication

443. He made (it) as his monument for his father Min of Koptos, lord of the highlands, head of the Troglodytes, in order that he (the king) might celebrate very many [Sed Jubilees], living like Re, forever.^a

III. THE COMMANDER'S TABLET^b

444. On the same day, Amenemhet, the commander of the expedition, engraved his own record of the achievement, as follows:

Date and Introduction

445. ¹Year 2, second month of the first season, day 15. Royal commission, executed by the hereditary prince, count, governor of the city, chief judge, favorite of the king, chief of works, distinguished in his office, great in his rank, with advanced place in ³the house of his lord, commanding the official body, chief of the six courts of justice, judging the people (*p^c·t*) and the inhabitants (*rhy·t*), and hearing ¹causes¹; to whom the great come bowing down, ⁴and the whole land, prone upon the belly; whose offices his lord advanced; his favorite, as keeper of the Door of the South; conducting for him millions of the inhabitants (*rhy·t*) to do for him the desire of his heart ⁵toward his monuments, enduring on earth; magnate of the King of Upper Egypt, great one of the King of Lower Egypt, conductor of the palace, ¹— —¹ in stretching the measuring-cord; judging without partiality, governor of the whole South, to whom is reported ⁶that which is and that which is not; conducting the administration of the Lord of the Two Lands; ¹'zealous' of heart upon a royal commission; commander of those that command, conductor of overseers; the vizier of the king, at his audiences, Amenemhet, ⁷says:

Choice of Amenemhet

446. My lord, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nibtowere (*Nb-t²wy-R^c*, Mentuhotep IV) living forever, sent me, as one sending, in whom are divine members; to establish his monument in ⁸this land. He chose me before his city, I was preferred before his court.

^aThere is an appendix here of the twenty-seventh or twenty-eighth day, which is the latest date in the series; it is translated at the end (§§ 452, 453).

^bLepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 149, *e* = Golénischeff, *Hammamat*, XII, XIII; manuscripts of Nestor l'Hôte.

Personnel of Expedition

447. Now, his majesty commanded that there go forth to this august highland 9an army with me, men of the choicest of the whole land: miners, artificers, quarrymen, artists, draughtsmen, stonecutters, gold-¹workers¹, ¹⁰treasurers of Pharaoh, of every department of the White House, and every office of the king's-house, united behind me. I made the highlands a river, and the upper valleys ¹¹a water-way.^a

Return with Sarcophagus

448. I brought for him a sarcophagus, an eternal memorial, an everlasting reminder. Never descended its like in this highland since the time of the god. ¹²My soldiers descended without loss; not a man perished, not a troop was missing, not an ass died, not a workman was enfeebled. It happened for the majesty of my lord ¹³as a distinction, which Min wrought for him because he so much loved him, that his ka might endure upon the great throne in the kingdom of the two regions of Horus. ¹⁴He made (it) as something greater than it.^{1b} I am his favorite servant, who does all that he praises every day.

IV. THE SECOND WONDER ^c

449. Eight days after the erection of the two preceding records, a second wonder occurred, which was immediately recorded on the rocks, as follows:

Date

450. ¹King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nibtowere (*Nb-t²wy-R^c*, Mentuhotep IV) who liveth forever, born of the king's mother, Imi (*Ymy*), second month of the first season, day 23.

^aReferring to the desert march. See the similar, but more explicit, statement of Henu on the same march, § 430, l. 12. According to the figures given there, this expedition consumed 200,000 loaves a day! (See note, *ibid.*)

^bGrammatically, the sentence is clear, but its meaning? The same phrase in Henu, l. 16.

^cGolénischeff, *Hammamat*, XIV = Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 149 f.

Rain and a Well

451. One set^a to work ²in this mountain on the 'lid' block^b of the sarcophagus. The wonder was repeated, rain was made, the forms of this god appeared, ³his fame was shown to men, the highland was made a lake,^c the water went to the 'margin' of the stone,^d a well was found in the midst of the valley, ⁴10 cubits by 10 cubits on its every side, filled with fresh water, to its edge, undefiled, kept pure and cleansed from gazelles, concealed ⁶from Troglodyte barbarians. Soldiers of old, and kings who had lived aforetime, went out and returned by its side, no eye had seen it, the face of man had not fallen upon it, (but) to his majesty himself it was revealed.⁸. . . .^e Those who were in Egypt (*T^o-mry*) heard it, ⁹the people who were in Egypt (*Km·t*), South and Northland (Delta),^f they bowed their heads to the ground, ¹⁰they praised the goodness of his majesty forever and ever.

V. COMPLETION OF THE WORK^g

452. On the twenty-eighth day of the month the work was completed, and the following appendix was added to the king's official stela:

453. ¹⁹Day 28. The lid of this sarcophagus descended, being a block 4 cubits, by 8 cubits, by 2 cubits,^h ²⁰on coming forth from the work. Cattle were slaughtered, goats were slain, incense was put ²¹on the fire. Behold, an army of 3,000 sailors of the nomes of the Northland (Delta) followed it in safety to Egypt.

^aLit.: "*laying the hand on the work.*" The form is an infinitive, the same construction continuing to the end of l. 5.

^bI am not quite certain that this rendering is correct; it is lit.: "*laid or set block of the sarcophagus.*"

^cWater in the highland was always remarkable; compare Khety's feat (§ 407) who "*made the elevated land a swamp*" by means of a canal.

^dMight also be "*lake.*"

^eObscure references to the discovery as a favor to the king.

^fIt is clear that Nibtowere governs all Egypt.

^gLepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 149, *d*=Golénischeff, *Hammat*, XI.

^hAbout 6 feet, 9 inches wide, 13 feet, 9 inches long, and 3 feet, 5 inches thick.

TABLET OF SENEKH^a

454. This tablet does not belong to the same expedition as the preceding, but it narrates the attempts to settle with people the desert stations in Hammamat, and along the road from Coptos to the Red Sea.

455. Nibtowere (Mentuhotep IV), living forever. Commander of troops in the highlands, steward in Egypt, commander of [—] on the river, Senekh (*S^cnḥ*), says:

456. I was commander of the troops of this entire land in this highland, equipped with water skins^b (*šdw*), 'baskets,'¹ with bread, beer, and every fresh vegetable of the South. I made its valleys green, and its heights pools of water; settled with children throughout, southward to Thau (*T^cw*) and northward to Menet-Khufu (*Mn^c·t-Ḥ/w*). I went forth to the sea (Red Sea), I hunted adults, I hunted cattle. I went forth to this highland with 60 people of years, and 70 young ones of the children^c of one (woman). I did all correctly for Nibtowere (Mentuhotep IV), living forever.

STELA OF ETI^d

457. This biography of an active official is of interest as showing the agricultural and industrial conditions in the Middle Kingdom, when the skilful administration of resources by the governing princes was necessary to prevent a famine. Eti was so successful in this respect that he even conveyed surplus grain to neighboring towns, and Thebes, sent to him for supplies.

^aCut on the rocks at Wadi Hammamat; published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 149, g; and Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, II, 18 (where the translation is misleading). I had also a collation of the Berlin squeeze, kindly loaned to me by Mr. Alan H. Gardiner.

^bGardiner.

^cOr: "I went forth to this desert as a man of 60 years, and 70 little children, the offspring of one (woman);" "offspring" or "children" (*ms^cw*) is of course used in sense of "descendants."

^dLimestone stela (0.47 m. by 0.75 m.) from Gebelên, now in Cairo, *Catalogue*, 20001; also published by Daressy, *Recueil*, XIV, 21.

458. An interesting reference in ll. 7, 8, where Eti states, "*I followed my great lord, I followed my small lord,*" may possibly indicate that we are to refer this document to the early Eleventh Dynasty, when the Theban princes ruled above Thebes, but were not yet kings. The powerful Theban prince would then be Eti's "*great lord,*" and the local nomarch his "*small lord.*" In accordance with this, his field of activity did not extend below Thebes.

459. ¹The assistant treasurer Eti^a (*Yty*); he says:

"I was an excellent citizen (*nds*), achieving with his strength, the great pillar ²in the nome of Thebes, Nehebkauf^b in the upper country (*hnty·t*). I sustained (*s·c·nh*) ³Gebelên^c during unfruitful years, there being 400 men ¹in distress¹. ⁴But I took not the daughter of a man, I took not his field. I made ten herds of goats, ⁵with people in charge of each herd; I made two herds of cattle and a herd of asses. I raised all (kinds of) small cattle. I made 30 ships, (then) ⁶30 other ships, and I brought grain (*rsy*) for Eni (*Yny*)^d and Hefat^e (*Hj·t*), after Gebelên was sustained. The nome of Thebes ⁷went up-stream.^f Never ⁸did one below or above Gebelên bring to another district.^g I followed ⁸my great lord, I followed my small lord, and nothing was lost therein. I built a house ⁹—¹, filled with every luxury. The people said: "He is innocent of violence to another."

His beloved eldest son,^h— made it for him.

^aHe was also "*wearer of the royal seal, and sole companion.*"

^bAn uncertain epithet, "*who controls his ka's,*" also applied to a well-known mortuary god.

^c*Yw-mylrw.*

^dEni is probably Esneh (*Yny·t*).

^eTuphium. Same as the Ophieion of the Cornelius Gallus inscription at Philae; see Sethe, *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1896, 482; it is located on the east bank of the Nile, between Thebes and Hermonthis.

^fProbably for supplies.

^gOr: "*never did Gebelên send down-stream or up-stream* (*ʿdy¹ hḏ hnt*) *to another district*" (namely, to procure supplies).

^hThe name of the son is lacking, but one surviving sign would indicate that it was also *Yty*.

THE TWELFTH DYNASTY

CHRONOLOGY OF THE TWELFTH DYNASTY

460. As the chronology of the Twelfth Dynasty is more fully and accurately known to us than that of any dynasty in or before the Empire, it has seemed necessary to insert a statement of it, with a reconstruction based on the latest data from the monuments. The contemporary monuments and the Turin Papyrus enable us to make the following table^a of the dynasty (excluding coregencies):

Amenemhet I	20 ^b years
(10 years more with his son) ^c	
Sesostris I	42 ^d "
(at least 3 years more with his son) ^e	
Amenemhet II	32 ^f "
(at least 3 years more with his son) ^f	
Sesostris II	19 ^g "
Sesostris III	38 ^h "
(coregency of uncertain length with son)	
Amenemhet III	48 ⁱ "
(coregency of uncertain length with his son) ^j	
Amenemhet IV	9 y., 3 m., 27 d. ^k
Sebeknefrure	3 y., 10 m., 24 d. ^k

^aSee Sethe, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 41, 38 ff.

^bThe stela of Intef in Cairo bears the double date: "Year 30 of Amenemhet I, Year 10 of Sesostris I" (Mariette, *Abydos*, II, 22 = Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, VIII = Rougé, *Album photographique*, No. 146; = Mariette, *Catalogue général d'Abydos*, 104, No. 558).

^cAmenemhet I died in the thirtieth year of his reign. See Tale of Sinuhe (§ 491).

^dThe stela of Upwaweto at Leyden (V., 4) bears the double date: "Year 44 of Sesostris I = Year 2 of Amenemhet II" (Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, Pl. 10; Lepsius, *Zwölfte Dynastie*, II, No. 4; also my own photograph of the original; and the Turin Papyrus gives him 45 years, so that he must have ruled 3 years with his son.

^eOn the stela of Simontu (§ 594), Sesostris I is still living in the third year of Amenemhet II.

^fThe inscription of Hapu at Assuan (§ 614).

^gKahun papyri of the second find, fragment transliterated by Borchardt and distributed in private copies at the Congress of Orientalists, Rome, 1899.

^hThe highest date on the monuments is year 33 (Griffith, *Kahun Papyri*, II, 85). Sethe's reconstruction of the Turin Papyrus proves that 38 is to be restored.

ⁱThe highest date is year 46 (*ibid.*, 86); 48 is certain from Sethe's reconstruction.

^jLepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, 10; Prisse, *Monuments égyptiens*, 9; its length is unknown.

^kTurin Papyrus, see above.

46r. The Turin Papyrus gives 213 years, 1 month, and 17 days, as the total length of the dynasty.

The Sothis date in the Kahun Papyri enables us to establish the date of the accession of Amenemhet I as 2000 B. C.^a

462. We may then construct the following table:^b

	Length	Date B. C.	Coregencies
Amenemhet I.	30 years	2000-1970	{ 2000-1980 alone 1980-1970 with his son 1980-1970 with his father
Sesostris I.	45 "	1980-1935	{ 1970-1938 alone 1938-1935 with his son 1938-1935 with his father
Amenemhet II.	35 "	1938-1903	{ 1935-1906 alone 1906-1903 with his son 1906-1903 with his father
Sesostris II.	19 "	1906-1887	{ 1903-1887 alone Uncertain period with son
Sesostris III.	38 "	1887-1849	Uncertain period with
Amenemhet III.	48 "	1849-1801	father ^c
Amenemhet IV ^d	9 "	1801-1792	
Sebeknefrure	4 "	1792-1788	

^aBorchardt, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 37, 99 ff.; Mahler, *ibid.*, 40, 83; Meyer's calculation (*Aegyptische Chronologie*, 51, 52, 57, 58) has slightly modified the date as calculated by Borchardt and Mahler, without affecting the principle employed, carrying back the beginning of the dynasty to 2000 B. C.

^bThis table differs considerably in the last four reigns from that given by Mahler (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 40, 83-85, and *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, June, 1902, 248 f.), as he unfortunately has overlooked the higher dates in the reigns of Sesostris III and Amenemhet III, found since the publication of Brugsch's and Meyer's tables, upon which Mahler depends.

^cThe coronation of Amenemhet III as coregent with his father was narrated on the walls of a temple probably that of Crocodilopolis in the Fayûm. Fragments of the inscription are preserved in Berlin (Nos. 15801-4), and published in *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen*, III, 138. The coronation inscription of Hatshepsut at Der el-Bahri was copied from this of Amenemhet III. I am indebted for these facts to my friend, Mr. Alan H. Gardiner, who kindly called my attention to them.

^dThe length of his coregency with his father is unknown, and hence not indicated in years.

The opposite table is as nearly correct as the astronomical data will permit, the most nearly accurate of all the Egyptian dynasties back of the Twenty-sixth, and the earliest series of absolute dates known in history, in spite of the margin of four years within which each date falls.

REIGN OF AMENEMHET I

INSCRIPTION OF KHNUMHOTEP I^a

463. Khnumhotep I was the first of the powerful Benihasan nobles in the Twelfth Dynasty of whom we have any account. He was evidently of service to Amenemhet I during that king's final and successful struggle for the mastery and the crown of Egypt. The text is in such a fragmentary state that much must be read between the lines. It is, however, clear that Khnumhotep accompanied the king on an expedition in which "20 ships of cedar" were engaged, which resulted in expelling a certain foe from Egypt (l. 5). This foe, referred to only by the pronoun "*him*," whom it was necessary to expel from Egypt, must almost certainly have been one of Amenemhet's rivals for the crown. Then follows the submission of foreign foes, the Asiatic in the North and the Negro in the South, and of highland and lowland alike ("*the two regions*," l. 6). This accomplished, the king rewards his faithful adherents, and Khnumhotep is made "*count of Menet-Khuju*" (l. 7) where he ruled to the complete satisfaction of the king.

464. His titles are:^b "*Hereditary prince and count, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, [—] great lord of the Oryx nome [—], attached to Nekhen (judge)*." This shows that he was later intrusted with the entire principality of the Oryx, in agreement with the statements of his grandson, Khnumhotep II, whose long inscription narrates the

^aTomb No. 14 at Benihasan; first noticed and copied by Newberry and published by Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I, Pl. XLIV; see also p. 84 and II, 7, 8. The text is painted on the west wall, and is exceedingly fragmentary.

^b*Ibid.*, II, Pl. XLIV, l. 1.

same appointments of his grandfather and follows the history of the family (§§ 619 ff.) in this fief for several generations.

465. I came out from my city, I went to [my nome]. Never did I commit evil against a man.⁴. Then appointed me [my lord] the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, ⁵Sehetepibre (*Shp-yb-R*), Son of Re: Amenemhet (I) living forever and ever, to the 'office' — —. I went down with his majesty to '—',^a in twenty ships of cedar 'which' he 'led', coming to —. He expelled him from the two regions (Egypt). ⁶Negroes '— —', Asiatics, fell; he seized the lowland, the highlands, in the two regions '— —' with the people — remain in their positions '— —' — — — '— —' ⁷ — — —. Then his majesty appointed me as count of Menet-Khufu. My administration was excellent in the heart of his majesty, pleasant in —. Then I '—' my city, I benefited my people. His majesty caused to be done for me, that which my mouth uttered '— — —' ⁸ — the — were —, the — were —, its taxpayers were —, the citizens were servants.

HAMMAT INSCRIPTION OF INTEF^b

466. This inscription records the only official expedition of Amenemhet I to Hammamat of which we know anything.^c Only one block is mentioned, for which Intef spent eight days in a vain search, and only succeeded in finding it after propitiating the local gods.

^aThere must have been a geographical name here, which is corrupt in the original or has been imperfectly read.

^bCut on the rocks of Wadi Hammamat; published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 118, *d* = Golénischeff, *Hammamat*, VIII = Maspero, *VIIIe Congrès International des Orientalistes, Section africaine*, 50–54. I had also a collation of the Berlin squeeze, kindly loaned me by Gardiner. It is, like all the Hammamat inscriptions, strongly influenced by the hieratic; the graver, who did not know hieratic, has then so corrupted the scribe's sketch that much of it is unintelligible.

^cThe other Hammamat inscription bearing his name (Golénischeff, *Hammamat*, II, 4 = Maspero, *ibid.*, 156), is incomplete; it does not record an official, but a private expedition, and the introduction, containing references to the safe conduct of the expedition ("*I returned none missing, none dead*") does not

467. Above is the full titulary of Amenemehet I, without further date. Then follow the titles of Intef:^a "*Hereditary prince and count, wearer of the royal [seal], sole companion, royal messenger, superior prophet of Min.*" After the conventional series of personal epithets (ll. 2-6), his narrative then proceeds:

468. ⁶. My lord sent me to Hammamat, to bring this august stone; never was brought its like since the time of the god. There was no hunter who knew ⁷the marvel of it, none that sought it reached it. I spent 8 days searching this highland; I knew not the 'place' wherein it was. I prostrated myself to Min, to Mut, to '—1 Great-in-Magic, and all the gods of this highland, giving to them incense upon the fire. The land brightened at early morning,^b I '—1 ⁸to go forth to the mountain '—1 Hammamat, the '—1 being behind me, and the '—1 people scattered upon the mountains, searching this whole [desert].^c Then I found it, and the '—1 were in festivity, the 'entire^d army was praising, it rejoiced with 'obeisance';^e I gave praise to Montu.^f

mention the name of the leader as usual. Then follows (l. 3): "*Fourth month of the third season, day 3; came the wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, inferior prophet, privy councilor of the treasurer of the god, Idi (Ydy), (l. 4) to bring down stone for the merinuter priest, the hereditary prince, ritual priest, sole companion, superior prophet, governor of the South [superior prophet of Min] (restored from Golénischeff, Hammamat, III, 3, l. 3), Putoker (P³wt-ykr) (l. 5). I brought down for him 2 blocks, each one (l. 6) 10 cubits (over 17 feet) in length, — cubits in its width.*" Idi has another inscription in the vicinity (Golénischeff, Hammamat, III, 3 = Maspero, *ibid.*, 157) as follows: "*Year '—1, third month of the third season, day '—1; came the (titles) Idi, to bring down stone for (titles) Putoker. I brought down for him a block of 12 cubits (about 20 feet, 6 inches), with 200 men. I brought 2 oxen, 50 asses, '—1 5 '—1*". It is clear that Idi is here executing the commissions of Putoker, an official of high rank, not those of the king.

^aAccording to l. 6, his name may have been Sebeknakht, and his father's name Intef.

^bRead *dw³ dw³*, as in Sinuhe, l. 248.

^cSuggested by Gardiner.

^dRead *r ḏr³ ḏr³*?

^eRead *sn-t³*?

^fThe last line was omitted by Lepsius, and it is possible that even in Golénischeff's copy the conclusion is lacking, for the concluding phrase above is very abrupt.

INSCRIPTION OF NESSUMONTU^a

469. The stela is dated at the top in the "year — 4" of Amenemhet I, and adds the titulary of Sesostris I. As Sesostris I was associated with his father in the twentieth year of the latter, we must restore the above date as "year 24."

470. The stela contains the conventional mortuary texts and representations, but in the lower right-hand corner adds nine short columns of historical content:^b showing that Nessumontu led expeditions against the Bedwin ("Sand-dwellers") and other Asiatics at the north end of Egypt's eastern frontier.

471. ¹Respecting [every] word of this tablet, it is truth, ²which happened by my arm, it is that which I did in ³reality.^c There is no deceit, and there is no lie therein. ⁴I [defeated] the Asiatic Troglodytes, the Sand-dwellers. I overthrew the [strongholds^d] of the [nomads], as if [they had never] been. [I] coursed^e through the field, I went

^aStela in Louvre (C 1); the top lines containing the date are published by Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, 10, and Lepsius, *Zwölfte Dynastie*, II, 3. The entire text: Maspero in *Report of First International Congress of Orientalists at Paris*, 1873, II, 48-61, and again in Maspero, *Études de mythologie et d'archéologie*, III, 153-64; Pierret, *Inscriptions*, 2, 27; Gayet, *Stèles*, I. All these are inaccurate. A good text is given by Piehl, *Inscriptions*, I, I-II, but he unfortunately overlooked the nine lines of historical text and copied them from Maspero. Brugsch (*Thesaurus*, VI, 1467) copied them from Pierret. These nine lines alone have been carefully given by Müller (*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1900, 47-48), who, however, does not consider his copy "einen völlig abschliessenden Text." I therefore carefully copied and collated the original (in January, 1901, for the Berlin Dictionary) under excellent light, which insured some additional readings, and it is probable that my text may be regarded as final. I have since published it, *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, XXI, 153 ff. Müller also gives a translation, from which mine differs in several places, but is indebted to him for several suggestions.

^bIt is unfortunately only this important corner of the stela which is badly broken and weathered, seriously mutilating the text.

^cYr(y)ḥ·n·y pw m wn·m·c.

^dThe word cannot be ḥn, "tent," as Müller suggests, for it ended in feminine t, while ḥn, "tent," is masculine, as shown by Harknif, *Letter*, I. 20. The feminine form cited by Müller from the Israel stela is not "tent," but "water skin" (ḥn·t). I connect our word with ḥn·t, "prison."

^eRead ḥns; see Müller, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, III, 433.

forth 'before those who were' behind ⁸their defenses, without [my] equal therein,^a ⁹by command of Montu, to him who followed the plan of —.

INSCRIPTION OF KORUSKO^b

472. The Nubian conquests of the Twelfth Dynasty, were already begun by Amenemhet I, and the place where the following inscription was discovered, over half-way up to the second cataract, indicates that the statement in the king's "Teaching" (§ 483) is trustworthy.

473. Year 29,^c of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sehetepibre (*Sh'tp-yb-R^c*, Amenemhet I), living forever. We came to overthrow Wawat — —

THE TEACHING OF AMENEMHET^d

474. This composition purports to be the practical injunctions of the old king, Amenemhet I, to his son and coregent, Sesostri I. Maspero thinks they were posthu-

^a*Nn sn'y ym.*

^bCut on a rock at the entrance of the valley road leading from Korusko to Abu Hamed. It was discovered by Dr. Lüttge in 1875, and by him shown to Brugsch (*Geschichte*, 117, 118), who published it seven years later, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1882, 30; and in *Thesaurus*, V, 1213.

^cMaspero's statement (*Dawn*, 478, n. 2) that this inscription belongs to the "XXXth year" must be an oversight.

^dThe text is preserved in seven hieratic manuscripts of the Empire, mostly incomplete, as follows:

1. Millingen Papyrus (original lost), published from copy of Peyron, by Maspero, *Recueil*, II, 70, and XVII, 64.

2. Papyrus Sallier, II, 1-3, British Museum.

3. Papyrus Sallier, I, 8, Verso (=Millingen, I, II, 1).

4. Ostrakon, British Museum, 5623 (=Millingen, I, II, 6).

5. Ostrakon, British Museum, 5638 (=Millingen, II, 5-11); Dümichen, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1874, 30 ff.

6. Papyrus, Berlin, 3019 (Millingen, I, 9 to II, 11).

7. Leather Manuscript Louvre, 4920, "now completely spoiled." "All these appear to be of about one period, perhaps from the end of the reign of Ramses II to the reign of Seti II" (Griffith, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 34, 36; Millingen

mous,^a but Griffith does not agree.^b It can hardly be doubted that the composition is a work of the Twelfth Dynasty, and there is no serious reason why it should not be attributed to the old king, whose "*teaching*" the introduction distinctly states it is. Griffith regards the occasion of the work as the attempt on his life when the king determines "to announce his son's succession in a formal manner." This would date the work from the beginning of the coregency in the twentieth year of Amenemhet I. There is a reference in the document, however, which would indicate a later date. In III, 2, the king speaks of his campaign against Nubia. Now, the only campaign of Amenemhet I in Nubia known to us was in his twenty-ninth year (§ 473).^c This reference, therefore, would date the work not long before the king's death in his thirtieth year, and is an indication that we have in it his final instructions to his son.

475. Its chief purpose was to warn the young Sesostris against any confidences or intimate associations with those about him. To enforce this warning, the old king dwells on the kindness and beneficence, the order and prosperity, of his reign; in contrast with which he bitterly depicts the treachery and ingratitude which have been his reward. There is an element of pathos in these words of the old man, which do not fail of their effect even after nearly four thousand years.

may be later), and are in a frightful state of corruption. The best manuscript, Millingen, is unfortunately incomplete, almost all of the third page being lost. The latest and best treatment and text, employing all the manuscripts, are by Griffith (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 34, 35-49), from whom the above statement of materials is taken. An excellent translation of the clearer passages by Erman also in *Aus den Papyrus des königlichen Museums zu Berlin*, 44, 45. To both these the present version is much indebted. The older "translations" are very free paraphrases; for bibliography of them, see Maspero, *Dawn*, 467, n. 2.

^a*Dawn*, 466.

^b*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 34, 38.

^cAn earlier campaign is not impossible, but remains an assumption.

476. The composition is in poetic form, and the lines are separated as usual in the New Kingdom by a dot at the end of each line.^a It must have been a favorite composition, to judge from the number of manuscripts which have survived. They are all, however, so excessively corrupt that much is unintelligible, and has been omitted in the version below.

477. Whether the historical statements in the document are authentic or not, there is no reason to doubt their truth; on the contrary, all but the attempt upon the king's life are corroborated by conclusive external evidence. These statements, in the order of their occurrence, are as follows: (1) the attempt on the king's life (I, 11—II, 4); (2) Sesostri's coregency (II, 5, 6); (3) the king's reorganization of Egypt (II, 10, 11); (4) the agricultural prosperity (II, 11—III, 1); (5) foreign conquests in Nubia and among the Bedwin (III, 2, 3); (6) building of a palace (III, 2—6). There seems to be no chronological order in this enumeration, for the reorganization of the country took place in the first years, long before the coregency. It is fair to conclude, however, that the attempt on the king's life was the cause of the association of Sesostri on the throne.

478. I. ^{b1}Beginning with the teaching, which the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt; Sehetepibre, Son of Re: Amenemhet (I) triumphant, composed.

He saith, ²while distinguishing truth,
 For his son, the All-Lord;
 He saith: "Shine as a god!
 Harken to that which I say to thee,
 That thou mayest be king of the earth,
 That thou mayest be ruler of ³the lands,

^aThe paragraph division, retained in the accompanying translation, is also indicated by rubrics.

^bNumbering of pages (Roman numerals) and lines (Arabic numerals) from Papyrus Millingen, after Griffith.

That thou mayest increase good.

479. 'Harden¹ thyself against all subordinates.

The people give heed ⁴to him who terrorizes them;^a

Approach them not alone.

Fill not thy heart with a brother,

Know not a friend,

Nor make ⁵for thyself intimates,

Wherein there is no end.

When thou sleepest, guard for thyself thine own heart;

For a man has no people,

In the ⁶day of evil.

I gave to the beggar, I nourished the orphan;

I admitted the insignificant as well as him who ⁷was great of account.^b

(But) he who ate my food made insurrection,

He, to whom I gave my hand, aroused fear therein;

They who put ⁸on my fine linen looked upon me as '—¹.

They who anointed themselves with my myrrh, 'defiled ⁹me' '—¹

.....¹⁰.....¹¹.....

480. It was after the evening meal, night had come.

I took ¹²an hour of heart's ease.

Lying upon my couch, I relaxed;

II ¹My heart began to follow slumber.

'Behold, weapons were flourished¹,

'Council was held against me,¹

'While I was like a serpent of ²the desert.¹

I awoke to fight, utterly alone.

.....³.....

As I quickly grasped the weapons in my hand,

I hurled back the wretches

4.

^aBut see Gardiner's careful grammatical analysis of this line (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 24, 353 f.). He renders: "That cometh to pass, to whose terrors no thought has been given." This is grammatically better than the above rendering, although it does not fit either the preceding or following context.

^bLit.: "him who was not, as well as him who was." Compare the saying of the unjust official: "The name of a poor man is mentioned, by reason of his lord" (*Eloquent Peasant*, Berlin, 3023, l. 20).

481. ⁵Behold, the abomination occurred, while I was without thee,
While the court had not (yet) heard that I had delivered to thee
(the kingdom).

While I had not yet sat with thee.

⁶Let me adjust thy administration;

For I do not terrify them, I do not think of them,

My heart does not endure the slackness of servants.

7. 9. *

482. ¹⁰I sent to Elephantine,

I reached the Delta,

I stood on the borders of the land,

¹¹I inspected its interior,

I carried forward the boundaries of valor by my bravery, by my
deeds.

483. I was one who cultivated ¹²grain, and loved the harvest-god;^b

The Nile greeted me in every ¹valley¹;

None was hungry in my years, none thirsted (III) ¹then;

One dwelt (in peace) through that which I did; conversing con-
cerning me.

All that I commanded was correct.

I ¹captured¹ ²lions, I took crocodiles,

I ¹seized¹ the people of Wawat,

I captured the people of Mazoi.

³I caused the Bedwin to go like hounds.^c

I made a ¹palace¹ decked ⁴with gold,

Whose ceilings were of lazuli, ¹and the walls therein¹.

The floors ¹— —¹,

⁵The doors were of copper,

The bolts were of bronze,

⁶Made for everlastingness,

At which eternity fears.^d

^aThe general sense is: the conspiracy was formed in the palace.

^bBebi, in whose inscription Brugsch thought to find references to Joseph's famine (*Geschichte*, 246), uses verbatim the same words (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1527, l. 11) regarding himself.

^cThis line is slightly doubtful, but compare similar phrase, *Piankhi*, l. 3.

^dNot being able to destroy it. The remainder of p. III, for which Papyrus Millingen is wanting, is too corrupt for translation.

DEDICATION INSCRIPTION^a

484. A relic of Amenemhet I's building activity at Karnak, is preserved in this dedication, found on the base of a shrine from the Karnak temple of Amon, whence it had been taken to the Ptah-temple:

Amenemhet I; he made it as his monument for his father Amon-Re, lord of Thebes (*Ns'wt-t'wy*), making for him a shrine of pink granite, that he may thereby be given life forever.

485. Another dedication^b at Bubastis runs as follows:

Amenemhet I; he made it as his monument for his mother Bast, making for her^c a gate ———.

—————

THE TALE OF SINUHE^d

486. The tale of Sinuhe is a highly artificial piece of "fine writing" in poetical form,^e most of which is lost to our modern taste. It is, however, so rational and sober throughout, and breathes such an air of reality, that it is not to be disregarded as a historical source.

^a*Annales*, III, 102.

^bNaville, *Bubastis* I, Pl. 33A.

^cAn *s* has been omitted, either in the publication or by the ancient scribe.

^dThe bulk of this tale (311 lines) is preserved in a hieratic papyrus of the Middle Kingdom, now in Berlin (P. 3022), published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, VI, 104-7. The beginning, lacking in the Berlin Papyrus, is preserved in a hieratic ostrakon (a large flake of limestone) discovered in a Twentieth Dynasty tomb by Maspero (now in Cairo, No. 27149), and published by him in *Mémoires de l'Institut égyptien*, II, 1-23, and Pls. I, II, 1886. This fragment, excessively corrupt, is supplemented by eleven lines from the Amherst Papyrus (Newberry, *Amherst Papyri*, Pl. I), which have been incorporated with the Cairo ostrakon and published in transcription by Griffith (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XIV, 453, 454). The whole has been translated by Erman in *Aus den Papyrus des königlichen Museums zu Berlin*, 14-29. My materials were: all the above publications except Maspero's (which was not accessible), the Berlin original, and especially a transcription of the Cairo ostrakon, made by Erman from the original, which he kindly placed at my disposal.

^eThe Cairo ostrakon containing the beginning separates the lines by red dots, and divides into stanzas. The above translation preserves these lines and stanzas as far as the ostrakon goes, after which the division is uncertain.

487. The hero, Sinuhe, a noble of high rank, is with the young coregent, Prince Sesostris I, in the western Delta, on a campaign against the Libyans, when the message announcing the death of the old king, Amenemhet I, reaches the camp. Sesostris I does not allow the news to be made public, but secretly returns to the royal residence, in order firmly to establish himself as king before any pretender can precede him. Sinuhe accidentally overhears the message, and, evidently for political reasons, immediately flees the country, making Palestine his goal. Here he spends many years, experiencing manifold adventures, until in old age, after becoming rich and powerful, he is pardoned by Sesostris I, and permitted to return to Egypt.

488. The date of Amenemhet's death, given in the tale as in the thirtieth year of his reign, is corroborated by the monuments, where his highest date is also the thirtieth year;^a hence the introductory narrative may probably be accepted as essentially historical. Moreover, the style of the writing in the Berlin papyrus shows that the document could not have been written very much later than the reign of Sesostris I, when the historical facts were still well known.

489. The geography of the flight^b is correct as far as traceable, but the error of Upper Tenu for Upper Retenu, the Empire term for Palestine, shows unfamiliarity with one of the most important, and later the most frequent, designations in the Egyptian's geography of Asia.^c But it is the earliest occurrence of the name; for the tale offers us

^aThe stela of Intef bears the joint date: "*Year 30 of Amenemhet I, year 10 of Sesostris I*" (Cairo, Mariette, *Abydos*, II, 22=Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, VIII=Rougé, *Album photographique*, No. 146; Mariette, *Catalogue général d'Abydos*, 104, No. 558).

^bSee especially Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 38-47.

^cRetenu was, however, known in the Middle Kingdom, and is mentioned in a Sinai inscription (see Weill, *Sinai*).

the oldest account of pre-Israelitish Palestine from any source. This account appears to be essentially true to the facts, and shows us how superior was the Egyptian of this time, to the Bedwin of Palestine.

490. Hereditary prince, count,
Wearer of the royal seal, sole companion,
Judge, local governor,
King [‘among’] the Bedwin,
Real confidant of the king, his beloved,
The attendant, Sinuhe, saith:

I was one who follows his lord,
A servant of the royal [‘harem’] of the queen,
Rich in praise,

.
.
.^a

491. In year 30, second month of the first season, on the 7th day,
Departed the god into his horizon,
The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sehetepibre.
He ascended [to] heaven, joined with the sun;
The divine limbs were mingled with him that begat him.
In the court, silence [— — —].
The great double doors were closed,
The court sat (in mourning),
The people [‘bowed down in’] silence.

492. Behold, his majesty had sent out
A numerous army to the land of the Libyans;
The eldest son was commander thereof,
The Good God‘ Sesostris.
Now, just as he was returning, having taken
Living captives of the Libyans,
And all cattle, without limit;
The companions of the court,
They sent to the west side,^b

^aThese three lines are totally corrupt; the names of Amenemhet and Sesostris, and the pyramid-city, Kenofer (*K^o-n/r*) are mentioned.

^bToward Libya.

In order to inform the king^a
 Of their plan, conceived in the cabinet chamber.
 The messengers found him on the way,
 They reached him at the time of evening.

The hawk,^b he flew, together with his following,
 Without letting his army know 'it'.

Then sent the royal children,
 Who followed this army;
 No one had called 'to' one of them.^d

Behold, I stood; I heard his voice
²As he spoke, while I '— —',
 My heart cleaved, ³my arms opened,
 While trembling fell on all my members.

I stole away ⁴'— —' —,
 To seek for myself a place of concealment.
 I placed ⁵myself between two bushes,
 To 'avoid' the way which they went.
 I ⁶proceeded up-stream,
⁷Not intending (however) to reach the court;
 I thought there was fighting (there).

493. ⁸I reached '—' in the region of Sycomore,
⁹I arrived at the Isle of Snefru.^e
 I tarried in a stretch ¹⁰of field,^f
 It grew light, I went on, when it was day.
 I came upon a man, standing ¹¹in '—' the way;
 He saluted me, and was afraid.
¹²When the time of the evening meal^g drew on,
 I reached the city of ¹³the Ox (*Ng^o w*).
 I ferried over, in a vessel without a rudder,

^aSesostris I.

^bPoetical designation of the prince, Sesostris, who now secretly leaves the camp and hastens to the royal residence, to be crowned.

^cThe Berlin papyrus begins here; the line numbers refer to that manuscript.

^dTo inquire after the absent Sesostris.

^eSee § 312, l. 21, note.

^fSee § 430, l. 12, note.

^gCompare the same meal in § 480.

¹⁴[By means of] a wind of the west.^a
 I passed by on the east of the quarry,
¹⁵Past the highland goddess, mistress of the Red Mountain.^b
 As I gave ¹⁶the way to my feet, [going northward],^c
 I came to ¹⁷the Walls of the Ruler,
 Made to repulse the Bedwin,
 [And to smite the sand-rangers]^d
 I bowed ¹⁸down in the bushes,
 For fear the sentinels ¹⁹on the fort,
 Who belonged to its day (-watch), should see me.
 I went on ²⁰at time of evening,
 As the earth brightened, I arrived at Peten (*Ptn*).^e
²¹When I had reached the lake of Kemwer (*Km-wr*),^f
 I fell down for thirst, ²²fast came 'my' breath,
 My throat was hot,
²³I said: This is the taste of death.
 I upheld my heart, I ²⁴drew my limbs together,
 As I heard the sound of the lowing of ²⁵cattle,
 I beheld the Bedwin.
²⁶That chief among them, who had been in Egypt, recognized me.
²⁷He gave me water, he cooked for me milk.^g
 I went ²⁸with him to his tribe,
 Good was that which they did (for me).
 One land sent me on to ²⁹another,
 I loosed^h for Suan (*Swn*),ⁱ

^aThis shows clearly the eastward direction of his flight.

^bThis is the mountain of red conglomerate just northeast of modern Cairo. It is still called the Red Mountain (Gebel el-Aḥmar), and is still used as a quarry. See Baedeker, 74, and Murray, 418.

^cOnly in Empire text.

^dFound only in the Empire text.

^eUnknown land.

^fLit.: "the great black," the earlier northern extension of the Gulf of Suez. See Maspero, *Dawn*, 351, n. 3, and 471, n. 3, who renders "the very (*wr't*) black," although the writing is always *wr* (= "great," without *t*); and Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 39-43.

^gHere the Cairo ostrakon stops, and the verse division is from here on uncertain.

^hPerhaps a nautical term.

ⁱFrom "*swn*," "*to trade*," evidently a trading-post on the Asiatic frontier, like *Swn* (Assuan) on that of Nubia.

I arrived at Kedem^a (*Kdm*);

I spent ^{30a} year and a half there.

494. Emuienshi, that sheik ³¹of Upper Tenu,^b brought me forth
Saying to me: "Happy art thou with me,
(For) thou hearest the speech ³²of Egypt."
He said this, (for) he knew my character,
He had heard of ³³my wisdom;
The Egyptians ³⁴who were there with him, bare witness of me.

495. Emuienshi now questions Sinuhe as to the reason of his flight, and the latter responds evasively, merging his reply into a long hymn in praise of the king (ll. 34-77). Whereupon Emuienshi replies:

496. ⁷⁸"Behold, thou shalt now abide with me;
Good is that which I shall do for thee."
He put me at the head of his children,
He married me ⁷⁹to his eldest daughter,
He made me select for myself of his land,
⁸⁰Of the choicest of that which he had,
On his boundary with ⁸¹another land.
It was a goodly land, named Yaa (*Y²²*);^c
There were figs ⁸²in it and vines,
More plentiful than water was its wine,
Copious was ⁸³its honey, plenteous its oil;
All fruits were upon its trees.
⁸⁴Barley was there, and spelt,
Without end all ⁸⁵cattle.
Moreover, great was that which came to me,
Which came for love ⁸⁶of me,
When he appointed me sheik of the tribe,

^aLong misread "Edom;" first corrected by Erman, in 1885, *Aegypten*, 495. The region was east of Jordan and the Dead Sea, and receives the same name in the Old Testament.

^bThis is the first occurrence of Upper [Re]tenu, the usual designation, in the Empire for the higher portions of Palestine. That the text has omitted an *r* is almost certain. See Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 47.

^cAn unknown district in Palestine; it is written as if it were the name of some plant.

From the choicest of ⁸⁷his land.
I portioned the daily bread,
And wine ⁸⁸for every day,
Cooked flesh, and fowl ⁸⁹in roast;
Besides the wild goats of the hills,
Which were trapped ⁹⁰for me, and ¹brought¹ to me;
Besides that which my dogs captured for me.
⁹¹There was much — made for me,
And milk in ⁹²every sort of cooked dish.
I spent many years,
My children ⁹³became strong,
Each the mighty man of ⁹⁴his tribe.
The messenger going north,
Or passing southward to the court,^a
⁹⁵He turned in to me.
For I had all men turn in (to me).

497. The tale now proceeds with examples of the personal prowess of Sinuhe, but the remainder of over 200 lines contains nothing of historical importance.^b

^aThe court of Egypt is meant.

^bThe remainder of the story can be read in the latest and far the best translation by Erman, *Aus den Papyrus des königlichen Museums zu Berlin*, 20-29 (German), or a very free paraphrase by Maspero, *Contes populaires*, or an English version after Maspero, by Petrie, *Egyptian Tales*.

REIGN OF SESOSTRIS I

THE BUILDING INSCRIPTION OF THE TEMPLE OF HELIOPOLIS^a

498. This building inscription in its present form has a very interesting history. It is not preserved to us upon a great stela, to which such inscriptions were usually intrusted, but has reached us on more fragile material—a roll of leather. This had been used by a scribe in the third year of Amenhotep II^b for scratching down various data, either for the sake of practice or for temporary preservation; for they were often washed off and replaced by others. At present we can read, although half washed out, part of the legal proceedings of a sculptor against his own son, and notes regarding the receipt and issue of lumber.^c To one of these notes he has fortunately fixed the date, as given above. On the other side of the leather our scribe copied the beginning of the dedicatory building inscription of Sesostris I, placed by him on a great stone stela^d in his temple at Heliopolis. In the time of our scribe the stela had already been standing five hundred years. It has since utterly perished, with the temple in which it stood, and thus the great king's building inscription has survived only in the accidental copy of a humble scribe.

^aA hieratic manuscript, written in two columns on one side of a piece of leather; bought in Thebes by Brugsch, 1858 (*Geschichte*, 123); first published by Stern, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1874, 85 ff.; then by Birch, *Egyptian Texts*, 49-58. It has been translated by Stern, *Records of the Past*, XII, and by Erman, *Aus den Papyrus des königlichen Museums zu Berlin*, 59-63. My materials were the original now in Berlin (P. 3029) and a transcription by Erman. The above translation depends, with a few exceptions, upon his version in *loc. cit.*

^bNot Amenhotep IV, as read by Stern.

^cSee Erman, *Aus den Papyrus des königlichen Museums zu Berlin*, 87, 88.

^dSee § 501, l. 5.

499. In form the inscription was a poem, and its lines have been separated by the scribe by red dots, as usual in the Empire. The content is obscured by elaborate phraseology, but its drift is nevertheless evident. In his third year Sesostri I called together his court, and announced his purpose of erecting a temple to the sun-god at Heliopolis (§§ 501-3). The court responds with the conventional encomium (§ 504), and the king then deposes the treasurer to undertake the building (§ 505). An interval of time having elapsed of which there is no indication in the narrative, the ground plan of the building is laid out with the customary ceremony (§ 506). As usual in such inscriptions, there must have followed some description of the construction, material, and furniture of the temple, but the scribe unfortunately copied no farther.

500. This was of course not the first temple at Heliopolis, but an extension of the old, undoubtedly on a much larger scale. A fragment of a building inscription^a from the same temple perhaps belonged to Sesostri I. It shows that he, or one of his name, built throughout Egypt. It reads:

¹(For) ——— a *mšn' t*-stone necklace, a necklace (*mny' t*), many great seals [—] ——— ²————— many great — [—] —. (For) Anuket: a *mšn' t*-stone necklace, a seal — a silver vase,^b a golden vase, a bronze vase, two copper vases, an ebony censer, a silver censer. (For) First of the Westerners, Lord of Abydos (Osiris): ——— ³————— a bronze vase, two copper vases, an ebony censer. (For) Onouris: in Thinis: a silver vase, a golden vase, a bronze vase, two copper vases, an ebony censer, a silver^c censer. (For) Min (*Ypw*): a silver vase, a golden vase, a bronze vase, two copper vases, an ebony censer, a silver

^aEngraved on two sides of a piece of a red grit-stone door-post, now in a native house by the Mosque of el-Azhar in Cairo. Published by Daressy, from a copy by Ahmed bey Kamal, in *Annales* IV.

^b*Hs*; all the vases herein recorded are of this form.

^cThe published text is evidently to be so corrected.

[censer] ——— 4 ———. (For) ——— a necklace. (I) built a temple for Satet, for Anuket and Khnum, lord of the cataract, of ¹sculptured^{1a} stone. (I) built a temple for Horus of Nubia (*T³-pd·t*) in the (nome of) Apollinopolis Magna (*Wts-Hr*)^b ——— 5 ———. He [made] (it) as his monument for Atum, lord of Heliopolis: silver vessels ———^{6c} ——— a golden *dwd·t*, a silver ——— 7 ——— a royal statue of ———^d for Sais. Buto, mistress of Pe and Dep, was fashioned, a copper bowl 1—1. A royal statue of Sesostris (¹III) for Pe 1— — 1 Nephthys ——— 8 ———. (For) the Nine Gods in Kher-eha (*Hr·c·h²*): a copper bowl; Hapi was fashioned. (I) sailed up-stream to Elephantine, offering-tables were given to the southern gods. (For) Hathor, mistress of Dendera: a golden ——— 9 ——— a *hm³g·t*-stone necklace, — — a — stone necklace — —. (For) Hathor, mistress of Cusae: a *hm³g·t*-stone necklace, a *msn·t*-stone necklace ———.

This list of the king's good works for the gods doubtless comes from the Heliopolis temple, the building of which is recorded in our leather roll, as follows:

501. ¹Year 3

Third month of the first season, day —, under

The majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Kheperkere, Son of Re, Sesostris (I), triumphant.^e

Living forever and ever.

²When the king appeared in the double crown,

Occurred the sitting in the audience-hall,^f

One took counsel with his suite,

The companions of ³the court,

^a*S^ch^c*, see IV, 231, ll. 6, 8, and 11; possibly we should render *S^ch^c* here with its usual meaning, "erect," and regard the following sign (the builder), as the determinative, and render "I erected."

^bSecond nome of Upper Egypt.

^cThe inscription here passes around the corner of the block; it is uncertain whether the two faces should be connected as above.

^dRemains of a cartouche.

^eInserted by the Empire scribe.

^fThis hall (*d³dw*) is mentioned also in the reign of Sahure (see § 239), where it was part of a house called: "*Sahure-Shines-or-Appears-With-Crowns*." The name also occurs in the Fourth Dynasty in the same connection (Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 22, l. 14), and must be an audience-hall.

The princes at the place of 1—1.
 One^a commanded, while they heard,
 One took counsel, while 4making them reveal:
 "Behold, my majesty is exacting a work,
 And taking thought in an excellent matter.
 For 5the future I will make a monument,
 And set up an abiding stela for Harakhte.

502. He begat me 6to do that which he did,
 To execute that which he commanded to do.
 He appointed me shepherd of this land.
 He recognized 7him who should defend 7it,
 He hath given to me that which he protects,
 And that which the eye,^b that is in him, illuminates.
 8Doing throughout^c as he desires.
 I have 8rendered 8that which he exacted 1—1.^d
 I am a king of his character,
 A sovereign, to whom he 1—1 not.
 I conquered as 9a lad,
 I was mighty in the egg.

.^e
 He appointed me lord of the two halves,^f
 As a child, 10before the swaddling-clothes were loosed for me,
 He appointed me lord of mankind,
 1—1 11in the presence of the people.
 He perfected me to be occupant of the palace,
 As a youth, before my two 1—1 came forth.
 He gave his length and his breadth [to me].
 Who have been brought up 12in his character, which he took.
 To whom was given the land; I am its lord.
 My fame^g has reached 13the height of heaven,
 My excellence 1—1—1.

.

^aThe king.

^bThe sun; that which the eye illuminates is, of course, the earth.

^cIt is all obedient to him?

^dA very uncertain line.

^fUpper and Lower Egypt.

^eA mutilated line.

^gLit.: "Fame for me"

¹⁴He has commanded me to conquer that which he conquered,
 「—」 — Horus, who have^a numbered 「his limbs.」

503. I have established the offerings of ¹⁵the gods,
 I will make a work, namely, a great house,
 For my father Atum.
 He^b will make it broad, according as he has caused me to conquer.
¹⁶I will victual his altars on earth,
 I will build my house in the 「—」.^c
 My beauty shall be remembered ¹⁷in his house,
 My name is the pyramidion, and my name is the lake,^d
 Eternity is that excellent thing which 「I」 have made;
 The king ¹⁸dies not, who is mentioned by reason of his achievements.

.
 It is my name 「—」 which is mentioned ¹⁹in reality,
 Which passes not away because of eternal things.
 That which I make is that which shall be,
 That which I seek is ²⁰the excellent things.
 Excellent food is 「—」.
 It is vigilance in eternal things.”

504. II. ¹Then spake these companions of the king,
 And they answered before their god:^e
 “Hu is [in] thy mouth, and Esye^f ²is behind thee.
 O sovereign, it is thy plans which are realized,
 O king, who shinest as Favorite of the Two Goddesses,
 To ³「—」 in thy temple.
 It is excellent to look to the morrow,
 And with excellent things, to (coming) time.

^aFirst person.

^bWe expect “I,” viz., “I will make it broad according as he has made my kingdom broad.”

^cS^oh, which occurs also as the place where a temple is built, in II, 890, l. 24.

^dMeaning that these accessories of the temple will be memorials of his name. By a curious accident, the only witness to the king's building surviving on the spot is his solitary obelisk (at Maṭarṭyeh-Heliopolis), surmounted as usual by the “pyramidion.”

^eThe king.

^fHu and Esye are the deities of taste and wisdom.

The multitude completes nothing ⁴without thee,^a
 For thy majesty is the two eyes of all people.
 Thou art great that thou mayest make thy monument,
⁵In Heliopolis, the dwelling of the gods.
 Before thy father, the lord of the great house,
 Atum, the bull of the gods.
 Let thy house arise, ⁶that it may offer to the oblation-tablet;
 That it may do the service for its favorite statue,
 For thy figure in all ⁷eternity.

505. The king himself said

To the wearer of the royal seal, the sole companion,
 The overseer ¹of¹ the double ⁸White House,
 The privy councilor of ¹—¹:
 It is thy counsel, which shall cause the work to be done.
 Of which my majesty desires, ⁹that it should be;
 Thou art the commander belonging to it,
 Who shall do, according to that which is in my heart,
 ¹⁰vigilance,
 That it may come to pass without laxity,
 That all the work ¹¹
 ¹² ^b
¹³I have commanded those who work,
 To do according as thou shalt exact.

506. The king was crowned with the diadem,

¹⁴All the people were following him,
 The chief ritual priest and scribe of the sacred book stretched ¹⁵the cord,
 the ¹stake¹ in the earth,^c
¹⁶— was done in this temple,
 His majesty had ¹⁷a royal scribe go ¹before¹ the people,
¹⁸Who were gathered [in] one place, south and north,
¹⁹.

^aText has *nb* for *k*—a mistake which could have been made only from the hieroglyphic, thus showing that the scribe certainly had the stone original before him.

^bFour verses are omitted.

^cThis is a description of the usual measuring and staking out of the ground plan of the temple, which was a sacred ceremony conducted by the king in person.

INSCRIPTION OF MERI^a

507. The usual texts of the Middle Kingdom mortuary stelæ are here preceded by seven lines referring to the building of Sesostris I's pyramid-chapel, which was intrusted to Meri. The mention of columns and gates may indicate that only the chapel, and not the pyramid entire, is meant.^b If the date at the top is, as we may suppose, that of Meri's death, then Sesostris I had completed his mortuary chapel, and perhaps his pyramid at Lisht, by his ninth year.

508. ¹Year 9, second month of the first season, day 20, ²under the majesty of Sesostris I,^c living like Re, forever. ³His real servant, his favorite, who does all that which he praises every day, ⁴the revered assistant treasurer, Meri (*Mry*), born of Menkhet (*Mnh·t*), says:

509. I was a zealous servant, great in character, amiable in love. ⁵My lord sent me with a commission, because I was so very zealous, to execute for him an eternal dwelling,^d greater in name than Rosta, and more excellent^e in appointments ⁶than any place, the excellent district^f of the gods. Its columns^g pierced heaven; the lake which was dug, it reached^h the river; the gates,ⁱ towering ⁷heavenward, were of limestone of Troja. Osiris, First of the Westerners, rejoiced over all the monuments of my lord; I myself rejoiced, and my heart was glad at that which I had executed.

^aMortuary stela in the Louvre (C 3), published by Pierret, *Inscriptions*, II, 104, 105; Gayet, *Sîdes*, IV, V; Maspero, *Mélanges d'archéologie égyptienne*, II, 221 f.; again Maspero, *Études de mythologie et d'archéologie*, III, 208 f.; and Piehl, *Inscriptions*, I, II-IV. Of these, the only careful copy is Piehl's. He also offers an excellent translation (*ibid.*, 3-5).

^bThis chapel and pyramid at Lisht were excavated by J. E. Gautier (*Mémoire sur les fouilles de Licht* par J. E. Gautier et G. Jéquier [Cairo, 1902], 3-43; in *Mémoires de l'Institut*, VI, fasc. 1).

^cFull titulary.

^dThe pyramid; it is lit., "an eternal seat."

^eLit.: "More advanced."

^fRead *w·r·t*, originally a bend in the cliffs or river. Maspero reads *whm·t*, "repeating, reproducing the excellences of the gods." Compare Piehl, *Inscriptions*, I, 4.

^gPiehl's text has "walls."

^hThis may be figurative, viz., "reached," in the sense of "equaled," which suits the context.

ⁱBelonging to the chapel on the east side.

WADI HALFA INSCRIPTION OF MENTUHOTEP^a

510. This carries the Nubian wars of Sesostri I to their southernmost point.^b It was set up in the eighteenth year, by the general, Mentuhotep.^c

At the top is a relief showing Sesostri I standing, facing "*Montu, Lord of Thebes*," who says: "*I have brought for thee all countries which are in Nubia (T³-pd·t), beneath thy feet, Good God.*" Suiting these words, the god leads and presents to the king a line of bound captives, symbolizing Nubian towns. The head and shoulders of each captive surmount an oval, containing the name of the town represented. There were originally ten of these towns (of which four have disappeared),^d as follows: (1) *k³ s*, (2) *y r—*,

^aA sandstone stela found in the sanctuary of the northernmost of the two temples on the west shore opposite Wadi Halfa village. First noticed by Ricci, it was taken out by Champollion and Rosellini in 1829, who failed to notice that they had left the lower portion in situ under the sand. This upper portion has been in Florence for many years (No. 1542). Some sixty years later, (1893) Captain Lyons took out the lower portion, and it is now in Florence; only one intermediate line has been lost, for the two parts fit together, at one corner. The upper portion has often been published, but with no approach to accuracy: Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, XXV, 4; Champollion, *Monuments*, I, 1; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 34-36; II, 692; Schiaparelli, *Catalogue*, I, 243-46; Berend, *Monuments du Musée égyptien de Florence*, 51, 52; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1444 f.; a photograph in Petrie's *Italian Photographs*, No. 46. The lower portion was published by Pellegrini in *Bessarione*, Anno V, Vol. IX, Nos. 59, 60. I photographed and copied both portions (the readings from my copy were incorporated in Pellegrini's publication), repeatedly collated the original, and the Berlin squeeze (A 1375) of the upper portion, as well as the old publications for signs now lost, and published the whole in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, May, 1901, 231-35, and three plates.

^bAnother expedition under Sesostri I, which extended an uncertain distance southward, was accompanied by the nomarch of Elephantine, Sirenpowet. It is recorded in his Assuan tomb (de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 183), but is so fragmentary and so badly published, that very little can be made of it. The following is discernible: "*His majesty [sent me or came] to overthrow K[ush] the vile His majesty 'came' bringing*" Before the latter phrase an elephant is mentioned, to which there is probably reference in the last line: "*Four men brought him ———.*"

^cThe date and name of the officer are furnished by the newly discovered lower portion (§ 512).

^dAll ten were still partially readable in Champollion's time, and he gives the complete list (*Notices descriptives*, II, 693); the later publications all give only six, and do not add Champollion's material.

(3) *prw*w, (4) *ym*²*w*, (5) *h*¹—¹, (6) *w*²*w*,^a (7) *yhrkyn*, (8) *š*²*c*·*t*, (9) *hs*²*y*, (10) *šmyk*. The Kummeh temple of Thutmose III was built of “good white stone of *š*²*c*·*t*,”^b the eighth district in this list, which must therefore have been in the vicinity of Kummeh, some thirty-seven miles above Wadi Halfa where our monument was set up. It is safe to conclude that none of the others, although little known, was far south of Kummeh. Thus the conquests of Sesostris I had already reached the southern limit, later marked, and fortified by Sesostris III (§§ 651–60).

511. Below the relief were two inscriptions; the first belonging to the king—the second to Mentuhotep. Of the king’s inscription only fragments of six lines survive, showing the titulary of Sesostris I, followed by the epithet, “*Horus who seizes in an instant*” (l. 1).^c Other phrases discernible are: ““[*Light*] of the eyes, star^d of the South, illuminating the Two Lands, white Bull, trampling the Troglodytes” (l. 2); and in l. 4 is a reference to “*smiting Nubia*.” On the lower, more recently recovered portion, two more, fragmentary lines, continue similar epithets of the king.^e

512. Mentuhotep’s inscription begins with his titles, as follows:

⁸Hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, favorite of the king ————^f ⁹local governor, attached to Dep, lord

^aAccording to Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, but the original shows the goose as the last sign, and not *w*; *w*² with *w* and eagle is also suspicious.

^bLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 67, b; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1444.

^cPreserved completely in Champollion, *Monuments*, but misplaced at the beginning of l. 1, although it belongs at the end after the royal name.

^dSee Thutmose III’s Hymn of Victory (II, 658, l. 15).

^eThe king’s inscription is in horizontal lines, and the following inscription of Mentuhotep is in vertical lines.

^fThe numbering of lines is continued from the inscription of the king on this fragment. There is an uncertain amount lost at the end of each line, and even the portions above the final break are very fragmentary.

of Pe.¹¹.^a commander of recruits, commander of the army, ——— ¹²Sesostris I made me ———. ¹³Year 18, first (month) of the second season, day 8, the day of ——— ¹⁴broad in stride, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, [Kheper]ke[re] (Sesostris I). ¹⁶Their life is finished,^b slain, ——— ¹⁷fire in the tents^c ———. ¹⁸Her grain cast to the Nile,^d ——— ¹⁹zealous, not transgressing [the command of the palace] ——— ²⁰a man in the strength of his ka, in ——— ²¹forever, the Son of Re, Sesostris (I) ——— ²²I myself swear, this happened in^e ²³very truth; I, the general of the army, ²⁴Amu's son, (^c*mw*) Mentuhotep.

513. It is clear that ll. 12 and 13, and probably two lines before, contained important historical statements, of which the merest fragments are now discernible. The description is similar to the one on the second Semneh stela of Sesostris III (§§ 655-60).

514. Below at the left was the figure of Mentuhotep, of which only the top of the head is preserved. This is not the only place where his figure appeared on the stela. In the upper relief behind the king is the figure of a hawk-headed deity, very rudely done and not of the same workmanship as the other figures. A close examination reveals hieroglyphics under this figure. Over its head is a fan, the handle of which cuts across the head and shoulders of the figure.^f It is clear, then, that this hawk-headed figure is not original, but was cut in later to displace the figure of

^aConventional epithets.

^bThis phrase is common in the Twentieth Dynasty; hence the reading here with *km*-sign inverted is certain.

^cThe determinative is lost; it may be that we have Yam (*Y>m*).

^dThis phrase (*k>m n ylr*) occurs also in Papyrus Westcar (IV, 10), where the unfaithful wife is burned and "*cast to the Nile*," and on the Mentuhotep stela (§ 748), l. 19.

^eI read *m wn m>*; there is no loss at the end of l. 17; for it is like ll. 18 and 19, which are stopped by Mentuhotep's head, the top of which can barely be seen under the lines, the rest of the head and figure being lost.

^fNone of this appears in any of the old publications.

a fan-bearer, who could have been no one else but Mentuhotep. He must have fallen into disfavor, and for some reason have been displaced from his position of honor behind the king.

INSCRIPTION OF AMENEMHET^a (AMENI)

515. Amenemhet was one of the most powerful of the Benihasan^b princes. He succeeded his father (I, 465, ll. 7-8) Khnumhotep I, the founder of the Benihasan family, in the eighteenth year of Sesostris I, and ruled twenty-five years. He records three royal expeditions, the first of which he accompanied as commander of the military contingent from his nome, in a war against Nubia. It cannot be certainly identified with any of the Nubian expeditions of Sesostris I recorded in other sources.

516. The second and third expeditions were both for the purpose of bringing gold; the destination of the third was the mines back of Coptos,^c and that of the second, although not stated, was probably the same.

517. The inscription concludes with an interesting and important description of Amenemhet's administration of his principality.

518. ¹Year 43 under the majesty of ²Sesostris I,^d living forever and ever; ³corresponding to year 25^e in the Oryx nome with the heredi-

^aCarved on the jambs of the doorway of his cliff-tomb in Benihasan (No. 2), copied by Champollion in 1828 and published (*Monuments*, 395, 399; *Notices descriptives*, II, 427-30); copied by Hay in 1828 (British Museum, *Add. Manuscript* No. 29813, 84, 85); by Wilkinson in 1834 (*Manuscripts*, II, 22-26); by Lepsius in 1842, published (*Denkmäler*, II, 122); from Lepsius by Birch, *Egyptian Texts*, 7-11; and Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, 2d ed., V., 724 f.; finally by Newberry (*Beni Hasan*, I, Pl. VIII; see his bibliography, 24).

^bOn the Benihasan princes and Amenemhet's place therein, see §§ 620 ff.

^cFor the mines of Wadi Foakhir, on the Coptos road, see Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 463, and Wilkinson-Birch, II, 238.

^dFull titulary.

^eThis fixes the accession of Amenemhet in the Oryx nome, in the eighteenth year of Sesostris I.

tary prince, count, [—] Amen[emhet],^a triumphant. ⁴Year 43, second month of the first season, day 15. O ye who love life and hate ⁵death, say ye, 1,000 loaves and beer, 1,000 oxen and geese ⁶for the ka of the hereditary prince, count, [—], great lord of the Oryx nome, [—], attached to Nekhen, lord of Nekhbet, chief of prophets, Ameni, triumphant.

First Expedition

519. I followed my lord when ⁷he sailed southward to overthrow his enemies among the four^b barbarians. I sailed southward, as the son of a count, wearer of the royal seal, and commander in chief of the troops of ⁸the Oryx nome, as a man represents his old father,^c according to [his] favor in the palace and his love in the court. I passed Kush, ⁹sailing southward, I advanced the boundary of the land, I brought all gifts; my praise, it reached heaven. Then ¹⁰his majesty returned in safety, having overthrown his enemies in Kush the vile. I returned, following him, with ready face.^d ¹¹There was no loss among my soldiers.

Second Expedition

520. I sailed southward, to bring gold ore for the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Kheperkere (Sesostris I), living forever and ever. ¹²I sailed southward together with the hereditary prince, count, oldest son of the king, of his body, Ameni.^e I sailed southward, with a number, 400 of all the choicest of ¹³my troops, who returned in safety, having suffered no loss. I brought the gold exacted of me; I was praised for it in the palace;^f ¹⁴the king's-son praised god for me.

^aThe full form of this nomarch's name is Amenemhet (*Ymn-m-h* · *t* = "Amon is in front"). In place of this, another form of name is frequently used in these inscriptions, viz., Ameni (*Ymny* = "Belonging to Amon"), sometimes defectively written "Amen."

^bCompare the "four eastern countries," § 675, l. 9.

^cThis shows that he must have succeeded his father in the Oryx nome. Although his father's name is lacking here, it must have been Khnumhotep (I), the first of the Benihasan family (see § 627, l. 56).

^dOrders were always given "in the face of" an officer; an officer prepared for efficient service is therefore "ready of face" in the Egyptian idiom.

^eThis is the crown prince, who afterward became King Amenemhet II; his name, like that of our nomarch Amenemhet often, is here in the form Ameni.

^fThe inscription here proceeds to the left (north) door jamb.

Third Expedition

521. Then I sailed southward to bring ore, to the city of Coptos, together with the hereditary prince, count, governor of the city and vizier, Sesostris. I sailed southward with a number, 600 ¹⁵of all the bravest of the Oryx nome. I returned in safety, my soldiers uninjured; having done all that had been told me.

Ameni's Able Administration

522. I was amiable, and greatly loved, a ruler beloved of his city. Now, I passed years ¹⁶as ruler in the Oryx nome. All the imposts of the king's house passed through my hand. The gang-overseers of the crown possessions of the shepherds of the Oryx nome gave to me^a 3,000 bulls in their yokes. I was ¹⁷praised on account of it in the palace each year of the loan-herds. I carried all their dues^b to the king's house; there were no arrears against me in any office of his. The entire Oryx nome labored^c for me ¹⁸in 1— —1.^d

Ameni's Impartiality and Benevolence

523. There was no citizen's daughter whom I misused, there was no widow whom I oppressed, there was no 'peasant' whom I repulsed,^e there was no shepherd whom I repelled, ¹⁹there was no overseer of serf-laborers whose people I took for (unpaid) imposts, there was none wretched in my community, there was none hungry in my time. When years of famine came ²⁰I plowed all the fields of the Oryx nome, as far as its southern and northern boundary, preserving its people alive

^aThis means that Amenemhet received a herd of 3,000 cattle from the royal herds, to be maintained by him on shares. He kept them so well that he was praised for it each year when his payments fell due. The cattle of the king on the estate of Thuthotep (*Bersheh*, I, Pl. XII) are also clearly distinguished from his own; thus: ". great numbers of his cattle from the king, and his cattle of the estate in the districts of the Hare nome;" his own cattle being those of "the estate."

^bThe dues for the herds which he had received. On this entire transaction, see Müller, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1885, 85, 86.

^cTo labor or work for a king or nobleman is to pay him an impost from the results or products of one's labor. It is used of entire countries in the Empire.

^d"In extended goings," probably meaning in widely extended activity.

^eRead *hsj(w) n' y* = relative form.

and furnishing its food so that there was none hungry therein. I gave to the widow as (to) her who had a husband; ²¹I did not exalt the great above the small in all that I gave. Then came great Niles,^a possessors of grain^b and all things, (but) I did not collect the arrears of the field.^c

STELA OF IKUDIDI^d

524. This stela was erected at Abydos on the occasion of Ikudidi's visit there, while on an expedition to the oases which lie in the desert behind Abydos. It is the mention by him of the occasion of his visit which makes his stela of importance; for this is the earliest expedition to these peoples of which we know anything.

The inscription is very crude and difficult, and contains many hieratic signs which the artist could not put into hieroglyphic.

Date

525. ¹Year 34 under the majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Kheperkere, the Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of ²Offering, Beloved of All Gods, Son of Re, Sesostri (I), living forever and ever.

Prayer

526. ³An offering which the king gives, etc., ⁴. . . . ^e for the revered one ⁵before the great god, the lord of heaven, the steward, Ikudidi (*Ykw-dydy*).

^aInundations.

^bMeaning that the inundations brought these things; two kinds of grain were apparently mentioned.

^cMeaning that he did not collect the balance due after the short payments of taxes during the unfruitful years.

^dStela from Abydos in the Berlin Museum, No. 1199, *Ausführliches Verzeichniss des Berliner Museums*, 89. I used a copy kindly furnished me by Schaefer.

^eThe usual mortuary prayer in the name of Osiris.

Expedition

527. I came from Thebes, as a king's-confidant, ⁶doing all his pleasure, in command of the youth of the recruits, to visit the [—] of the land of the Oasis-⁷dwellers, as an excellent official, whom his lord knows, effective in plan, ⁸whom the officials of the palace exalt.^a

Tomb

528. I have made this tomb at the stairway of the great god, in order that I may be among ⁹his followers, while the soldiers who follow his majesty give to my ka of his bread ¹⁰and his [provision], just as the king's-messenger does, who comes inspecting the boundaries of his majesty.

INSCRIPTION OF INTEFYOKER^b

529. In striking corroboration of the stela of Intef I is that of Intefyoker. Above is the date: "*Year 33 under the majesty of Kheperkere (Sesostris I), living forever.*" The usual mortuary offering is then invoked:

"For the revered, scribe of [—],^c supervisor of fields in the Thinite, nome of the South (*tp ršy*),^d Imsu (*Ymsw*), southward as far as the Crocodile nome,^e northward as far as the Panopolite nome.^e The

^aOr: "*who exalts the officials of the palace,*" their position being subject to him.

^bMortuary stela, in Leyden Museum (V, 3; Leemans, *Description raisonnée des monuments égyptiens à Leide*, 264-66). The historical portion was first published by de Rougé, *Revue archéologique*, 1st ser., VI, 560; then completely by Piehl, *Inscriptions*, III, XXI-XXII. I had also an excellent copy from the original by Sethe, which he kindly loaned me.

^cBrugsch (*Geographical Inscriptions*, I, 211) states that this is the "Hinterland" of the Thinite nome.

^dSee § 396, l. 18, note.

^eIn the list of Ramses II at Abydos (Mariette, *Abydos*, I, 11, a) and in the oldest of all the lists, discovered February, 1900 (MS. Borchardt's *Tagebuch*) by Borchardt at Abusir, the Crocodile nome occupies the sixth place from Elephantine, and the order is Thebes, Coptos, Crocodile (end of Abusir list), Diospolis parva, Abydos, Akhmim. Hence the ancient Thinite (Abydos) nome was bounded on the north by the Panopolite (Akhmim) nome, and on the south by the Crocodile nome; the nome of Diospolis parva being a later division.

father's father of my father^a was field-scribe in the waters of Abydos of the Thinite nome, since the time of Horus: Wahenekh (*W³ h-^c n h*), King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Son of Re, Intef (I)."^b

INSCRIPTIONS OF MENTUHOTEP^c

530. The inscriptions of Mentuhotep contain little of historical importance, but were regarded as so excellent in style and content that they were partially copied^d on the mortuary stela of Sehetepibre, a nobleman living under Sesostris III and Amenemhet III. Their favor continued even into the Empire, when a nobleman under Queen Ahhotep also copied them on his stela.^e The text on the front, beginning with the names of Sesostris I, proceeds as follows:

531. Hereditary prince, vizier and chief judge, attached to Nekhen, prophet of Mat (goddess of Truth), giver of laws, advancer of offices, confirming^f the boundary records, separating a land-owner from his neighbor, pilot of the people, satisfying the whole land, a man of truth before the Two Lands, 'accustomed' to justice like Thoth, his like in satisfying the Two Lands, hereditary prince in judging the Two Lands,

^aImsu's great-grandfather was therefore a contemporary of King Intef I. Allowing 40 years for a generation, this Intef was still living over 100 years before Amenemhet I. Cf. § 415 and Steindorff, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1895, 90, 91, and Birch, *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, IV.

^bThe king's name is not inclosed in a cartouche.

^cOn his mortuary stela found at Abydos, now in Cairo (No. 20539); published by Mariette, *Abydos*, II, 23 (very inaccurate; *Catalogue général d'Abydos*, 144, No. 617) = Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 303, 304; Daressy has added the verso, *Recueil*, X, 144-49. I had also a copy of the original by Schaefer, which he kindly loaned me.

^dThe form of the representations in the arch of the stela was also adopted. See Daressy, *Recueil*, X, 144.

^eThe text on the verso was the one copied. It is much mutilated. Daressy has published all three in a parallel arrangement.

^fOr: "recording."

supreme head in judgment, putting matters in order, wearer of the royal seal, chief treasurer, Mentuhotep.

Hereditary prince, count, chief of all works of the king, making the offerings of the gods to flourish, setting this land '— —' according to the command of the god. '— —', sending forth two brothers satisfied with the utterances of his mouth, upon whose tongue is the writing of Thoth, more accurate than the weight, likeness of the balances, fellow of the king in counseling '— —', giving attention to hear words, like a god in his hour, excellent in heart, skilled in his fingers, exercising an office like him who holds it, favorite of the king before the Two Lands, his beloved among the companions, powerful among the officials, having an advanced seat to approach the throne of the king, a man of confidences to whom the heart opens.

532. Hereditary prince over the '—' of the (royal) castle (*wsḥ·t*), finding the speech of the palace, knowing that which is in every body (heart), putting a man into his real place, finding matters in which there is irregularity, giving the lie to him that speaks it, and the truth to him that brings it, giving attention, without an equal, good at listening, profitable in speaking, an official loosening the (difficult) knot, whom the king (lit., god) exalts above millions, as an excellent man, whose name he knew, true likeness of love, free from doing deceit, whose steps the court heeds, overthrowing him that rebels against the king, hearing the house of the council of thirty, who puts his 'terror' among the barbarians (*ḥꜥ·š·tyw*), when he has silenced the Sand-dwellers, pacifying the rebels because of their deeds, whose actions prevail in the two regions, lord of the Black Land and the Red Land, giving commands to the South, counting the 'number' of the '—' of the Northland, in whose brilliance all men move, pilot of the people, giver of food, advancing offices, lord of designs, great in love, associate of the king in the great castle (*wsḥ·t*), hereditary prince, count, chief treasurer, Mentuhotep, he says:

533. "I am a companion beloved of his lord, doing that which pleases his god daily, prince, count, sem priest, master of every wardrobe of Horus, prophet of Anubis of '— —', the *ḥry ydb*, Mentuhotep, prince in the seats of 'Splendor,'^a at whose voice they (are permitted to) speak in the king's-house, in charge of the silencing of the courtiers, unique one of the king, without his like, who sends up the truth to the

^aName of a building.

palace, great herald of good things, alone great, sustaining alive the people. One to whom the great come in obeisance at the double gate of the king's-house; attached to Nekhen, prophet of Mat, pillar 'before' the Red Land, overseer of the western highlands, leader of the magnates of South and North, 'advocate of the people, — —', merinuter priest, prophet of Horus, master of secret things of the house of sacred writings, '— —', governor of the (royal) castle, prophet of Harkefti, great lord of the royal wardrobe, who approaches the limbs of the king, '———', overseer of the double granary, overseer of the double silver-house, overseer of the double gold-house, master of the king's writings of the (royal) presence, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, master of secret things of the 'divine words' (hieroglyphics), chief treasurer, Mentuhotep." He says:

534. Here follows a mortuary prayer, after which the concluding lines (22, 23) refer specifically to his building commissions at Abydos, as follows: "*I conducted the work in the temple, built his^a house (pr), and dug the lake; I masoned the well, by command of the majesty of Horus.*" The back^b also contains references to buildings at Abydos:

I conducted the work in the temple, built of stone of Ayan.
I conducted the work on the sacred barque (*nšm' t*), I fashioned its colors.
. ——— offering-tables of lapis lazuli, of bronze, of electrum, and silver; copper was plentiful without end, bronze without limit, collars of real malachite, ornaments (*mn-njr' t*) of every kind of costly stone. — — — of the choicest of everything, which are given to a god at his processions, by virtue of my office of master of secret things.

^aThis must refer to the king or the god.

^bThe text of the back as copied very copiously by Sehetepibre, has been translated only once, to save space (see §§ 746 ff.). Only the references to building are translated here. The back begins with a royal decree, commanding that there be built for Mentuhotep "*a tomb at the stairway of the great god, lord of Abydos, recording all thy offices and all the pleasing things which thou didst.*" It was to be furnished with statues and endowments; but the conclusion is illegible.

THE CONTRACTS OF HEPZEFI^a

535. Legal documents from civil, as distinguished from criminal, processes of early Egypt are so rare, and the contracts of Hepzefi also throw so much light on both political and social conditions in the Middle Kingdom, that it seemed necessary to include them in these historical translations. They offer nothing in the political history of the family of the Siut nobles, and it is not possible to connect the nomarch, Hepzefi, in any way with the earlier generations, known to us at Siut in the Tenth and Eleventh Dynasties (§ 391). He doubtless marks a new family installed here by the powerful Twelfth Dynasty, in preference to the earlier family, which had been friendly to the northern dynasty.

The ten contracts were made solely to secure to Hepzefi, after his death, certain ceremonies and offerings from the priesthoods of Siut. Similar contracts were customarily made with the priests of Abydos. Mentuhotep and Sehetepibre, nobles of the same time, say on their Abydos tombstones: "*I gave contracts for the remuneration of the prophets of Abydos*"^b (§ 746). The kings did the same (§ 765).

536. The form of the contracts is sufficiently clear; but the language is very involved, and burdened with an excess of relative clauses. Space will not permit the full commentary which they need in many places;^c but attention

^aEngraved upon the east wall of the great hall in Hepzefi's cliff-tomb at Assiut (see § 391 and note). The only complete copy is that published by Mr. Griffith (F. L. Griffith, *The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rîfeh*, London, 1889), which is a model of care and accuracy. It is unnecessary to refer to the earlier publications, as Mr. Griffith has collated them all. The first adequate treatment was that of Erman, written, unfortunately, before the appearance of Mr. Griffith's text (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1882, 159-84), which fact necessitated leaving some obscure passages unrendered. Cf. also Maspero, *Études de mythologie et d'archéologie*, I, 62-74.

^bReverse of the well-known Mentuhotep stela, *Recueil*, X, 146.

^cThe general reader should refer to Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 145-47, 497, 498.

should at least be called to the sixth contract which Hepzefi as count made with himself as superior prophet of Upwawet.

Two facts in the socio-political organization of the time are brought out by these contracts: (1) The property of the prince was held under two different titles, viz., (a) by inheritance from his father, the property being called the "*paternal estate*" (*nw-pr-yt*), which he could bequeath at will; and (b) by virtue of his appointment^a as "*count*" (*h³ ty-^c*) by the king, the property being called the "*count's estate*" (*pr-h³ ty-^c*), which he could not legally bequeath. The distinction between these two estates is clearly maintained throughout, and whenever Hepzefi bequeathes anything from his "*count's estate*" he concedes that such a title can endure only so long as his successors are willing to recognize it, and by appeal to the common feeling in such matters, he urges his successors to recognize it (e. g., § 547, ll. 280, 281) (2) There are in the contracts four classes of society: the "*count*" (*h^c ty-^c*), or nomarch; the official (*šr*); the "*citizen*" (*nḏs*, lit., "*the small*"), and the "*peasant*" (*y^c hty*), lit., "*belonging to the field*," enumerated in descending scale. The interrelations of the four are not wholly discernible. The "*citizen*," like the count, gives to the temple from fields called "*his field*," which he therefore either owned or held in rental. The peasant is called "*his (the citizen's) peasant*," and may therefore have been his serf or slave. He cultivated the field for the citizen, and carried the harvest offering to the temple for him (cf. ll. 280, 281). The "*official*" (*šr*) may have been of the same social class as the "*citizen*."

The importance of these contracts in a study of the mortuary customs and beliefs is evident, but a discussion of

^aOn such appointment by the king, see § 385.

these questions does not fall within the scope of the present translations.^a

537. There is a title above (l. 260):^b "*The command, which the hereditary prince and count, etc., Hepzefi, made,*" which belongs to an introduction, giving instructions to Hepzefi's mortuary priest, as follows:

538. ²⁶⁹The hereditary prince and count, the superior prophet, Hepzefi; he says to his mortuary priest:^c "Behold, all these things, which I have secured by contract from these priests, are under thy charge. For, behold, it is the mortuary priest of a man, who should maintain his possessions and maintain his offering.

²⁷⁰Behold, I have informed thee; (as for) these things, which I have given to these (*w^cb-*) priests, as compensation for these things, which they have given to me, take heed lest anything among them be lacking. (As for) every word of my lists, which I have given to them, let thy son hear it, thy heir, ²⁷¹who shall act as my mortuary priest. Behold, I have endowed thee with fields, with people, with cattle, with gardens (and) with everything, as every count of Siut (does), in order that thou mayest make offerings to me with contented heart. Thou standest over all my possessions, which I have put ²⁷²under thy hand. Behold, they are before thee in writing.^d These things shall belong to thy particular son, whom thou lovest, who shall act as my mortuary priest, before thy (other) children, as food which I have 'bequeathed' to him; not permitting that he divide them to his children, (but) according to this word which I have commanded thee."

I. FIRST CONTRACT

Title

539. ²⁷³Contract which the count, the superior prophet, Hepzefi, triumphant, made, with the lay priests of the temple of Upwawet, lord of Siut, to-wit:

^aSee Erman's treatment, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1882, 163-65.

^bThe numbering of lines follows Griffith's edition.

^cLit., "*servant of his ka*" (*k>*), indicating his office very clearly as a mortuary one; hence the above rendering.

^dReferring either to these inscriptions or papyrus originals in possession of the mortuary priest.

What Hepzefi Receives

540. There shall be given^a to him: A white loaf per individual (*w^cb-*) priest, for his statue, which is in the temple of Anubis, ²⁷⁴lord of Rekreret (*Rkrret*) on the first of the 5 intercalary days, when Upwawet, lord of Siut, proceeds to this temple.

What He Pays

541. He hath given^a to them for it his share in the bull offered to Upwawet, lord of Siut, in this temple, when ²⁷⁵he proceeds to it, consisting of his quarter, due to the count.

Source of Payment

542. Lo, he spake to them, saying: "Behold ye, I have given to you this quarter due to me from this temple, in order that this white bread may be endowed, ²⁷⁶which ye give to me." Lo, they had given to him the inherited portion of the bull, for his statue, (which is) in charge of his mortuary priest, before he gave to them of this quarter.

Conclusion

543. Lo, they were satisfied with it.

II. SECOND CONTRACT

Title

544. ²⁷⁷Contract, which the count, the superior prophet, Hepzefi, triumphant, made with the lay priests of the temple of Upwawet, lord of Siut, to-wit:

What Hepzefi Receives

545. There shall be given to him:

(a) White bread by each one among them, for his statue, (which is) in charge of his mortuary priest, in the first month of the first season on the first day, ²⁷⁸New Year's Day, when the house makes gifts to its lord, when the fire is kindled in the temple.

^aThe verbal forms are regularly in the first clause an infinitive (lit., "concerning giving to him") and in the second a relative form ("what he hath given").

(b) And they shall^a go forth following his mortuary priest, at his glorification, until they reach the northern corner of the temple, as they do, when they glorify their own noble ones,^b ²⁷⁹on the day of kindling the fire.

What He Pays

546. He hath given to them for it a heket of grain from every field of the estate (*pr-dt*), from the first of the harvest of the count's estate; as every citizen of Siut does, from the first of his harvest. Now, behold, he begins ²⁸⁰with having his every peasant give it into this temple, from the first of his field.

Injunction to Future Nomarchs

547. Lo, he said: "Behold, ye know that, as for anything which any official (*šr*) or any citizen gives into the temple, from the first of his harvest, it is not agreeable to him, that there should be lack ²⁸¹therein. Therefore shall no future count diminish to future priests, that which is secured by contract of another count. This grain shall belong to the lay priests, each by himself; ²⁸²no priest, who shall give to me this white bread, shall divide (it) to his colleagues; because they give this white bread, each by himself."

Conclusion

548. Lo, they were satisfied with it.

III. THIRD CONTRACT

Title

549. ²⁸³Contract which the count, the superior prophet, Hepzefi, triumphant, made, with the official body of the temple, to-wit:

What Hepzefi Receives

550. There shall be given to him bread and beer in the first month of the first season, on the eighteenth day, the day of the Wag-feast. List of that which shall be given:

^aAn infinitive construction continued from the first clause (lit., "besides the going forth on their part").

^bThe dead.

²⁸⁴ Register of Names	(Kby-) Jars of Beer	Flat Loaves	White Loaves
Superior prophet.	4	400	10
Announcer.	2	200	5
Master of secret things.	2	200	5
['Keeper of the wardrobe']	2	200	5
Overseer of the storehouse.	2	200	5
Keeper of the wide hall.	2	200	5
Overseer of the house of the ka	2	200	5
Scribe of the temple.	2	200	5
Scribe of the altar.	2	200	5
Ritual priest.	2	200	5

What He Pays

551. He hath given to them for it, 22 temple-days, from his property of his paternal estate, but not from the property of the count's estate: ²⁸⁵4 days to the superior prophet, and 2 days to each one among them.

Definition of "Temple-Day"

552. Lo, he hath said to them: "Behold, as for a temple-day, it is $\frac{1}{360}$ ²⁸⁶of a year. When ye therefore divide everything that comes into this temple, consisting of bread, of beer, and of meat for each day, that which makes ²⁸⁷ $\frac{1}{360}$ of the bread, of the beer, and of everything, which comes into this temple, is the unit ^bin these temple-days which I have given to you. ²⁸⁸Behold, it is my property of my paternal estate, but it is not the property of the count's estate; for I am a priest's (*w^cb*) son, like each one of you. Behold, ²⁸⁹these days shall belong to every future official staff of the temple, since they deliver to me this bread and beer, which they give to me."

Conclusion

553. Lo, they were satisfied with it.

IV. FOURTH CONTRACT

Title

554. ²⁹⁰Contract which the count, the superior prophet, Hepzefi, triumphant, made with the lay priests of Upwawet, lord of Siut, to wit:

^aI do not understand the *hnt* inserted here.

^bLit., "the *per unum*" (*hr w^c*), as we use *per centum*; *hr* is here the distributive preposition as in all the passages, indicating the individual priest.

What Hepzefi Receives

555. There shall be given to him:

(a) A white loaf per each individual among them, for his statue, which is in the temple, in the first month of the first season, on the eighteenth day, ²⁹¹the day of the Wag-feast.

(b) And they shall go forth, following his mortuary priest, at his glorification, when the fire is kindled for him, as they do when they glorify their own noble ones, on the day of kindling the fire in the temple. Now, ²⁹²this white bread shall be under the charge of my mortuary priest.

What He Pays

556. He hath given to them for it:

(a) A khar^a (*ḥꜥr*) of fuel for every bull, and an uhet^a (*whꜥ·t*) of fuel for every goat, which they give into the storehouse of the count, when each bull and each goat is offered to the temple, ²⁹³as ancient^b (dues) which they give into the storehouse of the count. Lo, he hath remitted it to them, not collecting it from them.

(b) And hath given to them 22 jars (*ḥby*) of beer and 2,200 flat loaves which the official body of the temple give to him in the first month of the first season, on the eighteenth day, ²⁹⁴as compensation, for their giving white bread per each individual among them, from that which is due to them from the temple, and (as compensation for) his glorification.

Further Specification

557. Lo, he spake to them, saying: "If this fuel be reckoned against you^c by a future ²⁹⁵count; behold, this bread and beer shall not be diminished, which the official body of the temple deliver to me, which I have given to you. Behold, I have secured it by contract from them."

^aMeasures of bulk. The meaning of this clause is obscure; but probably it means that each bull or goat due the prince (of those offered to the temple) is given him by the priests together with fuel. This latter he now remits as part payment for the white bread.

^bOr: "as recompense for that which they give, etc."

^cLit., "reckoned from you," probably meaning: "as due from you." The fuel, etc., could not be legally conveyed by the count, because they belonged to the count's and not to the paternal estate. If payment of the fuel, etc., should be ultimately exacted, the lay priests would still have the bread and beer which the prince has secured by contract from the "official body" of the Upwawet temple (see third contract).

Conclusion

558. Lo, they were satisfied with it.

V. FIFTH CONTRACT

Title

559. ²⁹⁶Contract, which the count, the superior prophet, Hepzeffi, triumphant, made with the 'keeper of the wardrobe' of the temple, concerning:

What Hepzeffi Receives

560. Three 'wicks' with which the fire is kindled for the god.

What He Pays

561. While he (the count) has given to him (the keeper) for it: 3 temple-days. Now, these 3 temple-days shall be due to every future 'keeper of the wardrobe', because ²⁹⁷these 3 'wicks' are due to him (the count).

Disposition of Wicks

562. 1. Lo, he spake to him, saying: "One of them shall be given to my mortuary priest, when he goes forth, kindling the fire with it for the god, on the fifth of the 5 intercalary days, New Year's^a night, by the 'keeper of the wardrobe'. He shall 'deliver' it ²⁹⁸to my mortuary priest after he does that which he does with it in the temple."

563. 2. "He shall give another on New Year's Day, in the morning, when the house makes gifts to its lord, when the lay priests of the temple give to me this white bread, which they give to me per individual priest (*w^cb*), on New Year's Day. It shall be due ²⁹⁹from my mortuary priest at my glorification."

564. 3. "He shall give another in the first month of the first season on the eighteenth day, the day of the Wag-feast, at the same time with the white bread, which they give to me per individual priest (*w^cb*). This 'wick' shall be due from my mortuary priest when glorifying me, together with the lay priests."

Lo, he said to him:

^aReally the evening before New Year's Day.

Definition of "Temple-Day"

565. ³⁰⁰"Behold, as for a temple-day, it is $1/360$ of a year.^a When ye^b therefore divide everything that comes into the temple, consisting of bread, beer, and everything for each day, that which makes $1/360$ of the bread, of the beer, and of everything which comes into this temple, is the unit in these temple-days which I have given ³⁰¹to thee. Behold, it is my property, of my paternal estate, but not of the count's estate."

Future Validity of Agreement

566. "Now, these 3 temple-days shall belong to every future 'keeper of the wardrobe,'¹ because these 3 'wicks' are due to him, which thou hast given to me for these 3 temple-days, which I have given to thee."

Conclusion

567. Lo, he was satisfied with it.

VI. SIXTH CONTRACT

Title

568. ³⁰²Contract which the count, the superior prophet, Hepzefi, triumphant, made with the superior prophet of Upwawet,^c concerning:

What Hepzefi Receives

569. The roast of meat which is due upon the altar, which is placed upon the oblation-table, for every bull which is slaughtered in the temple.

And one (*st*²-) jar for (every) (*ds*-) jar of beer every day ³⁰³of a procession; which shall be due to every future superior prophet.

What He Pays

570. He (the count) hath given him (the superior prophet) for it, 2 temple-days from his property, of his paternal estate, but not from the property of the count's estate.

^aSee the same computation in the second contract.

^bAlthough speaking to the keeper of the wardrobe, as the conclusion (l. 301) shows.

^cThat is, with himself! In his capacity as count he makes a contract with himself in his capacity as superior prophet of Upwawet.

Disposition of Meat

571. Lo, the count Hepzefi spake, saying: "When ³⁰⁴this roast of meat and this (*st²-*) jar of beer come for every day of a procession, they are due to my statue, (which is) in charge of my mortuary priest."

Conclusion

Lo, he was satisfied therewith, in the presence of the official body of the temple.

VII. SEVENTH CONTRACT

Title

572. ³⁰⁵Contract which the count, the superior prophet, Hepzefi, triumphant, made, with the great (*w^cb-*) priest of Anubis, concerning:

What Hepzefi Receives

573. Three ¹wicks¹ due to him, with which the fire is kindled in the temple of Anubis:

One on the fifth of the 5 intercalary days, the New Year's night.

Another on New Year's Day.

Another ³⁰⁶in the first month of the first season, on the seventeenth day, the night of the Wag-feast.

What He Pays

574. He hath given to him for it: 1,000 (*h²·t*)-measures of land in ¹—¹,^a from the fields of his father, as compensation for these 3 ¹wicks¹, which he gives to my mortuary priest, in order to kindle the light for me therewith.

Conclusion

575. Lo, he was satisfied therewith.

VIII. EIGHTH CONTRACT

Title

576. ³⁰⁷Contract which the count, the superior prophet, Hepzefi, triumphant, made, with the lay priests of the temple of Anubis; to-wit:

^a*Sm²-r²sy* = "the southern union," a designation of some locality in Hepzefi's estate.

What Hepzefi Receives

577. There shall be given to him:

(a) A white loaf per each individual among them, for his statue, in the first month of the first season, on the seventeenth day, the night of the Wag-feast.

(b) And that they shall go forth, following his mortuary priest, and kindle for him (the count), the fire at ³⁰⁸his glorification, until they reach the lower steps of his tomb, just as they glorify their noble ones, on the day of kindling the fire.

(c) And that the priest belonging in each month shall give 1—¹ of bread ($p^2 k$) and a jar of beer for his statue, which is on the lower steps of his tomb, when he comes forth from offering in ³⁰⁹the temple^a every day.

What He Pays

578. He hath given to them for it: grain from the first of the harvest of every field of the count's estate, as every citizen of Siut does from the first of his harvest. Now, behold, he begins with having his every peasant give it from the first of his field into the temple of ³¹⁰Anubis.

Injunction to Future Nomarchs

579. Lo, the count, Hepzefi, said: "Behold, ye know, that, as for every official ($\$r$) and every citizen, who gives the first of his harvest into the temple, it is not agreeable to him, that there should be lack therein. Therefore shall no future count diminish to future priests that which is secured by contract of another count."

Individual Payment and Remuneration

580. ³¹¹This grain shall belong to the lay priests, per each individual^b priest, who shall give to me this white bread. He shall not divide it to his colleagues, because they give this white bread, each by himself.

^aThis would imply that the temple of Anubis was close to the necropolis and Hepzefi's tomb, a similar indication is seen in the fact that the officials of the necropolis receive the wicks from the "great priest" of Anubis to be carried to the mortuary priest. The temple of Upwawet was, on the contrary, in the town. See Erman, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1882, 165.

^bHeretofore this idea has been expressed by the distributive preposition *hr*, "per;" but in this passage a remarkable idiom appears, lit., "by the mouth of the head of each priest."

Conclusion

581. Lo, they were satisfied therewith.

IX. NINTH CONTRACT

Title

582. ³¹²Contract which the count, the superior prophet, Hepzefi, triumphant, made, with the overseer of the necropolis, and with the mountaineers,^a to-wit:

What Hepzefi Receives

583. There shall be given:^b

(a) That they go to the house of Anubis, on the fifth of the 5 intercalary days, (being) New Year's night, and on New Year's Day, to receive 2 'wicks', which the great priest (*w^cb*) of Anubis gives to the count, Hepzefi.

(b) And that they go, at his glorification, until they reach ³¹³his tomb.

(c) And that they give this one 'wick' to his mortuary priest, after they glorify him, just as they glorify their noble ones.

What He Pays

584. He hath given to them for it:

(a) 2,200 (*h³·t-*) measures of land in the '—',^c from his property of the paternal estate, but not of the count's estate:

³¹⁴ Register of Names	(<i>H³·t-</i>) Measures
Overseer of the Necropolis	400
Chief of the Highland	200
Eight mountaineers	1,600

(b) Besides giving to them the foot of the leg of every bull, that shall be slaughtered upon this highland, in every temple.

^aLit., "those who are upon the mountain" (*tpyw-dw*); they must also be connected with the necropolis, and receive their name from its location in the mountainous cliffs.

^bThe usual "to him" is omitted.

^c*W³b·t.*

What Hepzefi Further Receives

585. They have given to him:^a

The Overseer of the Necropolis, 2 (*ds-*) jars of beer; 100 flat loaves;
10 white loaves.

The Chief of the Highland, 1 (*ds-*) jar of beer; 50 flat loaves;
5 white loaves.

³¹⁵Eight mountaineers, 8 (*ds-*) jars of beer; 400 flat loaves; 40
white loaves.

For his statue, (which is) in charge of his mortuary priest, in the
first month of the first season, on the first day, (being) New Year's
Day, when they glorify him.

Future Validity of Contract

586. Lo, he said to them: "Behold, these (*hꜣt-*) measures of land,
which I have given to 'you',^b shall belong to ³¹⁶every overseer of the
necropolis, to every chief of the highland, and to every mountaineer
who shall come (hereafter), because they shall deliver to me this bread
and beer."

Additional Stipulation

587. ³¹⁷"And ye shall be behind [my] statue which is in my garden,
following it when ————,^c ³¹⁸at every feast of the beginning of a
season, which is celebrated in this temple."

Conclusion

588. Lo, they were satisfied therewith.

X. TENTH CONTRACT

Title

589. ³¹⁹Contract which the count, the superior prophet, Hepzefi,
made, with the overseer of the highland, to-wit:

^aThe addition of a second stipulation of payments to the count is in violation
of the usual form.

^bMr. Griffith saw traces of *j* ("him") in this place, which is broken, but the
context demands "you."

^cFrom l. 316 on, the lines are shorter, so that not more than five or six words
are lost here.

What Hepzeḫ Receives

590. There shall be given to him 1 (*hbn' t-*) jar of beer, ³²⁰1 large (— *rrt-*) loaf, 500 flat loaves, and 10 white loaves, for his statue, (which is) in charge of his mortuary priest, in the first month of the first season, on the seventeenth day, the night of the Wag-feast.

What He Pays

591. ³²¹He hath given to him for it:

(a) 1,000 (*h' t-*) measures of land in [—],^a from his property of his paternal estate, but not from the property of the count's estate.

(b) And ³²²a quarter of every bull that is slaughtered on this highland in every temple.

Future Validity of Contract

592. Lo, he said to the overseer of the highland: ³²³“Behold, these (*h' t-*) measures of land shall belong to every future overseer of the highland, because he delivers to me this ³²⁴bread and beer.”

Conclusion

593. Lo, he was satisfied therewith.

^a*W' b' t.*

REIGN OF AMENEMHET II

INSCRIPTION OF SIMONTU^a

594. Besides determining the succession of the first three kings of the Twelfth Dynasty, this stela is also important because it shows that Sesostri I was living in the third year of his son, Amenemhet II's reign. They were therefore coregent at least that long.

Date

595. ¹Year 3 ²under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nubkure (*Nb-k'w-R'*, Amenemhet II), living like Re.

Simontu's Titles

596. ³Hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, favorite of Horus, lord of the palace, who does that which his lord praises ⁴every day, royal scribe, Simontu (*S'-Mntw*), the revered; he saith:

Simontu's Birth and Childhood

597. I was born⁵ in the time of the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sehetepibre (Amenemhet I) triumphant. I was a child who fastened on the girdle^b under his majesty (Amenemhet I), ⁶when he departed in peace.^c

^aOn a stela in the British Museum (No. 828, also called "Anastasi 17"); published by Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 697; Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, I, 83; from Sharpe by Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, 2d ed., V, 724 f.; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1250; Maspero, *Etudes de mythologie et d'archéologie*, I, 39, 40; Piehl, *Sphinx*, II, 131-36 after Brugsch. None of these texts is without considerable divergence from the rest. A collation of the Berlin squeeze (No. 1083), and later of the original in London, shows that no copy is without error.

^bSee the same phrase § 294, l. 1.

^cPiehl has shown from the well-known parallel examples of the Old Kingdom (*Sphinx*, II, 135) that the words here: "*proceeded, departed, or passed on in peace*," mean "died." This is undoubtedly correct, but the question is: Whose death is referred to? It cannot be the death of Sesostri I, who is called "*living forever*,"

Career under Sesostri I.

598. The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Kheperkere (Sesostri I), living forever; his majesty appointed me scribe ⁷of the harem ¹— —¹; ^ahe praised me on account of it very greatly.

His majesty appointed me scribe ⁸of ¹—¹; his majesty praised me on account of it very greatly.^b

His majesty made me grain-registrar ⁹in South and North; his majesty praised me on account of it very greatly.

His majesty appointed me scribe of the great harem; ¹⁰his majesty praised me on account of it very greatly.

His majesty appointed me royal scribe and chief of works ¹¹in the entire land; his majesty praised me because I was silent,^c he loved me, because I repelled the ¹inflamed¹,^d I never repeated any evil word.

The revered royal scribe, Simontu.

INSCRIPTION OF SIHATHOR^e

599. Sihathor's sole title is that of "*assistant treasurer*," an office which he really administered, and one which called him to varied enterprises of historical importance, the chief of which were his expeditions to Nubia and Sinai. After the usual mortuary formularies follow the biographical remarks.

and was therefore still living when the inscription was made. Grammatically, it is also impossible to accept Sesostri as subject of the verb, when verb and adverbial phrase precede the subject. Hence the verb must be a pseudo-participle, in a temporal clause, belonging to the preceding sentence. This leaves Sesostri without a verb, so that it must be an anticipatory subject, in apposition with "*his majesty*," of l. 6.

^aIs this the official called *sḏm* in the Empire?

^b"*Greatly*," omitted in all the copies, is clear on the squeeze.

^c*Gr.*, as shown by the squeeze against all the copies, which have *hr* (except Sharpe).

^dSee the clever explanation of Piehl, *Sphinx*, II, 135 f.

^eMortuary stela from Abydos, now in the British Museum (No. 569), published by Sharpe, *Inscriptions*, II, 74; Birch, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1874, 112 f., and *Egyptian Texts*, 21–24. These texts are so bad that it is difficult to use them at all. The translation is made from my own copy of the original. See also Brugsch, *Geschichte*, 136 ff.

Sihathor's Many Commissions

600. I was real "beloved of his lord," the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nubkure (*Nb-k^ow-R^c* Amenemhet II), living forever. He commanded, he sent me many times on every excellent commission, the things which his majesty desired should be done according to the desire of the heart of his majesty.

Pyramid Statues

601. His majesty commanded that I should be brought to the pyramid: Amenu-kherep (*Ymnw-hr p*),^a living forever, to superintend the work on his 16^b statues of hard stone of millions of years, which happened [within]^c a day of two months. Never happened the like with any superintendent [_____].

Expeditions to Sinai and Nubia

602. I visited^d the Mine-land (Sinai) as a youth, and I forced the (Nubian) chiefs to wash gold. I brought malachite,^e I reached Nubia (*t^o-pd^o t*) of the negroes. I went, [overthrowing]^f, by the fear of the Lord of the Two Lands; I came [to] He (*H^o*),^g I went around its islands, I brought away its produce.

603. The real beloved of his lord, his favorite, saying the good and repeating that which is loved, doing that which the Lord of the Two Lands praises, communicating his design, not [knowing]¹ the [—] hearted, free from blemish, defending his boundary, watching his possessions, watchful without laxity, the assistant treasurer Sihathor, triumphant.

^aThis is the pyramid of Amenemhet II. A similar reference to him, with name Ameni for Amenemhet, occurs at Benihasan (§ 520). (See Griffith, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XIV, 39 f.) The name of the pyramid is also written Ameni-kherep on the Stela No. 839 in the British Museum.

^bSo the original; the publications all have 15.

^c*Hm n.*

^dOn the verb *ry* ("make") in the sense of "visit," see § 351, l. 9, note. The Mine-land (*By^o*) is here written with feminine *t*; it is elsewhere masculine, so that it is possible that we should render it merely "mine."

^e*F^ok^o t* is of course to be read *mf^ok^o t* as in the Pyramid Texts, see the same writing § 266. This is equivalent to saying "I visited Sinai," and this gives us a second antithetic parallelism with Sinai and Nubia; that is, north and south, as the extremes.

^fRead *hr šhr t*?

^gBirch's and Brugsch's reading "*Heha*" is impossible, otherwise one would identify the place with Heh (*Hh*) = Semneh. It is near Abu Simbel; see III, 496.

INSCRIPTION OF KHENTKHETWER^a

604. The tablet is of particular importance, having been found on the Red Sea at Wadi Gasus, of which it furnishes the Egyptian name, "Sewew" (*š²ww*), to which place an expedition led by Khentkhetwer returned from Punt, in the twenty-eighth year of Amenemhet II.

605. Above is Amenemhet II offering a libation to Min of Coptos; below is the figure of Khentkhetwer with arms uplifted in worship, accompanied by the following inscription:

¹Giving divine praise and laudation to Horus [—], to Min of Coptos, ²by the hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal, the master of the judgment-hall ³Khentkhetwer (*Hnt-ht-wr*) after his arrival in ⁴safety from Punt; his army being ⁵with him, prosperous and healthy; and his ships having landed ⁶at Sewew (*š²ww*). ⁷Year 28.

SINAI INSCRIPTION^b

606. The inscription records the opening of a new mine in the twenty-fourth year of Amenemhet II.

Year 24, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Amenemhet II.

Mine-chamber which the real king's-confidant^c the captain of sailors,^d Men, born of Mut, triumphant and revered, excavated.^e

^aOn a stela discovered by Burton (Wilkinson, *General View*, 364) in the Wadi Gasus on the coast of the Red Sea opposite Coptos; now in the Museum of Alnwick Castle (No. 1935); published first by Erman from a squeeze, in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1882, 204, 205; then by Birch, *Catalogue Alnwick Castle*, pl. III, 268 ff. Cf. Brugsch, *Völkertafel*, 54, 55, and 68; Schweinfurth, *Wadi Gasus*, II, n. 2.

^bCut on the rocks near the great reservoir in the Sarbût el-Khadem; published from British Museum squeeze, No. 99, by Weill, *Sinai*, 158.

^cConventional epithets, but the text is unsafe. ^d*Mr-c prw*.

^eVerb of the relative clause; a similar record under the same king, but without the year, is in the vicinity (Weill, *Sinai*, 159).

STELA OF KHENTEMSEMETI^a

607. This stela is chiefly occupied with a pompous recitation of honors, such as is characteristic of the time. Many of the noble's functions in connection with the royal person—he had charge of the king's wardrobe—are entirely unintelligible. The interest and importance of the monument lie in Khentemsemeti's meager record of a journey of inspection among the temples of Egypt, undertaken by command of the king. He went up the river as far as Elephantine, and on his return stopped at Abydos, where he improved the opportunity of his official visit, as so many other functionaries did, to erect a memorial stela at the sanctuary of the great god of the dead. This is the stela with which we are dealing.

Introduction

608. ¹Amenemhet II, beloved of Osiris, First of the Westerners; given life. ²His real favorite servant, master of secret things of the king's wardrobe, Khentemsemeti (*Hnt-m-smy'ty*); he says:

His Honors

609. "His majesty set me ³at his feet in youth, my name was mentioned before my equals. His majesty greeted ⁴me, he [⁵—] a daily marvel, and I was verily [⁶— —⁷]; I was praised ⁸today more than yesterday. I became real king's-confidant, and his majesty received my approaches. When the officials were placed in their stations, ⁹I [¹⁰held¹¹ office before them [¹²— — — —¹³]; priest of the Southern Crown, (of) the Northern Crown, ¹⁴(of) Khnum; servant of the royal toilet, adjusting (the crown called) "Great-in-Magic," supporting the White Crown in the "Great House" (*Pr-wr*). Great lord of Nekheb (El Kab), servant ¹⁵of Neit in the northern palace, to whom (the goddess)

^aFrom Abydos; now in British Museum, No. 574; published by Sharpe, *Inscriptions*, I, 79; Piehl, *Inscriptions*, III, XV, XVI. I had my own copy of the original.

^bAt royal audiences.

Rekhet gives the hand, one whose approach is avoided, when adjusting the Red Crown, when bringing forth in splendor, Horus, lord of the palace. Nurse of the god (Pharaoh) in the private chamber [———]. Chief of Sais, in the administration of private affairs, lord of fear in the houses of Neit, great companion in the gold-house, at the birth of the god in the morning.

His Appointment to Inspect Temples

610. ¹¹I came at the front in the presence of his majesty, he had me inspect the divine fathers,^a to expel evil and to prosper the fashion¹² of their work, in eternal affairs.^b I commanded to fashion^c their offering-tables (*wḏḥ*), the electrum was under ¹³my seal.

Arrival at Elephantine

611. I reached Elephantine according to this command; I kissed the earth before the lord of the cataract (Khnum).

Return to Abydos

612. I returned by ¹the way¹ over which I had passed. ¹⁴I drove in the mooring-stake^d at Abydos.

Erection of Stela

613. I fixed my name ¹⁵at the place where is the god Osiris, First of the Westerners, lord of eternity, ruler of the West, (the place) ¹⁶to which all that is, flees, for the sake of the benefit therein, in the midst of ¹⁷the followers of the lord of life, that I might eat his loaf, and come forth by day; that my spirit might enjoy ¹⁸the ceremonies of people, kind in heart toward my tomb, and in hand ¹⁹toward my stela. For I have not done ¹—; that the god may ¹be favorable¹ to me in ²⁰judgment, when I am “there;”^e that I may labor, being a spirit in the necropolis-cliff, ²¹the ruler of eternity; that I may operate the rudder, that I may descend into the sacred barque (*nšm·t*); that I may smell ²²the earth before Upwawet. Khentemsemeti, triumphant, lord of reverence.

^aPriests.

^bTemple matters.

^c*Nb*, the verb used especially of metal-work; the determinative is probably a man with a blow-pipe.

^dMeaning “I landed,” as in § 423.

^eA designation of the abode of the dead.

REIGN OF SESOSTRIS II

INSCRIPTION OF HAPU^a

614. The following inscription contains a double date, showing that Sesostris II was associated as coregent with his father in the latter's thirty-second year, the coregency continuing at least three years. It also shows that the forts in Nubia were subject from time to time to inspection by officers especially sent thither for the purpose; but, unfortunately, not all have recorded their mission on the rocks as did the officer Hapu.

615. On the right is the name of Amenemhet II, "*beloved of Satet, mistress of Elephantine*;" on the left is the name of Sesostris II, "*beloved of Khnum, lord of the cataract region*;" between them is the following inscription:

616. Made in the year 3, under the majesty of Horus: Seshmutowe (*Sšmw-t³ wy*=Horus-name of Sesostris II), corresponding to the year 35^b under the majesty of Horus: Hekenemmat (*Hkn-m-m^c t*=Amenemhet II). The *f*-1,^c Hapu (*H³ pw*) came, in order to make an inspection in the fortresses of Wawat.^d

^aCut on the rocks near Assuan; published by Young, *Hieroglyphics*, Pl. 61 (very bad); Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, 10 (copied from Young); Lepsius, *Zwölfte Dynastie*, II; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 123, *e* (good), and de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 25, No. 178 (date wrong). I also had Lepsius' squeeze (No. 360, *a*) which I collated with all the publications; the text of de Morgan, *ibid.*, is almost as bad as Young's.

^bSo all the texts except de Morgan's (*Catalogue des monuments*, 25), which has 36! As we have a double date here, this would increase the reign of Amenemhet II by an entire year, if correct. The squeeze is quite clearly 35; this was also the opinion of Sethe, who examined the squeeze with me.

^cAn uncertain title (*f*-1-*kf*³-*yb*), which occurs also with Hapu's figure below the inscription; see Bergmann, *Recueil*, VII, 187.

^dThe original has the mountain-determinative against de Morgan's hill-country.

INSCRIPTION OF THE TREASURER KHNUMHOTEP^a

617. Above stands Sesostris II, before the god Soped, from whom he receives the symbol of life. Below stands Khnumhotep, accompanied by the following inscription:

618. ¹Year 1, his monument in God's-Land was executed. ²The treasurer^b of the god, real king's-confidant, his beloved, his favorite, the darling of his lord, ³knowing the law, discreet in executing (it); ⁴zealous for him^c who favors him; ⁵not trespassing against the injunction of the palace, the command of the court; ⁶favorite of the crown, being in the palace, praiser of ⁷Horus, Lord of the Two Lands; presenting the court to the king, ⁸truly accurate like Thoth, master of the double cabinet, Khnumhotep.

INSCRIPTION OF KHNUMHOTEP II^d

619. The inscription of Khnumhotep II is our fullest and most important source for a study of the relations between the powerful nomarchs, the local counts or barons of the Twelfth Dynasty, and their contemporary kings. Like the nobles of El Kab at the rise of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the princes of Benihasan were a mainstay of the royal house in the early Twelfth. Their domain was the principality of

^aStela found at Wadi Gasus on the Red Sea, opposite Coptos; now in the collection of Alnwick Castle (No. 1935); first published by Erman from a squeeze, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1882, 204, 205; then by Birch, *Catalogue Alnwick Castle*, Pl. IV, 268-70. Cf. Brugsch, *Völkertafel*, 54, 58, and 68; Schweinfurth, *Wadi Gasûs*, 11, n. 2; Wilkinson, *General View*, 364.

^bThis title is at the left of the second line (first vertical line), and appears only in Birch's text.

^cThe king.

^dCut on the walls of the superb chapel chamber in his tomb at Benihasan; published by Burton (*Excerpta Hieroglyphica*, 33, 34); by Champollion (*Notices descriptives*, II, 418-22); by Lepsius (*Denkmäler*, II, 124, 125); by Brugsch (*Monuments de l'Égypte*, 15-17; and *Thesaurus*, VI, 1513-25); and by Newberry (*Beni Hasan*, I, Pls. XXV, XXVI). The last, the publication of the Archæological Survey of the Egypt Exploration Fund, contains in two volumes the entire Benihasan necropolis. Its text of the great inscription of Khnumhotep II

the Oryx (the sixteenth nome of Upper Egypt), which included both banks of the river between the Hare nome on the south and the Jackal nome on the north. The desert cliffs are not far from the river on the east shore, and the narrow strip thus inclosed was sometimes detached from the Oryx nome, as a separate principality, known as "*Horizon of Horus*," designated usually by its chief town, Menet-Khufu, the birthplace of the great Fourth Dynasty king, Khufu. The sole witnesses to the ancient power and prosperity of this principality are its tombs, those of the Middle Kingdom being located at Benihasan, 169 miles above Cairo.

620. The first of the family in this principality, Khnum-hotep II's grandfather, Khnumhotep I, was appointed by Amenemhet I; at first as count only of Menet-Khufu, and finally of the entire Oryx nome (§§ 625, 626). The narrative of the appointment refers significantly to Amenemhet I's personal visit to the principality, establishing the boundary lines, "*when he cast out evil*," meaning of course rebellion, or at least of unjust aggression, the last expiring struggles of other ambitious noblemen in their opposition to the new dynasty,^a marking the close of the long obscure period of such wars, between the Old and the Middle Kingdom. As

is much the best. The texts of Maspero (*Recueil*, I, 169-81) and Krebs (*De Chnemothi nomarchi inscriptione aegyptiaca commentatio*, Berlin, 1890) are taken from the publications. The original text contains many patent blunders of the scribe, which render certain parts unintelligible; Mr. Griffith furnishes some useful emendations of such passages (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1890, 263-68), and some others I have added, which will be evident from the notes. The lines of the original are so short, that the translation could not be so often divided, and only every fifth line is there numbered. It has not been practicable to cut up the inscription, and assign each portion to the reign which it concerns; hence the whole has been put in the reign from which it dates.

^a The reference is not so clear as those in the inscription of Ahmose of El Kab, who narrates three rebellions against King Ahmose I at the rise of the Eighteenth Dynasty (II, 11, 15, 16).

a special favor of the king, Sesostri I, Khnumhotep I's sons received the same domain; Nakht being appointed to Menet-Khufu (§ 627), and Amenemhet^a receiving the Oryx nome, in the king's eighteenth year (§§ 518, ll. 1-3, and 627). At the same time, the sister of these two princes, Khnumhotep I's daughter Beket, married a powerful official at the court, the vizier and governor of the royal residence city. Nehri, who was also probably prince of the neighboring Hare nome (§ 628). Of this union was born Khnumhotep II, who received Menet-Khufu as his just claim through his mother, on the death of his predecessor, his uncle, Nakht,^b in the nineteenth year of Amenemhet II. He ruled with great prosperity until at least the sixth year of Sesostri II,^c in which year a party of thirty-seven Bedwin visited him, bringing gifts and probably desiring traffic.^d Khnumhotep II greatly strengthened his family by marrying Kheti, the eldest daughter of the prince of the Jackal nome. His eldest son, Nakht, was therefore appointed to the principedom of the Jackal nome as his inheritance from his mother,^e while his next son, Khnumhotep (III), after honors at

^aAmenemhet (Ameni) is not mentioned by Khnumhotep II's great inscription. See note, l. 56.

^bNakht had held the principality, therefore, 43 years.

^cThis is the latest date in the tomb (Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I, Pl. XXXVIII), so that Khnumhotep II ruled at least nineteen years. If born not long after his uncle Nakht's accession, he would have been not less than forty years of age at his own accession, and nearly sixty years old at the above latest date in his tomb.

^dThis is the subject of the famous scene in his tomb, naïvely identified by early Egyptologists with Abraham's visit to Egypt, with which, it is needless to say, it had nothing to do. The accompanying inscription is as follows: "*The arrival, bringing eye-paint, which 37 Asiatics bring to him*" (Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I, Pl. XXX). Their leader is called: "*Sheik of the highlands, Ibshe (Yb-š)*," a good Hebrew name. The report handed in by Khnumhotep's secretary dates the event in the sixth year of Sesostri II, and calls them "*Asiatics of the desert*" (*ḥmw n šw*, *ibid.*, Pl. XXXVIII).

^eFor a similar inheritance through the mother, of the grandfather's office at Siut, see §§ 413 ff.

court, was appointed to his father's countship of Menet-Khufu.^a

621. We are thus able to trace the history of the family through four generations in this great inscription, but the Benihasan tombs do not carry the career of these princes farther, and, perhaps because of increasing power and centralization on the part of the kings, these tombs cease abruptly at this point in the middle of the Twelfth Dynasty.

Introduction

622. ¹The hereditary prince, count, king's-confidant, whom his god loves, governor of the eastern highlands, Nehri's (*Nhry*) son, Khnumhotep, triumphant; born of a count's (*h²ty-*) daughter, the matron, Beket (*B²k²t*), triumphant.

The Tomb, its Paintings and Inscriptions

623. He made (it)^b as his monument; his first virtue was in adorning ⁵his city, that he might perpetuate his name forever, and that he might establish it for eternity in his tomb of the necropolis; that he might perpetuate the name of his official staff, establishing (them) according to their offices: the excellent ones, who were in ¹⁰his household, whom he raised over ¹¹his peasant-slaves (*mr²t*); every office that he sustained; all artificers according to their kind.^c

His Appointment as Count of Menet-Khufu

624. His mouth saith: ¹⁴"The majesty of^d Amenemhet (II), who is given life, stability, satisfaction, like Re, for-

^aThis is not stated in the great inscription, but is referred to in a hunting scene (Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I, Pl. XXXII): "*to whom was given the rule (hk²t) of Khnumhotep (II) triumphant, in Menet-Khufu, when his son was appointed to the rule of I—1.*" To whom the last son refers is not clear, and the name of the principedom is unknown. It occurs also at Siut (§ 396, l. 16), as the northern limit from which the troops of the south were mustered against Siut, and must therefore be south of Siut, and not near Benihasan.

^bThe tomb in which the inscription is found.

^cAll his favorite servants and officials of his estate are represented in the superb tomb paintings, engaged in their various duties, with their names added; it is this "*perpetuation*" which is meant in ll. 7-12.

^dFull fivefold titulary.

ever, appointed me to be hereditary prince, count, governor of the eastern highlands, priest of Horus, and [priest] of Pakht; to the inheritance of my mother's father in ²⁰Menet-Khufu (*Mn^c·t-Hwfw*).^a He established for me the southern landmark;^b he perpetuated the northern, like the heavens. He divided the great river along its middle, as was done for the father ²⁵of my mother, by command which came forth from the mouth of the majesty of^c Amenemhet I, who is given life, stability, satisfaction, like Re, forever.

His Grandfather Appointed Count of Menet-Khufu

625. ³⁰He appointed him to be hereditary prince, count, governor of the eastern highlands in Menet-Khufu. He established the southern landmark, perpetuating the northern, like the heavens; he divided the great river along its middle; its eastern side ³⁵of the "Horizon of Horus,"^d was as far as the eastern highland; at the coming of his majesty, when he cast out evil, shining like Atum himself, when he restored that which he found ruined; that which a city had taken ⁴⁰from its neighbor; while he caused city to know its boundary with city, establishing their landmarks like the heavens, distinguishing their waters according to that which was in the writings, investigating according to ⁴⁵that which was of old, because he so greatly loved justice.

His Grandfather Appointed Prince of Oryx Nome

626. Lo, he appointed him to be hereditary prince, count, [—], great lord of the Oryx nome. He established the landmarks: the southern on his boundary as far as ⁵⁰the Hare nome; his northern as far as the Jackal nome. He divided the great river along its middle: its water, its fields, its trees, its sand as far as the western highlands.^e

Khnumhotep II's Uncle, Nakht, Made Count of Menet-Khufu

627. He (the king) appointed his (Khnumhotep I's) eldest son, Nakht (I) ⁵⁵triumphant, revered, to the rule (*hk²*) of his inheritance in

^aThe chief town of the countship. It means "*Nurse of Khufu*," and was located in the region of Benihasan. See note, § 625.

^bLit.: "*tablet*."

^cFull fivefold titulary.

^dThe "county" or principality of which Menet-Khufu was the chief town (see note on ll. 19, 20, § 624). It occupied the east side of the valley to the cliffs.

^eThe principality, or nome, therefore occupied the western side of the valley to the cliffs.

Menet-Khufu^a as a great favor of the king, by the command which issued [from] the mouth of the majesty of king^b ⁶¹Sesostris I, who is given life, stability, satisfaction, like Re, forever.

Khnumhotep II's Birth

628. This my chief nobility is my birth, my mother having gone to be hereditary ⁶⁵princess, and countess, as the daughter of the ruler (*hḳꜣ*) of the Oryx nome, to Hat-Sehetepibre^c to be the wife of the hereditary prince, count, ruler (*hḳꜣ*) of the "New Towns," the 1st of the king of Upper Egypt, the 1st of the king of Lower Egypt, 1st his rank of governor of the residence city, Nehri (*Nḥry*), triumphant, revered.

His Appointment as Count of Menet-Khufu

629. The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nubkure (Amenemhet II), who is given life, stability, satisfaction, like Re, forever, brought me, being the son of a count (*hꜣty-ꜣ*), into the inheritance of the rule (*hḳꜣ*) of my mother's father, because ⁷⁵he so greatly loved justice. He is Atum himself, Nubkure (Amenemhet II), who is given life, stability, satisfaction, gladness of his heart, like Re, forever. He appointed me to be count (*hꜣty-ꜣ*) in the year 19, in Menet-Khufu.

His Buildings and Piety

630. Then I adorned ⁸⁰it, and its treasures^e grew in all things. I perpetuated the name of my father; I adorned the houses of the ka's

^aAlthough the fact remains for some reason not mentioned here, it is clear that the Oryx nome, that is, the bulk of the principality, goes to Amenemhet, who began his rule in the eighteenth year of Sesostris I (§ 518, ll. 1-3), for the Oryx nome here remains unaccounted for, during the life of Nakht I.

^bFivefold titulary,

^cThe name of the city where Nehri lived; it means: "House of Amenemhet I," and is followed by the usual royal salutations. As Nehri was "governor of the residence city," this must be the name of the city where the king lived. The residence city of Amenemhet I was Ithtowe (*Yt-tꜣwy*) between Medum and Memphis, and probably that of Sesostris I, also. Griffith thinks therefore that Hat-Sehetepibre is simply another name for Ithtowe (Griffith, *Kahun Papyri*, II, 88), a very plausible conclusion.

^dBoth unknown titles, here parallel.

^eAs emended by Griffith (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1890, 263).

and the dwelling thereof; I followed my statues^a to the temple; I devoted for them ⁸⁵their offerings: the bread, beer, water, wine, incense, and joints of beef credited to the mortuary priest. I endowed him with fields and peasants; I commanded the mortuary offering of bread, beer, oxen, and geese, at every feast ⁹⁰of the necropolis: at the feast of the first of the year, of New Year's Day, of the great year, of the little year, of the last of the year, the great feast, at the great Rekeh, at the little Rekeh,^b at the feast of the 5 intercalary days, at [— —], ⁹⁵at the 12 monthly feasts, at the 12 mid-monthly feasts; every feast of the happy living, and of the dead.^c Now, as for the mortuary priest, or any person, who shall disturb them, he shall not survive, his son shall not survive in his place.

Khnumhotep II's Honors at Court

631. Greater ¹⁰⁰was my praise at the court than (that of) any sole companion. He (the king) exalted me above his nobles, I was placed^d before those who had been before me. [—] ¹⁰⁵the official body of the palace, giving praise according to my appointment, according to (my) favor which came to pass in the (royal) presence, the command of the king ¹¹⁰himself. Never happened the like to servants [—]. He knew the manner of my tongue, the [moderation] of my character. ¹¹⁵I was an honored one with the king; my praise was with his court, my popularity was before his "companions." The hereditary prince, count, ¹²⁰Nehri's son, Khnumhotep, revered.

Appointment of K. II's Son, Nakht, as Prince of Jackal Nome

632. Another honor accorded me (was): my eldest son, Nakht, born of Kheti^f was appointed to the rule (*hḥ*) of the Jackal nome, to the inheritance of his mother's father; ¹²⁵made sole companion; appointed to be forefront of Middle Egypt.^g There were given to him

^aHe means the statues of his ancestors.

^bRekeh (*Rkḥ*) means "heat."

^cLit., "every feast of the happy one in the (valley-) plain, and of the one on the mountain;" those who are on the plain still live, but those on the mountain are the dead in the cliff-tombs.

^dRead *dy*.

^fOne of Khnumhotep II's two wives.

^eThe verb.

^gOr possibly: "the South."

all ranks of nobility by the majesty of^a¹³⁰. . . Sesostris II, who is given life, stability, satisfaction, like Re, forever. He (the king) made his monuments in the Jackal nome, restoring that which he found obliterated, that which a city had taken from its neighbor; causing him to know¹³⁵ his boundary according to the 'record',¹ investigating according to that which was of old, putting a landmark at his southern boundary, perpetuating the northern like the heavens, establishing on the fields¹⁴⁰ of the low ground,^b a total amounting to 15 landmarks;^c establishing upon its northern fields its boundary as far as Oxyrrhyncus. He divided the great river along its middle, ¹⁴⁵its western side (going) to the Jackal nome as far as the western highlands; when the hereditary prince, count, Khnumhotep's son, Nakht, triumphant, revered, petitioned, saying: "My waters know not the great favor of ¹⁵⁰the king's^d presence."

Honors of Khnumhotep II's Second Son, Khnumhotep

633. Another prince (*wr*) is counselor, sole companion, great 'among' the sole companions, of numerous gifts to the palace,^e sole companion. ¹⁵⁵There is not one possessed of his virtues; to whom the (*sdm w-*) officers hearken, the unique mouth,^f closing (other) mouths, bringing advantage to its^g possessor, keeper of the door of the highlands,

^aFull fivefold titulary.

^bRendered by Krebs *campus hostium*, and treated as a proper name. The determinative of *hrw* is not that of the enemy as in Krebs' text, but merely a falling man, as might be expected after the root *hr*. It has a second determinative of land, and the word is not unknown as "low land," the best, most fertile land, next the river.

^cThe passage was rendered with essential correctness thirty years ago by Maspero (*Recueil*, I, 166) giving "quinze stèles-frontières" and "Ouob" = Oxyrrhyncus. It is therefore an oversight as now rendered in his history (*Dawn*, 524), recording the gift to Khnumhotep of fifteen nomes extending "from Aphroditopolis to Thebes," thus making one nomarch ruler of three-fourths of Upper Egypt. The careful establishment of the northern boundary by erecting 15 landmarks was natural, as Oxyrrhyncus is in the vicinity of the home of the hostile northern families, the descendants of the Ninth and Tenth Dynasties who fought the rising Thebans of the Middle Kingdom (see §§ 391 ff.).

^dMeaning the king had not yet determined the limits in this nome, and the settling of the limits just mentioned was a result of this request.

^eLit., "numerous of gifts of the palace;" the word "gifts" indicating "that which is brought;" cf. the Arabic *hādīyyātūn*.

^fMeaning "unique counselor."

^g"Its" refers to "advantage," not to "mouth."

Khnumhotep, son of Khnumhotep, son of Nehri, ¹⁶⁰who was born of the matron, Kheti.

His Restoration of Ancestors' Tombs

634. I kept alive the name of my fathers, which I found obliterated upon the doorways,^a (making them) legible^b in 'form'; accurate in reading, not ¹⁶⁵putting one in the place of another.^c Behold, it is an excellent son, who restores the name of the ancestors; Nehri's son, Khnumhotep, triumphant, revered.

His Father's Mortuary Buildings

635. ¹⁷⁰My chief nobility was: I executed a cliff-tomb, (for) a man should imitate that which his father does.^d My father made for himself a house of the ka in the town of Mernofret, of ¹⁷⁵good stone of Ayan, in order to perpetuate his name forever and establish it eternally; that his name might live in the mouth of the people and abide in the mouth of the living, ¹⁸⁰upon his tomb of the necropolis, in his excellent house of eternity, his seat of everlastingness; according to the favor of the king's presence, his love in the court.

His Father's Excellent Administration

636. He ruled his city as a babe, ¹⁸⁵before he was loosed from swaddling-clothes;^e he executed a royal commission, and his two^f plumes danced, as a child not yet circumcised; 'for' the king knew^g

^aThe doorways of the tombs, where it was customary to engrave the name and titles; for similar restorations by posterity, see §§ 688, 689.

^b*Rh* in the negative is used in the sense of "undiscernible, illegible" on a stela, of Sabako, in the British Museum (No. 135), see Breasted, *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache*, 39, Pls. I, II, l. 2.

^cHe means he was careful and accurate in reading the names, not introducing confusion among them, by restoring a name in the wrong place.

^dHe begins to tell of the construction of his own tomb, but is diverted by the reference to his father, whose tomb and early favor at court he recounts, before he again reverts to his own tomb and other buildings (l. 192).

^eThere is no doubt that this is the same word used in the description of Sesostri I's youth (§ 502, ll. 9, 10), although much corrupted.

^fHis plumes of office.

^gRead *rh stny*, as shown by Griffith (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1890, 267).

the manner of his tongue, the [moderation]¹ of his character, ¹⁹⁰Sebek-enekh's son, Nehri, triumphant, revered, whom he exalted before his nobles to be ruler (*hḳ*²) of his city.

His Own Buildings

637. The achievements of the count, Khnumhotep: I made a monument in the midst of my city; I built a colonnaded hall which I found ¹⁹⁵in [ruin]^{1,a} I erected it with columns anew, inscribed with my own name. I perpetuated the name of my father upon them.^b I [recorded]¹ my deeds upon ²⁰⁰every monument.

I made a door of 7 cubits, of cedar wood without [—]¹ for the first doorway of the tomb; double doors for^c an opening of 5 cubits, 2 palms, for the shrine of the august chamber, which is in this tomb.^d A prayer ²⁰⁵for offerings, the mortuary oblations of bread, beer, oxen, geese, was upon every monument, which I made. I^e greater in monuments [in]¹ this city than the fathers; ²¹⁰a child of this city, more excellent in monuments of its burial place than the ancestors, [in the buildings]¹ made before me.^f

^aThis stands in place of the usual *m ws* "in ruin," and probably means something similar. (See Loret, *Revue égyptologique*, X, 87-94.) What this building in the city was, it is impossible to say; all city buildings having perished. Compare also the work of Kheti another member of the family, as recorded thus: "*Prince and count, sole companion, [—] great lord of the Oryx nome, who made eternal monuments in the temple (ht-ntr) of Khnum, lord of Herur (Hr-wr)*" (Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 354).

^b*N* and plural strokes are lost in the lacuna; the feminine *s* could not have stood alone, for the building is masculine.

^cLit., "of."

^d"The first doorway" is, as we should expect, the main entrance to the tomb chapel. A comparison of the height of the "door" given above (7 cubits) with the surviving doorway shows that the door was enough higher than the doorway to lap slightly at top and bottom. The second doorway was for double doors; the only double doors in the tomb of Khnumhotep are those of the shrine containing his statue, in the back wall of the chapel chamber. A comparison of the height of this doorway, given by the inscription, with the surviving doorway itself, shows exact correspondence. On the whole passage, see Breasted, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXII, 88-90.

^eThese lines are unintelligible.

^fThe syntax of both these comparisons is doubtful in several places; it is clear in both that he is comparing his own building activity with that of his ancestors; the first comparison referring to his works in the city, and the second to those in the highland of the necropolis.

Crafts Encouraged

638. I was munificent in monuments; I taught every craft ²¹⁵which had been 'neglected' in this city, in order that my name might be excellent upon every monument which I 'made',^a

Conclusion

639. ²²⁰The hereditary prince, count, Nehri's son, Khnumhotep, born of Beket, triumphant, revered.

²² Foreman of the tomb, the chief treasurer, Beket.^b

^aUnintelligible.

^bThis is the architect's "fecit," the signature of the official who conducted the work.

REIGN OF SESOSTRIS III

THE CONQUEST OF NUBIA

640. Sesostris III completed the conquest of Nubia, begun by his predecessors nearly one hundred years before, and was known in the Empire as the real conqueror of the region between the first and second cataracts. He conducted not less than four campaigns in this district, and probably more; and by his canalization of the cataract passages, and the erection of fortresses at strategic points, he made this country a permanent possession of the Pharaohs, which was never lost except for a time during the Hyksos period, until the dissolution of the Empire. Important material documents, like the fortresses of Kummeh and Semneh, are graphic witnesses of the character and permanence of this conquest.^a

641. The documentary materials for Sesostris III's operations in Nubia are as follows:

I. The Canal Inscriptions (§§ 642-48).

II. The Elephantine Inscription (§§ 649, 650).

III. The First Semneh Stela (§§ 651-52).

IV. The Second Semneh Stela (§§ 653-60).

V. Inscription of Ikhernofret (§§ 661-70).

VI. Inscription of Sisatet (§§ 671, 672; see also §§ 676 ff., and 687).

I. THE CANAL INSCRIPTIONS

642. In order to establish unbroken water communication with the country above the first cataract, Sesostris III

^aA further reference to one of these Nubian campaigns of Sesostris III is found in the life of Sebekkhu (§§ 676 ff.).

cleared a channel^a which permitted the passage of his war fleets, and later doubtless of much commerce also. Although this enterprise had been begun in the Sixth Dynasty, it was now over five hundred years since Uni's attempts to pierce the cataract (§ 324). Sesostris III's achievement was recorded in the two following inscriptions, cut on the rocks of the Island of Sehel. The first, recording the "*making*" of the canal, is undated, but as the second states, he repaired ("*made anew*")^b the canal in the eighth year, it must have been made before this date, and probably in anticipation of the campaign of that year.

First Inscription^c

643. A scene above, represents the king, Sesostris III, standing before the goddess Anuket, exactly as below (§ 646) before Satet; below them is the inscription:

644. He made (it) as his monument for Anuket, mistress of Nubia (*Tꜣꜣꜣ-pdꜣ t*) — — —, making for her a canal, whose name is: "Beautiful-Are-the-Ways-of-Khekure" (Sesostris III), that he may live forever.

645. In the eighth year the channel was already in need of repair, and had to be cleared for the passage of the expedition of that year. This is recorded in the

^aMr. Wilbour and Mr. Somers Clarke found a rock-cut canal south of Sehel, but its dimensions do not coincide with those given in the inscription (see *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1894, 63, 64).

^bBut it should be remembered that "*anew*" may possibly mean "for the first time" as it later sometimes does.

^cText published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 136, b = de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 87, No. 39. This inscription was known fifty years before Mr. Wilbour's discovery below, but the name of the canal was misunderstood as that of a city (e. g., Wiedemann, *Ägyptische Geschichte*, 252). The inscription did not become clear until the publication of Mr. Wilbour's discovery (cf. quotation of Erman's letter, *Recueil*, XIII, 203). The old misunderstanding still survives, and the canal appears as "an emporium" bearing the name "Ways of Khâkeri" in some publications.

Second Inscription^a

646. In a scene at the top stands the king, Sesostris III, wearing the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt, and bearing the (*w³s-*) scepter and (*hrp-*) baton. The goddess "*Satet, mistress of Elephantine,*" stands before him, presenting him with life; while behind him is the "*chief treasurer chief of works.*"^b Below is the following inscription:

647. Year 8 under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Khekure (*Ḫ^c-k³w-R^c*, Sesostris III), living forever. His majesty commanded to make the canal anew,^c the name of this canal being: "Beautiful-Are-the-Ways-of-Khekure-[Living]-Forever," when his majesty proceeded up-river to overthrow Kush, the wretched.

Length of this canal, 150 cubits; width, 20; depth, 15.

648. The canal was still in use in the New Kingdom, and was cleared again by Thutmose I and III (II, 75, 76, 649, 650).

II. ELEPHANTINE INSCRIPTION^d

649. In addition to the great works on the canal, Sesostris III also gave some attention to the fortress^e of Elephantine as he passed southward on the campaign of the eighth year. The work was recorded there by Ameni, the officer commissioned to do it, in the following inscription:

^aDiscovered by Mr. Charles Wilbour, and published by him in *Recueil*, XIII, 202-4; later by de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 86, No. 20.

^bHe has been omitted by Wilbour, and his name is lacking in de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*.

^cOr possibly: "*for the first time.*"

^dFrom a small stela now in the British Museum (No. 852); it was published by Birch (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1875, 50), and again, *Egyptian Texts*, 12, 13. I used my own copy of the original, as that of Birch contains a number of inaccuracies.

^eThe fortress is supposed by Maspero (*Recueil*, XIII, 204) to be the wall connecting Assuan and Philæ, of which there are considerable remains at the present day.

650. Year 9,^a third month of the third season under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khekure (Sesostris III) beloved of Satet, mistress of Elephantine, living forever. Command of his majesty to the Magnate of the South, Ameni, [to make¹] a doorway in the fortress of Elephantine, to make a [—] (a building) for the crown-possessions^b of the South — — the — people in the region of Elephantine; when [my lord, life! prosperity! he]alth! journeyed to overthrow the wretched Kush.

III. THE FIRST SEMNEH STELA^c

651. Sesostris III, having, in his eighth year, pushed his southern advance above the second cataract, to a point about thirty-seven miles south of Wadi Halfa, set up his landmark, the stone marking the southern boundary of his realm. His great-grandfather, Sesostris I, had already conquered to this point (§§ 510 ff.), but Sesostris III was now prepared to maintain the conquest.

652. ¹Southern^d boundary, made in the year 8, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khekure (Sesostris III), who is given life forever ²and ever; in order to prevent that any Negro should cross it, by water or ³by land, with a ship, (or) any herds of ⁴the Negroes; except a Negro who shall come to do trading in Iken^e (*Ykn*), ⁵or with

^aBirch has 8, but the original has 9: the last unit on the left is very faint, and was therefore overlooked. This is doubtless the date on which the work was finished, the order having been given as the king passed, a year previously. It is hardly probable that there was another campaign in the ninth year after that of the eighth.

^bCf. § 522, l. 16.

^cA red granite stela discovered by Lepsius at Semneh on the west bank of the Nile. It is now in Berlin (No. 14753); published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 136, i, and (copied therefrom) Lemm, *Lesestücke*, 62. On its strange history, see § 653, note, p. 294.

^dAt the top of the stela is the single word "*West*," indicating on which side of the river it belonged. There must have been another on the other side, but it has never been found.

^eUnknown place.

a commission. Every good thing^a shall be done with them, but without allowing ⁶a ship of the Negroes to pass by Heh^b (*Hh*), going downstream, forever.

IV. THE SECOND SEMNEH STELA^c

653. After the campaign of the eighth year, it was again necessary in the twelfth year to chastise the Nubians. Of this expedition only the meagerest record has reached us in an inscription^d on the rocks at Assuan, of which, beside the date and the name of Sesostris III, we can read only the following: "*His majesty journeyed to overthrow Kush.*"

654. Already in the sixteenth year further disturbances in Kush again called the king thither, and this expedition is twice recorded: on the second Semneh stela; and on a duplicate found on the island of Uronarti, just below Semneh.^e The duplicate contains in the first line, after the

^aRead *yh' t*, "*thing*," the hieratic for which was mistaken by the copyist for *tw* (Erman).

^bModern Semneh (see Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1902, 379), on the west side of the river, about thirty-seven miles above Wadi Halfa. Here and at Kummeh, on the eastern side, Sesostris III erected two fortresses for enforcing the blockade above decreed.

^cRed granite stela set up on the west shore at Semneh in the temple in the fortress of Sesostris III (see § 640). It has had a remarkable history since its discovery by Lepsius in July, 1844. Broken into two pieces, the upper portion after packing, was forgotten by Lepsius' workmen, and with the "First Semneh Stela" (§§ 651 f.) was left in Semneh, so that only the lower portion of the "Second Stela" reached Berlin. Some forty years later (1886) the forgotten pieces were found by Insinger on the banks of the river, still in Lepsius' boxes. They were taken to Cairo, where they remained in the Gizeh (Bulak) collection for many years, but were at last secured by the Berlin Museum, and the two portions of the "Second Semneh Stela" were rejoined in 1899, after a separation of over fifty years (Berlin, No. 1157). Published by Lepsius (*Denkmäler*, II, 136, *h*); I also had a copy from the original, kindly loaned me by Professor Erman.

^dPetrie, *Season in Egypt*, XIII, 340. It has been omitted in de Morgan's *Catalogue des monuments*.

^eIt was discovered by Steindorff, Borchardt, and Schaefer in March, 1900. It is not yet published, and I collate the variants from a copy by Borchardt, cited in the note as U. An account of it, with a copy of the title, is given by Steindorff in *Berichte der philologisch-historischen Classe der Königlichen Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, Juni, 1900, p. 233.

king's name, a variant of great historical importance, as follows: "*Stela made in the year 16, third month of the second season, when the fortress: 'Repulse-of-the-Troglodytes'*^a *was built.*"

655. It was on this campaign, therefore, that the Uronarti fortress was built. The temple in the Semneh fortress was already built for a feast, likewise called "*Repulse-of-the-Troglodytes*,"^b doubtless in commemoration of this victory, which was celebrated in it on the twenty-first of Pharmuthi, a month later. This feast continued to be celebrated in the Empire, and the enactments for offerings upon it, and the other feasts of this temple, were reinstituted by Thutmose III (see II, 167 ff.).

656. The "Second Semneh Stela" is as follows:^c

Introduction

¹Live the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, ²Sesostris III,^d who is given life, stability, satisfaction forever.

Boundary Established

657. ³Year 16, third month of the second season,^e (occurred) his majesty's making the southern boundary as far as Heh^e (*Hh*). ⁴I

^aThis is certainly the name of the fortress on Uronarti; we could render: "*the fortress which repulses the T.*," for which we have the parallel: "*the walls of the prince, made to repulse the Bedwin*" (§ 493); but the fact that a feast of Sesostris III, probably celebrating this victory, was also called "*Repulse-of-the-Troglodytes*" (II, 171), is clear evidence that we have here a name for the fortress. Moreover, another fortress of Sesostris III is mentioned in the same way in the inscription (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, 151, c) of an officer of one of the first Sebekhoteps, cut on the neighboring rocks to record the height of the Nile (§§ 751, 752).

^bThere was another feast celebrating a similar victory in this temple, called "*Binding-of-the-Barbarians*" (see II, 171, l. 12), at which offerings were made to the queen, "*great king's-wife Merseger*."

^cThe variants in the duplicate are chiefly of grammatical importance, but where they clear up the meaning, I have adduced them in the notes.

^dText has full titulary.

^eThis phrase is lacking in U; and in its place appears the statement above (§ 654) regarding the fortress.

have made my boundary beyond^a (that) of my fathers; I have ⁵increased that which was bequeathed to me.^b I am a king who speaks and executes; that which my heart conceives ⁶is that which comes to pass by my hand; (one who is) eager to possess, and ⁷powerful to ⁷—; not allowing^c a matter to sleep in his heart ⁸. ⁹attacking him who attacks¹, silent in a matter,^d or ⁹answering a matter according to that which is in it; since, if one is silent after attack, it strengthens ¹⁰the heart of the enemy. Valiance is eagerness, cowardice is to slink back; he is truly a craven ¹¹who is repelled upon his border; since the Negro hearkens ¹²to the ¹²— of the mouth; ¹²it is answering him which drives him back; when one is eager against him, he turns his back; when one slinks back, he begins to be eager. ¹³But they are not a people of might, they are poor and broken^e in heart. ¹⁴My majesty has seen them; it is not an untruth.

Plundering of Nubia

658. I captured their women, I carried off¹⁵ their subjects, went forth to their wells, smote their bulls; I reaped^f their grain, and ¹⁶set fire thereto. (I swear) as my father lives for me, I speak^g in truth, without a lie^h therein, ¹⁷coming out of my mouth.

Future Maintenance of Boundary

659. Now, as for every son of mine who shall maintain this boundary, ¹⁸which my majesty has made, he is my son, he is born to my

^aLit., "in front of," which is to an Egyptian the same as "southward of."

^bAt this point the narrative is interrupted by a encomium on himself by the king, which is in poetic parallelism, and in parts is unintelligible. It merges into satire on the Negroes, and continues to l. 14, where the narrative is resumed.

^cU has *tm ssdr*, lit., "not causing a matter to sleep."

^dU has *gr mdt*.

^eU has *sd'w* "broken, pierced," heretofore known only in connection with a wall, an egg, or the like; it has nothing to do with "tails," as rendered, Petrie, *History of Egypt*, I, 180.

^fThis word does not mean "destroy," as so often rendered, but is used of gathering the harvest, the vintage, or even getting stone from a quarry, e. g., inscription of Uni (§ 323, l. 43). U has the finite form: *wh'ny*, "I reaped."

^gU has "I have spoken" (*gd-ny*).

^hU has: *hn ym n c'bc*, in which we are to read *hn n c'bc* together like *hn-n-mdwt*; *hn n* is a pleonastic phrase before nouns indicating speech (see Erman, *Glossar*, s. v.).

majesty, the likeness of a son who is the champion of his father, ¹⁹who maintains the boundary of him that begat him, Now, as for him who shall relax it, and shall not fight ²⁰for it; he is not my son, he is not born to me.

Royal Statue at Boundary

660. Now, behold, my majesty caused a statue^a ²¹of my majesty to be made upon this boundary, which my majesty made; in^b order that ye might prosper because of it, and in order that ye might fight for it.^c

V. INSCRIPTION OF IKHERNOFRET^d

661. The following commission of Ikhernofret to Abydos, of great interest and importance in many respects, is inserted here especially for its bearing on the Nubian wars of Sesostri III. It is not dated, but we are able to date it from another source with considerable probability. Ikhernofret was accompanied to Abydos by one of his officials, Sisatet;^e each of the two men erected a stela there on this occasion, and that of Sisatet states that the visit was made "*when Sesostri III journeyed to overthrow the wretched Kush, in the year 19.*" The gold taken from Kush (ll. 3, 4) was therefore probably captured in the campaign of the sixteenth year (§ 657). We have nowhere else any record of the campaign of the nineteenth year.

662. Ikhernofret narrates how he executed the king's commission, and adds a statement of the functions which

^aNo trace of this statue has ever been found.

^bU has the proper genitive *n*.

^cOr: "*upon it*," the boundary.

^dOn his memorial tablet erected at Abydos; now in Berlin (No. 1204, *Ausführliches Verzeichniss des Berliner Museums*, 90, 91); published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 135, *h*. It is in bad condition, and full of gaps. I had a copy made from the original, which Schaefer kindly placed at my disposal; it filled nearly all of the gaps in Lepsius' *Denkmäler*. Schaefer has since published it, with full translation and commentary, in Sethe's *Untersuchungen*, IV, but I have not yet seen it.

^e§§ 671 ff.

he fulfilled at the feasts of Osiris and the celebration of the sacred drama, re-enacting incidents from the myth of the god. Among these duties, there is one of the greatest interest, viz., the conduct of Osiris "*to his tomb before Peker.*" This is, of course, none other than the tomb of the hoary old King Zer, which already at this time was misunderstood as the tomb of Osiris.

Introduction

663. ¹Live the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khékure (Sesostri III),^a who is given life forever and ever.

Royal Letter; Introduction

664. ²Royal command to the hereditary prince, count, —, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, lord of the double gold-house, lord of the double silver-house, chief treasurer, Ikhnofret (*gy-hr-n/r t*), revered:

Commission to Abydos

665. ³"My majesty commands that thou shalt be sent up-river to Abydos,^b to make monuments for my father Osiris, First of the Westerners, to adorn his secret place with the gold, ⁴which he^c caused my majesty to bring from Upper Nubia in victory and in triumph. Lo, thou shalt do this in ⁵— — for offering, in satisfying my father Osiris, since my majesty sendeth thee, my heart being certain of thy doing everything ⁶according to the desire of my majesty; since thou hast been brought up in the teaching of my majesty; thou hast been in the training of my majesty, ⁷and the sole teaching of my palace. My

^aFull fivefold titular.

^bThe reference shows the royal residence was down-river, that is, northward from Abydos. An inscription of the king's sixth year, hitherto unnoticed, furnishes further indication of his interest in the Abydos temple. The mortuary stela of a certain Sebekhotep (British Museum, No. 257) after the usual prayer, states: "*His majesty commanded to dispatch the servant (the deceased) to the crown possessions of Thinis of the South (tp ršy), to cleanse the temples. He did them; 'cleansed' that they might be pure for the monthly feast, and clean for the half-monthly feast.*" At the top is the date.

^cProbably Osiris.

majesty appointed thee —, while thou wast a young man (*hwn*) of 26 years. My majesty hath done this, ⁸(because) I have seen thee to be one excellent in character (*shrr*), ready of tongue on coming forth from the body, and sufficient in speech. My majesty [sendeth]^a thee ⁹to do this, (since) my [majesty] has recognized that no one doing it possesses thy good qualities. Quickly go thou, and do thou according to all that my majesty has commanded."

Execution of the Commission

666. ¹⁰I did according to all that his majesty commanded, by adorning all that my lord commanded for his father, Osiris, First of the Westerners, lord of Abydos, great, mighty one residing in Thinis.

Temple Monuments and Utensils

667. ¹¹I acted as "Son, Whom He Loves," for Osiris, First of the Westerners, I adorned the great — forever and ever. I made for him ^{12a}a portable shrine,^b the "Bearer-of-Beauty" of the "First-of-the-Westerners," of gold, silver, lazuli, fragrant woods, carob wood, and meru wood. (I) fashioned the gods ¹³belonging to his divine ennead, (I) made their shrines anew.

Priestly Duties

668. I caused the lay priests to [I know how] to do their duties, (I) caused them to know ¹⁴the stipulation of every day, the feasts of the beginnings of the seasons. I superintended the work on the sacred barque (*nšm*['*t*]), I fashioned (its) chapel.^c ¹⁵I decked (*shkr*) the body of the lord of Abydos with lazuli and malachite, electrum, and every costly stone, among ¹⁶the ornaments of the limbs of a god. I dressed (*db*⁷) the god in his regalia (*h^cw*) by virtue of my office as master of secret things, and of my duty as (*wtb*¹-) priest. ¹⁷I was pure-handed in decking the god, a (*sm*-) priest of clean fingers.

^aOnly the determinative of a verb of going or motion is preserved.

^b*Knyw*.

^cThis word (*snlyy*, perhaps *sn'y't*, as on the Piankhi stela,) has a determinative exactly like the chapel or cabin in the determinative of *nšm't*.

Osirian Festival Drama

669. I celebrated the (feast of) "Going Forth" of Upwawet, when he proceeded to champion his father. ¹⁸I repelled the foe from the sacred barque (*nšm' t*), I overthrew the enemies of Osiris. I celebrated the "Great-Going-Forth,"^a following the god at his going. ¹⁹I sailed the divine boat (*dp' t*) of Thoth upon ——. I equipped the barque (called): "Shining-in-Truth" of the lord of Abydos, with a chapel. ²⁰(I) put on his regalia when he went forth to — Peker; I led the way of the god to his tomb^b before Peker; I ²¹championed Wennofer at "That Day of the Great Conflict;" I slew all the enemies upon the 'flats'^c of Nedyt (*Ndy' t*). I conveyed him ²²into the barque (called): "The Great," when it bore his beauty; I gladdened the heart of the eastern highlands; I —ed the rejoicing in the western highlands. ²³When they saw the beauty of the sacred barge, as it landed at Abydos, they brought [Osiris, First of the Westerners, lord] of Abydos to his palace, and I followed the god into his house, ²⁴to attend to his —, when he 'resumed' his seat. I loosed the knot in the midst of — — — — his 'attendants', among his courtiers.

670. Below appear five of Ikhernofret's relatives, among them Sisatet, whose stela follows herein (§§ 671-73), Sitameni, the mother, is also mentioned, as she is likewise on the stela of Sisatet.^d

VI. INSCRIPTION OF SISATET^e

671. After a prayer for the benefit of Sisatet's father, Ameni, follows a long list of his near relatives, beginning

^aThis is the designation of a funeral procession "going forth" to the necropolis, as is evident from the description in Bergmann, *Hieroglyphische Inschriften*, VI, I, 12. It refers above to the funeral procession of Osiris in the drama.

^bThis is unquestionably the tomb of Zer, already in the Twelfth Dynasty mistaken for the tomb of Osiris.

^cThis is the word (*tsu*) used in Uni (§ 323, I, 45; see note) for "flats" or the like.

^dIkhernofret's mortuary stela, erected at Abydos on his death, is now in Cairo (Catalogue No. 20310). It contains nothing of historical importance.

^eOn his family mortuary stela, from Abydos, now in the Museum of Geneva; published by Maspero in *Mélanges d'archéologie égyptienne*, II, 217-19, and again, Maspero, *Études de mythologie et d'archéologie*, III, 211-15. I had also my own copy of the original.

with his mother, Sitameni. The inscription of Sisatet then follows, giving the occasion of his visit to Abydos, during which, of course, he erected this stela to secure for his family the favors of Osiris in the next world. It is as follows:

672. Master of the double cabinet,^a Sisatet; he saith: "I came to Abydos, together with the chief treasurer, Ikhernofret, to carve (a statue of) Osiris, lord of Abydos, when the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khékure (Sesostris III), living forever, journeyed, while overthrowing the wretched Kush, in the year 19."

673. Some nineteen years later, perhaps at Sisatet's death, his own memorial stela^b was erected at Abydos. The inscription above begins:

"Year 1, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nematre (*N-m^ꜣ-t-R^c*, Amenemhet III), living forever and ever. Stela which the master of the double cabinet of the office of the chief treasurer, Sisatet, made, in order that his name might endure at the stairway of the great god.

HAMMAMAT INSCRIPTION^c

674. The principal interest attaching to this inscription arises from the destination of the stone taken out, which is stated to be Ehnas Heracleopolis. The text is so barbarously cut that much is unintelligible:

675. ¹Year 14, fourth month of the first season, day 16, under the majesty of ² the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khékure (Sesostris III), living forever and ever, ³beloved of Min-Hor of Coptos. Behold, his majesty commanded to dispatch me to

^aHis title on his own mortuary stela is: "*Master of the double cabinet of the office of the chief treasurer.*"¹

^bNow in the Louvre (C 5); published by Gayet (*Stèles*, VIII-IX, very inaccurate).

^cEngraved on the rocks in the Wadi Hammamat; published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 136, a.

⁴Hammamat, to bring a monument, which his majesty commanded to make ⁵for Harsaphes (*Hr-š*), lord of Heracleopolis, for the sake of the life of ⁶the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khekure, living forever and ever; being a beautiful block of ⁷black basalt.^a He sent me as foreman of the work, because I was valuable in the opinion of his majesty, a true leader ¹— ¹for his lord, smiting for him the four eastern countries,^b bringing for him the good products of Tehenu, by the greatness of his majesty's fame; saying good things, and reporting pleasing things, at the utterances of whose mouth there is satisfaction; knowing the place of his —, free from lying, kind-hearted, void of ¹—¹, excellent in speech, — hearted, reporting to the king; one whose foot is firm, real king's-confidant, his beloved, his favorite, steward of the storehouse of the leader of works, Khui (*H^cwy*) born of Hapi (*H^cpy*)."

STELA OF SEBEK-KHU, CALLED ZAA^c

676. This stela, as furnishing the only mention of an invasion of Syria by any Pharaoh of the Middle Kingdom, is of great importance. Sebek-khu, who states at the top of the stela that his other or "*beautiful name*" was Zaa (*d²²*), gives a brief outline of his career on this mortuary stela which he erected at Abydos. He was born in the twenty-seventh year of Amenemhet II (l. 11), at whose death he was therefore five years old.

677. Of his life during the nineteen years' reign of Sesostris II he says nothing, but with the accession of Sesostris III, Sebek-khu, who was now twenty-four years old, was

^aThis stone (*bhn*) is the same as the two obelisks in the British Museum (*Description*, V, 21, 22), which are stated by the inscription to be *bhn*. An examination, kindly made by Mr. Gardiner, shows that the obelisks are of the black basaltic rock of Hammamat.

^bCompare the four countries in the inscription of Ameni, § 519, l. 7.

^cA small limestone stela discovered at Abydos (Arabah) by Mr. John Garstang, and published by him (*El Arabah*, Quaritch, London, 1901, Pls. IV, V), with a translation by Newberry (*ibid.*, 32, 33); see also Müller, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, VI, 448, 449.

made an attendant of the king (l. 13), with six men under him (l. 14). He was presently promoted among the personal troops of the king as "*attendant* (lit., *follower*) of the ruler" (l. 14), and commanded sixty men on an expedition of the same king into Nubia. Which one of Sesostri III's Nubian campaigns (§§ 640-73) this was, it is impossible to say, but Sebek-khu's gallantry won him a promotion as a "*commander*" (*šḥd*) of the king's personal troops, with one hundred men under him.

678. His next expedition was against a region called Sekmem (*Skmm*) in Retenu, or Syria.^a We are unfortunately unable to locate this Sekmem with certainty, but it could hardly have been very far northward.^b A battle occurred here (l. 2), during which Sebek-khu commanded the reserves (l. 3). When finally his men mingled in the fight (l. 3) he personally captured a prisoner (l. 4), whom he delivers to two of his men, to be disarmed. Continuing the battle (l. 4), he is finally rewarded by the king with a rich gift of arms, as well as the weapons of his prisoner.^c There is no evidence that this, the only Syrian campaign known under the Twelfth Dynasty, gained anything more than plunder for Sesostri III, or that any attempt was made to hold the territory of the conquered Sekmem.^d

679. Sebek-khu now became "*commandant*" (*w^crtw*) of the (residence) city," the office which he held when he

^aThis campaign was so important in Sebek-khu's life that he places it at the beginning of his autobiography, though it chronologically belongs toward the end.

^bMüller (*l. c.*) suggests Shechem, and would explain the second *m* as the plural ending of a *nisbe*, which is of course exceedingly doubtful.

^cCompare the same gifts to brave officers of the Eighteenth Dynasty kings; this is the earliest example of the custom.

^dThis Syrian expedition is not likely to have been the only one made by this dynasty. The language of Sinuhe, exiled in Syria, just before Sebek-khu's time, shows that the power of the Pharaoh was known and feared there, this implies similar expeditions thither under the first kings of the dynasty.

erected this stela (ll. 7 and 10), some time before the death of Sesostris III. He doubtless, like so many officials visiting Abydos, erected the stela himself, hence it does not contain the end of his career. A number of years later, in the ninth year of Amenemhet III, when Sebek-khu could not have been less than sixty-six years old, he appears superintending the king's observations of the height of the inundation at the second cataract.^a He then held the rank of "commandant of the ruler," but of the end of his career we know nothing.

Asiatic Campaign

680. ¹His majesty proceeded northward, to overthrow the Asiatics (*Mntyw-Stt*). His majesty arrived at a district, Sekmem (*Škmm*)^b was its name. ²His majesty led the good way^c in proceeding to the palace^d of "Life, Prosperity, and Health," when Sekmem had fallen,^e together with Retenu (*Rtnw*) the wretched, ³while I was acting as rear-guard.

Sebek-khu's Valor

681. Then the citizens^f (*ḥnw*) of the army mixed in, to fight with the Asiatics (*mw*). Then ⁴I captured an Asiatic (*m*), and had his weapons seized by two citizens (*ḥnw*) of the army, (for) one did not

^aLepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 136, b.

^bPossibly *Škmm*.

^cThis idiom (*dy'f tp'f nfr*) is parallel with the similar one common in the Empire (*šsp tp w' t nfr' t*). It has no connection with *tp-nfr* "good conduct," an inseparable compound, into which *f* could not be inserted.

^dThe successful outcome of the adventure and the return home are indicated at the beginning, as is common in oriental narrative. Moreover, the following battle may have occurred on the return march.

^eLit., "*Sekmem, it had fallen.*"

^fThese men (*ḥnw*) are of the class to which belong the men under Sebek-khu (who with the bodyguard is in the rear), as is shown by l. 4, where two of them are under his command. They now rush forward into action. (See also wild-cattle hunt of Amenhotep III, II, 864, and especially Decree of Harmhab, III, 51, 57, 59); they are always spoken of as "*of the army.*"

turn back from the fight, (but) my face was to the front, and I gave not my back to the Asiatic (^c*m*).^a

His Rewards

682. As Sesostriś lives, ⁵I have spoken in truth. Then he gave to me a staff of electrum into my hand, a bow, and a dagger wrought with electrum, together with his^b weapons.

His Titles

683. ⁶The hereditary prince, count, firm of sandal, satisfied in going, treading the path of him that favors him, ⁷whose plenty the Lord of the Two Lands has furnished, whose seat his love has advanced, the great ¹commandant^{1c} of the (residence) city, Zaa (*D*²²).

His Tomb

684. ⁸He says: "I have made for myself this splendid tomb; its place is inserted at the stairway of ⁹the great god, lord of life, presider over Abydos, at the bend: 'Lord-of-Offerings,' and at the bend: 'Mistress-of-Life;'^d ¹that I may¹ smell the incense ¹⁰that comes forth from this — as the odor of the god."

His Career; Birth

685. The chief attendant of the (residence) city, Zaa; ¹¹he says: "I was born [in] the year 27 under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nebkure (Amenemhet II), triumphant.

Commander of Six

686. ¹²The majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khékure (Sesostriś III), triumphant, appeared with the double diadem upon the

^aHe means that as the fight kept on he was unable to disarm his prisoner, and therefore turned him over to two privates, while he himself continued fighting. There is also a touch of boasting in it, as it took two men to manage the prisoner he had captured alone.

^bThose of the Asiatic whom he had captured.

^c*W^crtw*. This uncertain title is shown to be, here at least, that of the officers of the king's personal troops; but the frequent defining additions show that it was a title of general meaning, like "chief," or "leader," (see Müller's useful note *Recueil*, IX, 173, 1).

^dEvidently two promontories of the desert margin in the cemetery of Abydos.

Horus-throne of the living. ¹³His majesty caused that I should render service as a warrior, behind and beside his majesty, with six men of ¹⁴the court.

Campaign in Nubia

687. Then I made ready at his side, (and) his majesty caused that I be appointed to be an 'attendant of the ruler.' ¹⁵I furnished^a sixty men when his majesty proceeded southward to overthrow the ¹⁶Troglodytes of Nubia. Then I captured a Negro in —^b alongside my city.^c ¹⁷Then I proceeded northward, following with six^d of the court; then he appointed (me) commander of the attendants, and gave to me 100 men^e as a reward."

INSCRIPTIONS OF THUTHOTEP^f

688. Thuthotep and his line were nomarchs of the Hare nome, the chief city of which was Khmunu (Hermopolis, Eshmunen) nearly opposite el-Bersheh, where the tombs of the family are located. Their immediate neighbors on the north were the princes of the Oryx nome, with whom they were probably related. Thuthotep's family was an ancient

^aOr. "commanded sixty men (lit., heads)."

^bGeographical, as shown by the determinative.

^cIt is inconceivable that Zaa's city should have been in Nubia. He probably means the city where he held command temporarily in Nubia.

^dThe original six of his command, the sixty during the Nubian campaign being a temporary command.

^eLit.: "heads."

^fFrom his tomb at el-Bersheh. The scene of the transport of the colossus early drew attention to this tomb (discovered by English travelers in 1817), but beyond this scene very little in the el-Bersheh group was copied. After many years of neglect, during which they suffered lamentable mutilation, the tombs were exhaustively copied and surveyed by the Archæological Survey of the Egypt Exploration Fund in 1891-92, and published in two volumes: *Bersheh*, I (Newberry and Fraser), *Bersheh*, II (Griffith, Newberry, and Fraser), London. This work has consulted and collated all the earlier publications. The scene of the transport will also be found: Rosellini, *Monumenti civili*, II, 48, 1; Wilkinson Birch, *Manners*, II, 305; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 134, 135; Chabas, *Mélanges égyptologiques*, III, Pl. V (long inscription only); and often in the later histories. See full account of literature and existing manuscripts in *Bersheh*, 5. —

one, and regarded the hoary Sixth Dynasty princes, who were buried in the neighboring tombs of Shekh Sa^cid, as their ancestors. Their interest in these remote predecessors of theirs was such that at least two of them repaired their ancestors' fallen tombs at Shekh Sa^cid, and recorded the pious deed in the following words:^a

689. He made (it) as his monument for his fathers, who are in the necropolis, the lords of this promontory; restoring what was found in ruin and renewing what was found decayed, the ancestors, who were before, not having done it. By the count, 'marshal of the two thrones', superior prophet, overseer of the king's-house, governor of the South, great lord of the Hare nome, great in his office, great in his rank, of advanced position in the king's-house, Thutnakht, born of Teti.

690. It is, however, very difficult to trace back the earlier family.^b The neighboring alabaster quarry of Hatnub contains a number of inscriptions (hieratic graffiti) recording the incessant activity of the family there, in which the princes frequently boast of their wealth and power. These records also show that the princes of the Hare nome were not merely provincial nobles, but that they sometimes held high offices under the king. Only one royal date, however (thirty-first year of Sesostris I), occurs in these quarry inscriptions; otherwise they are dated according to the year of the nomarchy, which is a striking indication of the inde-

^aThis inscription occurs four times in the tombs of Shekh Sa^cid; three times with the name of Thutnakht (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 112, *c*, and 113, *b*, *c*); and once with the name of Ihe (Yh³) (*Bersheh*, II, 10), both of whom were themselves buried at el-Bersheh. See also Davies, *Shekh Said*, Pl. XXX, and cf. *ibid.*, Pl. XXIX. The same inscription occurred at least once at el-Bersheh also (*ibid.*, 11), showing the restoration of pre-Middle Kingdom tombs there also. At Kasr-es-Sayad there are also records of the restoration of Sixth Dynasty tombs by Twelfth Dynasty nobles (Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1902, 216).

^bThe material from the tombs of el-Bersheh and the quarry of Hatnub has been carefully sifted in an interesting reconstruction of the family tree by Griffith *Bersheh*, II, 4-14. The following data have been taken thence.

pendence of these princes at some time, probably before the Twelfth Dynasty. Probably at least four generations lived during the Eleventh Dynasty. Two of these earlier princes say: "*I rescued my city in the day of violence from the terrors of the royal house,*"^a which may be a reference to the aggression of the Eleventh Dynasty as it pushed northward.

691. The tomb of Thuthotep is the only one at el-Bersheh, in which royal names have been preserved. It contains the names of Amenemhet II and Sesostris II and III, under whom Thuthotep lived. His appointment as prince of the Hare nome, in which he succeeded his grandfather, is referred to in the tomb as follows:^b

692. His utterance before his father, that he might [establish] the name of him from whom he came forth. Are not these praises very great before my father and before my god, in that he appoints me chief of his city and great lord of the Hare nome, as successor of him who begat him? He was the staff of the old age of this^c his father, and he hath appointed me as chief of his city.

693. His father calls upon the people to rejoice, and adds:

See this! which my lord has done for me; hear^d this! which my

^aGraffiti Nos. I and VIII. Blackden and Fraser, *Hatnub*, transliterated by Griffith, *Bersheh*, II, Pl. XXII.

^bInscription of the shrine, *Bersheh*, I, Pl. XXXIII (=Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 134), accompanying Thuthotep and his father Key, who stand facing each other; essentially Mr. Griffith's rendering (*ibid.*, II, 13).

^c"*This his father*" is of course Key's father; the use of "*this*" implying that he was now deceased. His name was Nehri. Thus Nehri lived to a very advanced age, and Key was so old at his father's (Nehri's) death that he immediately resigned the succession to his own son. This would explain the succession from grandfather to grandson, in which Key seems to have the appointing power. The references to the father and son (Key and Thuthotep) as together deserving the praise of the people (§§ 700-704) are thus explained by the fact that Key survived his son Thuthotep's accession.

^d*Sdm*, not *hsb* "*reckon*" (as in the Survey notes).

god has done for me, in that he hath appointed my son as chief of his city, great lord of the Hare nome, as successor of him that begat me.^a

694. The well-known scene of the transport of the colossus has made the tomb famous. The only other inscriptions of historical importance are those connected with this scene. They throw much light upon the power and organization of the government in a Middle Kingdom nomarchy, and, of course, the whole scene is of unusual archæological interest.

695. The quarries from which the great block for the statue was cut are located ten miles from the river in the desert back of el-Amarna.^b The difficult road from the quarries over the desert, down the cliffs, and across the plain to the river at the modern village of Hagg-Kandîl, had been in use since the days of Khufu, and Uni had transported stone upon it (§ 323). Along this road the block was transported to the river,^c and then floated down-stream to Hermopolis-Eshmunen, where the statue was sculptured.

^a"Him that begat me" is the grandfather Nehri. He may be the same Nehri who was the father of Khnumhotep II.

^bThey were first seen by Mr. Newberry, who was taken there by natives in 1891. Excellent map by Petrie (*Amarna*, XXXIV) and very useful description (*ibid.*, 3, 4); also by Fraser (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XVI, 73 ff.). They contain numerous graffiti published by Blackden and Fraser (*Collection of Hieratic Graffiti from the Alabaster Quarries of Hatnub*).

^cThat the statue would be sculptured in the desert quarry, nearly a day's journey from water and supplies, then to run the risk of the long and dangerous transportation to Eshmunen, as is usually supposed, is *a priori* exceedingly improbable. The inscription is also clearly against this supposition. The scene depicts the arrival of the statue at its destination, and naturally the inscription begins with that event, which it describes in six lines. Then (l. 6) it reverts to the work of getting the stone from the quarry, and says distinctly that on leaving the quarry the statue was "*a squared block*." After this the ships for the river transport are referred to, and then Thuthotep mentions his arrival "*in the district of this city*" (doubtless Eshmunen). Similarly the statue of Amenhotep III, now lying unfinished at the Assuan quarry, was merely roughed out to reduce its weight for transportation (de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 62 f.).

It was then conveyed to its destination, some building^a in the city where it was permanently deposited. This event is depicted with great detail in the famous scene of the transportation. Behind the statue march the "*foremen of the work on this statue*" and other officials, who are followed by Thuthotep himself; accompanied by the following inscription:

696. ¹Following a statue of 13 cubits,^b of stone of Hatnub. Lo, the way, upon which it came, was very difficult, beyond anything. Lo, ²the dragging of the great things upon it was difficult for the heart of the people, because of the difficult stone of the ground,^c being hard stone.

697. I caused ³the youth, the young men of the recruits to come, in order to make for it (the statue) a road, together with shifts of necropolis-miners and of quarrymen, the foremen and the wise. The people of strength said: "We come to bring it;"^d while my heart was glad; the city was gathered together rejoicing; very good it was to see ⁵beyond everything. The old man among them, he leaned upon the child; the strong-armed together with the tremblers, their courage rose. ⁶Their arms grew strong; one of them put forth the strength of 1,000 men.

698. Behold, this statue, being a squared block on coming forth from the great mountain,^e was ⁷more valuable than anything. Vessels were equipped, filled with supplies, ⁸in advance¹ of my army of recruits, the youth ⁸bore ¹— in advance of¹ it. Their words were laudation, and my praises from the king. My children ⁹— adorned were behind me.

^aPerhaps the "*house of the ka*" (*h't-k*), which appears as part of the temple at Siut and at Benihasan. See also the contracts of Hepzefi (§ 535 ff.) for the services and ceremonies due to such statues.

^bOver 22 feet, indicating the height. It would weigh toward 60 tons, and is the largest alabaster statue known. The immense alabaster statue of Amon found in 1899 by Legrain at Karnak may have been nearly as large.

^cThe stony ground through which the road passed; such stone would be alabaster at the quarry, and limestone afterward. *Rwd't* ("hard stone") is applied to the stone of Hatnub also in Uni (§ 323, l. 42); it is later "*sandstone*."

^dAnother possible rendering is: ". . . the foremen, and the wise, saying: 'O people of strength, come to me to bring it.'"

^eThis is a reference to the crude block which was brought from the quarry.

My nome shouted praise. I arrived in the district of this city, ¹⁰the people were gathered together, praising; very good it was to see, beyond everything. The counts who were of old; the judge and local governor who were appointed for ¹¹— in this city, and established for the [—] upon the river, their hearts had not thought of this which I had done, [in that I made] for myself ¹²— established for eternity, after that this my tomb was complete^a in its everlasting work.

699. The statue is drawn by 172 men in four double rows,^b manning four ropes. The middle two rows consist of the priests and the soldiers; the outside two, of the youths from the two banks of the river.^c Each row is accompanied by an inscription as follows:

First Row

700. The^d youths of the west of the Hare nome come in peace. Utterance: "The west is in festivity, their hearts are glad, when they see the monuments of their lords, the heir who comes in their midst, his house and the house of his father when he was a child. — — —."

Second Row

701. The youths of the warriors of the Hare nome arrive in peace. Utterance of the recruits of the youths whom their lord mustered, the heir who prospers in the favor of the king, the lord: "Let us come, let us prosper his children after him! Our hearts are glad at the favor of the king who abides permanently."

^aThe text is poetic and has, lit., "*had rested from its everlasting work.*" Thuthotep means that after the work on his tomb was complete, he had the great statue made for it, and that his ancestors had never conceived such a great enterprise.

^bA man, standing on the knees of the statue, beats time for the men at the ropes. He has the inscription: "*Beating time for the soldiers by the [foreman] [of] Thuthotep, beloved of the king.*" Before him is a man offering incense, whom the inscription calls the artist of this tomb. Beneath are men of the "*estate*" "*carrying water,*" and with them workmen "*carrying planks for the dragging.*" For further details, see the Archæological Survey volumes.

^cOn the social relations of these men, see Griffith, *Kahun Papyri*, II, 24, 25.

^dFrom above.

Third Row

702. The courses of the priests of the Hare nome come in peace. Utterance: "He whom Thoth loves, Thuthotep, beloved of the king, he whom his city loves, whom all its gods praise; the temples are in festivity; their hearts are glad, when they see thy favor with the king."

Fourth Row

703. The youths of the east of the Hare nome come in peace. Utterance: "My lord hath proceeded to Thereti (*Try*), the god rejoices over him; his fathers are in festivity, their hearts are glad, rejoicing over his beautiful monuments."

704. Over the men at the ropes are platoons of youths bearing (palm?) branches; inscription:

The Hare nome is in festivity, its heart is glad; its old men are children, its youths are refreshed, its children jubilate; their heart is in festivity, when they see their lord, the son of their lord as a favor of the king, making his monument.

705. In advance of all these, oxen are being slaughtered, and rows of servants approach laden with offerings; inscription:

Bringing forward the chief offerings which the districts that are in the Hare nome have brought, for this statue of the count, Thuthotep.^a

706. A doorway appears behind these people, which is intended to be the entrance of the building for which the statue is destined. It bears the name and titles of Thuthotep and the name of the building itself: "*The love of Thuthotep abides in the Hare nome.*"^b

^aThis inscription clearly settles whose the statue is, and there is no ground for the supposition that it was a statue of the king.

^bIn the doorway at one side appears the figure of Thuthotep standing with staff. This is the usual figure, cut on the thickness of the doorway, which is here swung out, as it were, like a door, that it may be seen.

HAMMAMAT INSCRIPTIONS^a

707. Already in his second year Amenemhet III carried on work at Hammamat, under an officer named Amenemhet. His inscription^b is dated: *Year 2, third month of the first season, day 1*, and is followed by ten lines of self-praise, in which we find the only phrases of historical value: "*smiting the Negro, opening the land of the Asiatic*" (l. 7). His titles occupy two lines (ll. 11, 12): "*commander of troops (mnjy't), commander (shd) of followers, Amenemhet, son of Ibeb (Ybb), triumphant; his father was Aabu (c²² bw).*" At the end there is only the following meager record of one line: "*I came to this highland in safety with my army by the power of Min, lord of the highlands.*" Exactly a year and two days later four officers recorded the date and their names.^c The chief expedition was in the nineteenth year, of which we have three records. The material taken out was intended for a place or building called Enekh-Amenemhet, "*Life of Amenemhet.*" We naturally think of his pyramid-temple at Hawara. The first record,^d is as follows:

708. ¹Year 19, first month of the second season, [day] 15; ²the Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Offering, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nematre (Amenemhet III), who is given life, stability, satisfaction, like Re, forever.

709. ³His majesty sent to bring for him(self) monuments from ⁴the valley of Hammamat, of beautiful black (basaltic) stone^e as ⁵far as "Enekh-Amenemhet,"^f living forever and ever; at ⁶the house of Sebek, of Crocodilopolis:^g 10 statues of 5 cubits,^h upon a throne,

^aBesides the publications I had also for these inscriptions a collation of the Berlin squeezes, kindly furnished by Mr. Alan Gardiner.

^bCut on the rocks in Wadi Hammamat; published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 138, a.

^cLepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 138, b.

^eSee § 675, note.

^dLepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 138, e.

^fSee above, § 707.

^gAn adjective (*nisbe*) belonging to Sebek; it does not necessarily show that the temple was in Crocodilopolis.

^hFive cubits high (8½ feet) when seated.

^aquarried in this year by the real "beloved of his lord"^a
the overseer of the "—" (*gs*) of the miners, Sesostris.

710. Another official^b has left a record^c of the same expedition, in which he also refers to the "10 statues of 5 (*cubits*)."^d He also adds the numbers of the men in the expedition: "*His soldiers of the necropolis, 20; quarrymen, 30; sailors, 30; a numerous army, 2,000.*"^e

711. Still another officer^f dates an inscription^g in the nineteenth year of Amenemhet III, which doubtless refers to the same expedition. The date occupies one line, the usual phrases in eulogy of self thirteen lines, and the following record is in the last line: "*He came to this inaccessible highland of Hammamat, on a commission of Horus, lord of the palace (the king), to bring a monument for his majesty.*"

712. The latest and only other record^h is dated: *Year 20, third month of the first season, day 13.*

INSCRIPTIONS IN SINAI

I. WADI MAGHARA

713. The earliest inscription of Amenemhet III in the peninsula of Sinai, is that of Khenemshⁱ in the Wadi Maghara. It is as follows:

^aThe usual encomium of self, made up of obscure phrases.

^bHis name is uncertain, but may have been "*Meri's son, Hu (Ḥw)*" according to l. 8.

^cLepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 138, c=Golénischeff, *Hammamat*, IX, No. 1. It is very obscure and uncertain, but seems to refer to difficulties in getting out the blocks for the ten statues.

^dHe omits the word "*cubits*," l. 13.

^eLines 14, 15.

^fHis name is likewise uncertain (it is at the beginning of l. 14).

^gLepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 138, d=Golénischeff, *Hammamat*, IX, No. 2.

^hLepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 138 f.

ⁱCut on the rocks in the Wadi Maghara; published by Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 689 = Burton, *Excerpta hieroglyphica*, XII = Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 137, c = Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1492 = Laval, *Voyage dans la Péninsule Arabique*,

Inscriptions of Khenemsu

Year 2 under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nematre (*N-m^ꜣ·t-R^ꜣ*), Son of Re, Amenemhet (III), living forever and ever. The treasurer of the god, master of the double cabinet, chief of the treasury, Khentkhetihotep-Khenemsu was dispatched, in order to bring malachite and copper. List of his soldiers: 734.

714. Below stands the king before Thoth and Hathor, and three petty officers have appended a mortuary prayer at the bottom.

715. Khenemsu's expedition (§§ 713, 714) also operated in Sarbût el-Khadem in the same year,^a and his officers have left their names on the rocks, surmounted by the date and a relief showing Amenemhet III before "*Hathor, mistress of the malachite country.*"^b

716. Below^c are the figures of four officers accompanied by their names:

1. Treasurer of the god, master of the double cabinet, chief of the treasury, Khenemsu.
2. Deputy of the chief treasurer, Ameniseneb.
3. —seneb, son of Stira (*Sty-r^ꜣ*) ———.
4. Master of the double cabinet of the treasury, Sebeko, son of Metenu.

Inscription of Harnakht

717. The following inscription^d of Harnakht, a subordinate treasury official, evidently connected with the preceding

Pl. 5, No. 2 = Weill, *Sinai*, 129; see last for British Museum squeeze and manuscript sources. An official of the same expedition named Sesostri-Seneb dates a prayer on the rocks in the year 2 (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1487); Weill, *Sinai*, 131, 132. Below is a list of his workmen (*l. c.*).

^aAnother inscription at Sarbût el-Khadem, of the year 20, shows only the date (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 137).

^bLepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 137, a.

^cBack of the king stood the chief treasurer, but his figure is now gone, and only a portion of his titles is still visible.

^dWadi Maghara; published by Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1488; better by Spiegelberg, after squeeze by Euringer, *Recueil*, 21, 51; and Weill, *Sinai*, 134.

expedition, is of especial interest as showing that the journey to Wadi Maghara was made by water. Even if the customary point of departure was at the extreme north end of the Gulf of Suez, a wearisome desert journey in Sinai was thus avoided.

718. Year 2 under the majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nematre (Amenemhet III), living forever. The chosen before his subjects, who treads the path of his benefactor, (says): "I crossed over the sea, bearing luxuries^a (*špšš*), by commission of Horus, lord of the palace (Pharaoh)." Official of the treasury (*yry-^ct-n-pr-hd*), chief fowler,^b Harnakht (*Hr-nht*); his beautiful name, Harnetamehu (*Hr-n-t³-mhw*).

Inscription of Sebekdidi

719. An inscription of the year 41^c records an expedition in the Wadi Maghara, which was conducted by a palace official named Sebekdidi-Ranefseneb. It reads:

Year 41 under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Nematre (*N-m²c-t-R^c*, Amenemhet III), given life, like Re, forever.

720. The real king's-confidant, his beloved, his favorite, conductor of the palace, Sebekdidi-Ranefseneb. May Ptah-South-of-His-Wall, and Hathor,^d mistress of the malachite country, love him who shall say: "An offering which the king gives for the ka of the treasurer, the assistant of the chief treasurer, Sesostris — (*S[n]-Wsr-t* ———).

Below is a short list of subordinate officers.

^aThe connection would indicate that these were offerings from the Pharaoh to be presented to the local Hathor; although *špšš-w* are frequently the costly stones of Sinai.

^bThis not uncommon title (*hb-^{c2}*, with determinative of a goose), has been strangely misunderstood in the last two editions of the text.

^cLepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 137 f. = *Ordnance Survey*, III, Pl. 3 = Burton, *Excerpta hieroglyphica* XII; Weill, *Sinai*, 137, 138. A short inscription of the year 30 is in Weill, *Sinai*, 135; it is without historical content beyond the statement of the official: "I worked (*yry-ny*) the gmy and the malachite therein."

^dMisread by Weill.

Inscription of Ameni

721. In the year 42 there was evidently an important expedition in the Wadi Maghara, for which the following meager record is our only source:^a

Year 42, under the majesty of the king, Lord of the Two Lands, Nematre (Amenemhet III), living forever, [beloved]^b of Hathor, mistress of the malachite country.

722. The master of the double cabinet, chief of the White House (*wr pr ḥd*), Ameni, triumphant, beloved of Hathor, mistress of the malachite country.

The treasurer,^c assistant of the chief treasurer, Sesostri—seneb-Sebekkhi, favorite of Hathor, mistress of the malachite country, of Soped, lord of the east, of Snefru,^d lord of the highlands, and of the gods and goddesses who are in this land.

723. There were made for Hathor, all beautiful (mine)-chambers.

May he be beloved and arrive in safety who shall say: "An offering which the king gives for the ka of the treasurer, the assistant of the chief treasurer, Sebekhotep, beloved of Hathor, mistress of the malachite country; the storeroom-keeper, Yatu (*y²-tw*); — — — mmu (— *mmw*); the chief of the house of Pharaoh, Senebtefi; and 20^e (+*x*) quarrymen ————.

Another expedition left a short inscription in the year 43.^f

^aChampollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 690 = Burton, *Excerpta hieroglyphica*, XII = Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 137, *g* = Ordnance Survey, III, Pl. 3 = Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1490 (inaccurate) = Weill, *Sinai*, 140, with full literature. There is another inscription of the same year at this place, but only the date, king's name, and epitheta, with two signs at the top of each of three lost vertical lines, are preserved.

^bOmitted by the scribe; see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 137, *h*.

^cIt is clear that this official, who has attached the longest blessing to his name, was the personal leader of the expedition.

^dSnefru as a god of Sinai. His name is here in a cartouche (with Horus-hawk as determinative); he appears in the same way with Soped, and Hathor in an inscription of Amenemhet III's sixth year (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1491, No. 9).

^eNot more than thirty; a list of subordinate workmen followed, but it is now broken off.

^fLepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 137, *i* = Weill, *Sinai*, 142.

II. SARBÛT EL-KHADEM

724. Amenemhet III began work here as early as the year 2,^a and dated inscriptions of the years 20,^b 30,^b and 38^c indicate its continuance, although they are without historical content, and show only the date and the king's name.

Inscription of Sebek-hir-hab

725. In the year 44, however, the king opened a new mine, and Sebek-hir-hab, the official in command, has left a record of the event there, which he had engraved in the form of a stela,^d on the walls of the reservoir furnishing the water-supply of the expedition. The place of the stela indicates some connection between the expedition of Sebek-hir-hab and the completion of the reservoir.

Opening of the mining chamber^e successfully; "Flourish-its-Army-Which-Delivers-That-Which-is-in-it," is its name.

Year 44 under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Amenemhet III, beloved of Hathor, mistress of malachite, given life, like Re, forever. O ye who live upon earth, who shall come to this Mine-land! As your king has established you, as your gods favor you, that ye may arrive (at home) in safety, so say ye: "A thousand loaves, jars of beer, cattle, fowl, incense, ointment, and everything on which the gods live, for the ka of the master of the double cabinet of

^aList of his officials in that year (perhaps the same expedition recorded in Wadi Maghara in that year, § 713), in Weill, *Sinai*, 163.

^bWeill, *Sinai*, 164.

^c*Ibid.*, 165.

^dCopied by Ricci, and from his copy, by Champollion, as published in *Notices descriptives*, II, 691. Birch says of it: "Tablet engraved on the rock inside of the large reservoir, which is one mile due south of the Sarbût el Khadem" (*Ordinance Survey*, I, 183, 184). Published much better, from British Museum squeezes, by Weill, *Sinai*, 166.

^eThe word used (*ht't*) is the usual one for a quarrying or mining excavation; but as the inscription is cut on the wall of an excavated reservoir, it might be the reservoir which is here meant. Against this is the name of the excavation, which refers to its valuable content. Hence some new mine in the vicinity is probably meant.

the treasury, Sebek-hir-hab (*Sbk-hr-hb*), living again happily, repeating a happy life (*whm c nḥ nfr*), born of the matron Henut (*Hnw*), triumphant."

726. Master of the double cabinet, Sebek-hir-hab; he says: "I excavated a mine-chamber for my lord, and my youths returned^a in full quota, all of them. There was none that fell among them."

This official, he says: "O ye king's-grandees, companions of the palace! Give praise to the king, exalt [his] fame, laud the king, and watch that which belongs to him. The mountains bring forth what is in them ——— and the hills bear their wealth.^b His father Keb,^c he gives it, because of —.

727. Sebek-hir-hab then closes with an account of his offerings to Hathor:

I brought for her offering-tables of mesnet stone, linen (*pkꜣt*) ——— I presented to her divine offerings, bulls, 'fowl' ———. She 'led' me 'in' by her gracious going '—' ——— to the — terrace, which I made for her. I swear, I have spoken in truth.

Inscription of Ptahwer

728. The last dated inscription^d of Amenemhet III at the Sarbût el-Khadem is of the year 45, and it reads as follows:

Year 45 under the majesty of the Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Nematre (Amenemhet III), given life forever, beloved of Hathor.

['I was one sent¹] to bring plentiful — from the land of —,^e ready in his reports to his lord, [delivering] Asia (*Stt*) to him who is in the palace (the Pharaoh), bringing Sinai (*Mnw*) at his heels, traversing inaccessible valleys, bringing unknown extremities (of the world), the master of the double cabinet, chief of the treasury, Ptahwer, triumphant, born of Yata (*Yꜣ-tꜣ*).

^aLit., "came."

^bSimilar phrases, Weill, *Sinai*, 178, and again, 179.

^cThe earth-god. A similar idea is found in the Kubbân Stela (III, 288, ll. 17, 18).

^dWeill, *Sinai*, 168.

^eLost name ending in *kwy*.

729. An undated inscription^a of this reign records the opening of a mine called "*Vision-of-the-Beauty-of-Hathor*;" and another^b contained a memorandum of a month's supplies delivered: "1 measure of grain, 23 large and small cattle, 2 w³ d-fowl, 30 mny't-geese," followed by a list of six petty officials.

Inscription of Amenemhet^c

730. The king who dispatched this officer to the Sarbût el-Khadem, where his inscription is engraved, is not mentioned, but as the officer's name is Amenemhet, he certainly belongs under a Twelfth Dynasty Pharaoh. The reference to Snefru is of interest, and, besides this, it is evident that Amenemhet worked somewhere else, evidently Maghara, before going to Sarbût el-Khadem. This conclusion is corroborated by the same thing observable in the expedition of Harurre (§§ 733-38).

Work in Wadi Maghara (?)

731. This god dispatched the treasurer of the god, the master of the double cabinet, leader of recruits, companion of the palace, Amenemhet, to bring splendid, costly stone for his majesty. This treasurer of the god says: "I came to the mine of Ka^d (K³); I exacted the impost (*bkw*), I attended to the levying of the impost of malachite, being 1^{le} for 1^{every} 5^f men every day correctly 1 — — 1. Never had the like been done since the time of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Snefru, triumphant.

^aWeill, *Sinai*, 169.

^b*Ibid.*, 170.

^cNiebuhr, *Reisen nach Arabien*, I, Tab. XLV; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 144, q = Laval, Pl. IV, 5; mentioned by Birch, *Ordnance Survey*, I, 185, but is not among the photographs of the Survey.

^dThe name of the man in charge, who was evidently responsible for a fixed amount each season.

^eHere was evidently the amount exacted from each gang of men daily.

^fOr possibly 15.

Work in Sarbût el-Khadem

732. Then I arrived at this land,^a and I completed the work successfully. The might of the king ———. It is a 'command' of his majesty ———.

Inscription of Harurre^b

733. This interesting stela is unfortunately not dated, but it is unquestionably of the Middle Kingdom, and is here provisionally placed in the reign of Amenemhet III. It is of importance because it shows that expeditions were not customarily sent to Sinai in summer. Harurre, treasurer of the god, in the service of an unknown king, erected our stela to inform future generations, who might come in the same unfavorable time of year, that he had survived the heat, when "*the mountains brand the skin*," and had brought more than the amount of ore exacted of him. He arrived at Maghara in the seventh month; then later transferring his force to Sarbût el-Khadem,^c he completed the work in the ninth month. These two months of the civil calendar fell in summer, thus corroborating the place of the calendar furnished by the Kahun Sothis date.

734. The language of the monument is in a number of places very obscure and difficult, chiefly in the speeches, so that the general sense of the whole document is fortunately not in doubt. The remarkable use of the word *ynm* "*skin*," which appears four times—three times with a meaning

^aThat is Sarbût el-Khadem; the malachite mine was therefore in another locality, which he had first visited.

^bStela in Sarbût el-Khadem (Niebuhr, *Reisen nach Arabien* [4to, Kopenhagen, 1778], Tab. XLV; Laval, IX, 2; *Ordnance Survey*, III, 10 [photograph]; Weill, *Sinai*, 174, after manuscript copy by Burton, and squeeze in British Museum). I had also a photograph by Borchardt, which gives more in the last line than Weill.

^cThe sudden statement that he "*arrived in this land*" (Sarbût) long after the account of his arrival in Sinai, can be explained in this way only. The same thing is observable in the inscription of Amenemhet (§§ 730-32).

evidently quite unusual—is noteworthy. What its meaning may be is not evident. I have not burdened the translation with conjectures in any of the questionable passages.

Work in Maghara (?)

735. ¹The majesty of this god dispatched the treasurer of the god, master of the double cabinet ꜥ—ꜥ, Harurre (*Hr-Jwr-Rꜥꜥ*) ²to this Mine-land (*Byꜥ*); I arrived in this land in the third month of the second season (*prꜥt*), although it was not the season for going ³to this Mine-land.

736. This treasurer of the god saith to the officials who shall come to this Mine-land at this season:^a ⁴"Let not your faces flinch on that account;^b behold, Hathor will turn it ⁵to profit. I looked to myself, and I dealt^c with myself; when I came from Egypt, ⁶my face flinched, and it was hard for me ꜥ—^d — —ꜥ. The highlands are hot ⁷in summer, and the mountains brand the skin ꜥ—ꜥ. When morning dawns, ⁸a man is ꜥ— —ꜥ. I addressed the workmen concerning it: ⁹"How favored is he who is in this Mine-land!" They said: "There is malachite ¹⁰in this eternal mountain; it is ꜥ—^d to seek (it) at this season.^e ¹¹One like us hears the like of (such) marvels,^f coming at this season. It is ꜥ—^d ¹²to ꜥ—ꜥ for it in this evil summer-season."

Work in Sarbât el-Khadem

737. Now, when ¹³I was dispatched to this Mine-land; the souls of the king put it in my heart. ¹⁴Then I arrived in this land, and I began the work prosperously. ¹⁵My army arrived in full quota, all of it, there was none that fell among them. My face flinched not ¹⁶before the work.

^aViz., the hot season.

^bViz., because they have come in the wrong season.

^cLit., "did something with myself," probably meaning: "I struggled with myself."

^d*Ynm* (with the sign of a skin); but it evidently is here a folk-etymology for something quite different from "skin," the usual meaning of the word.

^eSummer time.

^fOr: "Our hearing is like a marvel, etc."

738. I succeeded in mining the good sort,^a and I finished in the first month ¹⁷of the third season (*šmw*). I brought genuine costly stone for the luxuries, more than ¹⁸any one who came (hither), and (more than) all the exactions ¹⁹———. It was better than the accustomed seasons thereof. Offer ye, ²⁰offer ye to the mistress of heaven, appease ye Hathor; if ye do it, it will be profitable ²¹for you. If ye increase to her, it shall be well among you. ²²I led my army very kindly, and I was not loud-voiced ²³toward the workmen. I acted before all the army and the recruits, ²⁴and they rejoiced in me, — official ²⁵———. ^b

TURRA INSCRIPTION^c

739. At the top is the date: “*Year 43,*”^d beneath which, with accompanying names of Ptah, Anubis, and Hathor, is the name of the king: “*Son of Re, Amenemhet,*” this must be the third, for no other Amenemhet ruled so long.

740. ¹Quarry-chambers were opened anew,^e to quarry² fine limestone of Ayan (*yn*), for the temples of ³this prophet,^f of millions ⁴of years. Executed under the hand of the hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal [seal], sole companion ⁵———.

^aThe same statement is found in two other inscriptions at Sarbût el-Khadem (Weill, *Sinai*, 179 and 180).

^bPossibly one more line lost.

^cCut in the walls of the quarry at Turra; published by Vyse (*Operations*, III, opp. p. 94) and Lepsius (*Denkmäler*, II, 143, i).

^dOmitted by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*.

^eThe *n* after *m-w-t* is an error for the book-roll; cf. Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 3, a.

^fThis remarkable phrase (quite clear in both texts) designates the king, for in the Turra inscription of Ahmose (II, 26 ff.) we have “*his (the king's) temples*” as a parallel; but this is so unusual that an error in the text is more probable, possibly for “this god?”

^gThe name of the official is lost. Cf. the similar inscription of Ahmose (II, 26 ff.) at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty. They are so similar that one cannot imagine the usually accepted lapse of one thousand years between them.

EL KAB STELA^a

741. If the "*Wall of Seshmu-towe*" is a designation of the stronghold of El Kab, then its famous wall is the work of Sesostris II, whose Horus-name is Seshmu-towe. This stela was found at El Kab. The only place there which could conceivably contain a temple inclosure is the town within the wall. This document, therefore, shows that Sesostris II should be regarded as the builder of the famous wall of El Kab.

Above are the Horus- and throne-names of Amenemhet III, "*beloved of Nekhbet, mistress of heaven*," and below is the following inscription:

742. Year 44, under the majesty of this god. He made (it) as his monument; his majesty commanding to build the inclosure wall, which is in "*Wall of Seshmu-towe*,"^b triumphant ———.

INSCRIPTION OF SEHETEPIBRE^c

743. Besides a meager record of works, which he executed for Amenemhet III at Abydos, Seheteptibre also placed upon his mortuary stela a very interesting poem containing

^aFound at El Kab by Rev. H. Stobart in 1854-55; it has since disappeared; published in *Egyptian Antiquities Collected on a Voyage Made in Upper Egypt, etc.*, by Rev. H. Stobart, M.A. (Paris and Berlin, 1855), Pl. I, and from Stobart by Legrain, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, March, 1905.

^bIn cartouche; it is a designation of the king, meaning "*Leader or administrator of the Two Lands*," the Horus-name of Sesostris II. There is nothing unique in the use of the Horus-name in a cartouche. M. Legrain's recent explanation of the name as "Samou" (reading "*two lands*" as *m*, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, March, 1905, 106 ff.) is impossible, as the horizontal *m* does not occur until long after the Twelfth Dynasty.

^cMortuary stela discovered by Mariette at Abydos, now in Cairo (No. 20538); published very inaccurately by him, *Abydos*, II, 25 (= *Catalogue général d'Abydos*, No. 670). It is accurately published by Piehl, *Inscriptions*, III, Pls. IV-VII. I was also able to use a collation of the Berlin squeeze by Sethe, and afterward a copy of the original by Schaefer.

instructions to his children regarding the proper plan of life. It consists simply in serving the king faithfully and cultivating his favor. With the exception of this instruction, a large portion of the inscriptions was copied from the stela of Mentuhotep,^a a powerful official under Sesostri I.

744. Above^b is the Horus-name of Amenemhet III, surmounted by the Horus receiving life from Osiris; below is the following inscription, which is a good example of the exaggerated titular epithets conventionally applied to the Middle Kingdom noble of power and favor at court.

Titles and Honors

745. 'The hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion in love, magnate of the King of Upper Egypt, great one of the King of Lower Egypt, prince at ²the head of the people, overseer of horn, hoof, and feather,^c [¹overseer¹] of the two pleasure-marshes,^d whose coming is heeded by the court, ³to whom the bodies tell their affairs, whose excellence the Lord of the Two Lands sees, whom he hath exalted before the two regions, possessed ⁴of silver and gold, mighty in costly stones,^e a man of truth before the Two Lands, a truthful witness ⁵like Thoth, master of secret things^f in the temples, chief of all works of the king's-house, more accurate than the weight, ⁶the likeness of the balances, taking thought,^g excellent in counsel, speaking that which is good, repeating that which is loved, ⁷taking thought, without his like, good at listening, excellent in speaking, a prince who

^aSee §§ 530 ff.; compare Daressy (*Recueil*, X, 144-49), who arranges both parallel. He unfortunately uses Mariette's inaccurate text of Seheteipbre without revision.

^bRecto.

^cThe live-stock of the royal estate.

^dThese are the "preserves" of fish, wild fowl, etc. There were officially two, in deference to the conventional fiction, one for Upper and one for Lower Egypt.

^eLit., "*Belonging to silver, etc.*;" these and the epithets in l. 2 are poetical references to his office.

^fThis has no reference to esoteric teachings, for Seheteipbre was not a priest, but refers simply to the secret chambers of the temples, containing costly images, etc.

^gLit., "*putting the heart*" (exactly parallel with the Hebrew לֵב לֵב I find it used in parallelism with שָׁחַ = "remember" (e. g., Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 149, e, l. 10).

looses the knot,^a whom his lord exalts ⁸before millions, real image of love, free from acting deceit, favorite of the heart of the king, to whom is assigned (the office of) "Pillar of the South" ⁹in^b the king's-house, who follows his lord at his goings, entering into his heart before the court; belonging behind his lord, being the favorite of the Horus, ¹⁰excellent in the palace; the real favorite of his lord; to whom secret matters are told, who finds the word of counsel, ¹¹sweetening misfortune, doing things by good rule, the wearer of the royal seal, overseer of royal property, deputy of the chief treasurer, Sehetepibre; he saith:^c

Abydos Tomb

746. ^{1d}Now, I made this excellent tomb, ²and beautified its place. I gave contracts for the remuneration of the prophets ³of Abydos. I acted as "Son-Whom-He-Loves" in the conduct of the house of gold, in the secrets of the lord of Abydos. ⁴I conducted the work on the sacred barque, I fashioned its colors, I acted as Hakro (*Hꜣk-rꜣ*) ⁵of his Lord (at) every procession of Upwawet, making for him all the festal offerings, which the prophet read. I clothed the god at his processions by virtue of my office as master of secret things, and my duty as ⁷— ⁷—¹. I was one whose two hands were ¹—¹ in adorning the god, a (*sm*-) priest with pure fingers.^e May I be a follower of the god, ⁸in order that I may be glorious and mighty at the stairway of the lord of Abydos.

The Instruction

747. The beginning off^f the teaching which he composed before his children. ⁹I speak great things, I cause you to hear, I cause you to know the eternal manner, the true manner of ¹⁰life^g—the passing of life in peace.

^aReferring to difficult matters; compare our "knotty problem."

^bMentuhotep has: "*of the king's-house*."

^cA mortuary prayer follows.

^dThis new numbering begins on the verso.

^eThe reference is to the festal processions in which the god appeared in public. The festal decoration of the figure was the work of Sehetepibre, and for this duty he possessed the requisite ceremonial purity.

^fLit., "*The beginning with the teaching*," the usual introduction of such compositions.

^g*N-mꜣꜣ w-Rꜣ*, a pun on the following name of the king, *N-mꜣꜣ t-Rꜣ*; but its meaning is not certain.

Adore the king, Nematre (Amenemhet III), living forever, in the midst ¹¹of your bodies;

Enthroned his majesty in your hearts.

He is Esye^a (Sy²) in the hearts;

His two eyes, they search ¹²every body.

He is the Sun, seeing with his rays;^b

He illuminates the Two Lands more than the sun-disk.

He makes the Two Lands green ¹³more than a great Nile;

He hath filled the Two Lands with strength.

(He is) life, cooling the nostrils;

When he begins ¹⁴to rage,^c he is satisfied to [—].

The treasures^d which he gives are food for those who are in his following;

He feeds those who tread ¹⁵his path.

The king is food (*k*²),

His mouth is increase.

He is the one creating that which is;

He is the Khnum^e of ¹⁶all limbs;

The Begetter, who causes the people to be.

He is Bast protecting the Two Lands.

He who adores ¹⁷him shall [escape] his arm,

He is Sekhmet^f toward him who transgresses his command.

He is [gentle] toward him who has [—].

748. Fight for his name,

¹⁸Purify yourselves by his oath.

And ye shall be free from trouble.

The beloved of the king shall be ¹⁹blessed;

There is no tomb for one hostile to his majesty;

But his body shall be thrown^g to the waters.

Do ye this, and your limbs shall be sound;

Ye shall be glorious [—] forever.^h

^aGod of wisdom and knowledge. The argument is: honor the king in your innermost hearts, for he knows your hearts.

^bOr: "by whose rays there is seeing" (passive participle).

^cOr: "He is far from raging, he is satisfied, etc."

^dRead *ḥḥw* "heaps;" but it possibly belongs to preceding.

^eOne of the gods, who created man.

*gKm*² n, see § 512, l. 18.

^fGoddess of war and terror.

^hAnother mortuary prayer follows.

REIGN OF AMENEMHET IV

KUMMEH INSCRIPTION^a

749. All of the few dated records of Amenemhet IV are beyond the borders of Egypt. The earliest is the rock inscription of Kummeh, recording the height of the Nile there.

Height (r^2) of the Nile of the year 5, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Makhrure ($M^2c-hrw-R^c$, Amenemhet IV), living forever and ever.

SINAI INSCRIPTIONS

750. Amenemhet IV continued the exploitation of the Sinaitic mines at least as late as his sixth year. At Wadi Maghara his officials have left two records, the first^b containing only the date and the leader's titles, as follows:

Year 6 under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Makhrure (Amenemhet IV), given life forever, — beloved of Soped, [lord of the East] and Hathor, mistress of malachite.

—————^c desire, treading the way of him (the king) who favors him; whom the soldiers love, 「—」 his designs, giving attention, 「— — —」, storeroom-keeper of the palace, Kheye (H^2y), [born of] Henut ($Hnw[l]$).

A further inscription^d also bears the same date, but contains only a mortuary prayer.

At Sarbût el-Khadem two inscriptions^e contain only the Pharaoh's name.

^aEngraved on the rocks above the river at Kummeh; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 152 f.

^bLepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 137, d; Weill, *Sinai*, 145.

^cTitles of the official.

^dWeill, *Sinai*, 148.

^eLepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 140, o. p.; Weill, *Sinai*, 171, 172.

FROM THE THIRTEENTH DYNASTY TO
THE HYKSOS

REIGN OF SEKHEMRE-KHUTOWE

RECORDS OF NILE-LEVELS^a

751. These four inscriptions are the latest of the well-known records on the rocks at Semneh, above the second cataract, which mark the maximum level of the river. They begin under Amenemhet III, and continue into the reign of Sekhemre-Khutowe, when they abruptly cease with these four, here discussed, which thus possess a certain importance. These Nile records are indeed our only historical inscriptions from the reign of this obscure king,^b and the first ray of light after the fall of the Twelfth Dynasty. They continue uninterruptedly from the year 1 to the year 4, inclusive, but only that of the year 3^c contains more than the words, "*Height of the Nile of the year —;*" it is as follows:

752. Height of the Nile of the year 3, under the majesty of King Sekhemre-Khutowe (*Šm-R^c-ḥw-t³wy*), living forever; when the wearer of the royal seal, the commander of the army, Renseneb (*Rn šnb*), was commanding in the fortress: "Mighty-is-Khekure" (Sesostris III).^d

^aInscribed on the rocks above Semneh; published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 151, *a-d*.

^bAdministrative documents from his first, and probably also his second and fifth years, are found in the Kahun Papyri (Griffith, *Kahun Papyri*, Pl. X, ll. 1, 3; and Pl. IX, l. 9; see Griffith's remarks, p. 86). Blocks bearing his name were found also at Bubastis. There is no evidence connecting this king with the name Sebekhotep.

^cLepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 151, *c*.

^dThis is evidently either the fortress of Semneh or that of Kummeh opposite.

REIGN OF NEFERHOTEP

GREAT ABYDOS STELA^a

753. As the only considerable document of this king, containing more than his name or those of his family, this inscription is of great importance; but, besides this, its unique content renders it of especial interest. Neferhotep was the son of a priest, "*the divine father, Ha-enkhef* (*h²-nhf*)" and "*the royal mother, Kemi* (*Kmy*),"^b through whom he possibly inherited royal blood, although he is more likely to have usurped the throne, thus giving his mother her title. Like the ephemeral Khenzer, he gave special attention to the maintenance of the Abydos temple, and this stela, erected to testify to his zeal, tells how he investigated the ancient records at Heliopolis to ascertain exactly what was due to Osiris, particularly the proper form for the divine statue, as it was at the beginning of the world.

754. In order to carry out what he had found in the records, he proceeded in person to Abydos, sending a mes-

^aA sandstone stela, nearly 6 feet high and over 3 feet wide, set up on the wall of the road leading to the Middle Kingdom Osiris-temple. It was in such bad condition that Mariette left it in situ; but, after years of exposure to weather and vandalism, it has now been brought to the Cairo Museum. It was evidently exceedingly indistinct and difficult to copy, and the two copies of Mariette and Devéria, from which the text is published (Mariette, *Abydos*, II, 28-30; *Catalogue général d'Abydos*, 233, 234, No. 766) contained many errors, only a portion of which it is possible to correct. These and the frequent lacunæ render a complete translation impossible, but enough has been given to make the essential progress of the narrative clear. A better text is now hardly a possibility.

^bFamily list cut on the rocks at Assuan (Petrie, *Season in Egypt*, XIII, No. 337=Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 151, *c*=*Text*, IV, 126) and on Schel at the first cataract (Mariette, *Monuments divers*, 70, 3); also on several scarabs (Petrie, *Scarabs*, Nos. 293-98.

senger thither before him, to bring forth the statue of the god to meet him. The divine image was carried in festal procession to the sacred barge, which sailed out on the canal, probably to the Nile, seven miles away, where the king was met and accompanied back to the temple amid a celebration in which the incidents of the Osiris-myth were dramatically enacted by the priests. On his arrival the king personally carried out all that he had discovered in the records of Atum. He then admonished the priests to vigilance and pronounced a curse on those who should disregard his established offerings.

Introduction

755. ¹Year 2, under the majesty of King Neferhotep,^a born of the royal mother, Kemi (*Kmy*), who is given life, stability, satisfaction, like Re, forever. ²His majesty appeared^b upon the throne of Horus in the palace, "Structure¹-of-Beauty."^c His majesty spake to the nobles, and companions, who were in his suite, the real scribes of the hieroglyphs, the masters of all secrets:

King's Speech

756. "My heart hath desired to see the ancient writings of Atum;^d open ye for me for a great investigation; let the god know concerning his creation, and the gods concerning their fashioning, their offerings and 'their' oblations (let) me know the god 'in his form, that I may fashion him as he was formerly, when they made the 'statues' in their council, in order to establish their monuments upon earth.^e They have given to me the inheritance 'of Re as far as' the

^aFull fivefold titulary.

^bRead *h'c't*, lit., "*the appearance of his majesty . . .*"

^cOr: "*Bearer (w's)-of-beauty*," which must be the name of the palace.

^dThe sanctuary of Atum was at Heliopolis, and his writings would be there; this explains why the messenger of the king journeys southward to Abydos (l. 14), whereas he would have gone northward from the royal residence in Thebes.

^eThe reference is apparently to a council of the gods in which the form of the god's statue was determined once for all. This the king expects to find in the ancient writings.

circuit of the sun ⁵ I will increase that which I shall have investigated,^a and they shall 'increase' love for me — to 'do according to that which they command.'"

Reply of Court

757. These companions said: "That which thy ka hath 'commanded'^b is that which happens, O sovereign and lord. Let thy majesty proceed to the libraries,^c and let thy majesty see every hieroglyph."

Examination of Ancient Rolls

758. His majesty proceeded ⁷to the library. His majesty opened the rolls together with these companions. Lo, his majesty found the rolls of the House of Osiris, First of the Westerners, lord of Abydos.

King's Purpose

759. His majesty said to these companions: "My majesty ⁸hails my father Osiris, First of the Westerners, lord of Abydos. I will fashion 'him, his limbs — his face, his fingers' according to that which my majesty has seen in the rolls '— —' his 'form' as King of Upper and Lower Egypt, at his coming forth from the body of Nut.^d ⁹.
¹².^e

Messenger Sent to Abydos

760. His majesty had the king's-confidant, who was in his majesty's suite, called to him; his majesty said [to] him: ¹³"Betake thyself southward — — ['together with] troops' and marines. Sleep not night nor day until thou arrivest at Abydos; cause the First of the Westerners

^aOr: "that which is assigned to me." He means he will increase what his investigation shows is demanded in the ancient writings.

^bThe emendation is almost certain. Cf. the similar statement in the instruction to the priests of Abydos (II, 91, l. 5).

^cLit., "houses of writings or rolls."

^dHe means he has found in the writings the original form of the god as king at his birth.

^eThe remainder of the king's speech contains only conventional phrases, in the course of which, reference is again made to "making the monuments of Osiris and perpetuating the name of Wennofer" (l. 10). The answer of the courtiers is very short (occupying the first half of l. 12) and very fragmentary.

(Osiris) to proceed (forth).^a May I make his monuments according to ¹⁴the beginning.”^b

Reply of Court

761. These companions said: “That which thou commandest [is that which happens, O sovereign]^c and lord; thou doest all — in Abydos for thy father, First of the Westerners.”

Messenger Departs

762. This official betook himself southward^d [to do] ¹⁵that which his majesty commanded him. He arrived at [Abydos] [—] —. The majesty of this god came to the sacred barge of the lord of eternity [— —] the banks of the river were flooded [with his fragrance and with] ¹⁶the odors of Punt.^e [The majesty of this god] arrived in the midst — —. One came to inform his majesty, saying: “This god has proceeded in peace.”

King Goes to Abydos

763. His majesty proceeded [in] ¹⁷the sacred ship^f together with this god, causing that sacred offerings be presented to his father, the First of the Westerners: myrrh — ¹⁸and sacred things for Osiris, First of the Westerners, in all his names^g those hostile to the sacred barge were overthrown. Lo, the majesty of this god appeared in procession,^h his ennead united [with him]. ¹⁹Upwawet was before him, he opened the waysⁱ

^aIn order to meet the king at his coming to Abydos, as the conclusion shows.

^bThe original form as at the beginning of the world, which he learned from the rolls.

^cRestored from l. 6.

^dBecause the royal party is at Heliopolis (see note, l. 3) there is no reason here to suppose that the royal residence is in the north.

^eThere is no trace of an expedition to Punt here, as frequently stated; the description is the usual one accompanying the bodily approach of a god; see that of Amon, II § 196.

^fEvidently the meeting of the king and the god occurred at this point; there is a reference to the “head of the canal,” probably the canal on which the god voyaged in his barge to meet the king. See Great Abydos Inscription of Ramses II, l. 29.

^gA series of incidents in the myth of the god are now dramatically enacted by the priests as the procession of the king and the god moves toward Abydos.

^hHe leaves the barge, to return in procession to the temple.

ⁱThe name of the god Upwawet (*Wp-w-wt*) means: “Opener of the ways.” One of the priests, wearing a jackal mask, acts the part of Upwawet.

King Executes Temple Works

764. Lo, 'his majesty caused that this god should proceed¹ to '—¹ that he should rest [on] his throne in the house of gold; in order to fashion the beauty of his majesty^a and his ennead, his oblation-tables — — — of ²⁰every splendid, costly stone of God's-Land. Behold, [the king] himself led the work on them — gold, (for) his majesty was pure with the purity of a god^b

King's Concluding Speech

765. ³³. Be ye vigilant for the temple, look to the monuments ³⁴which I have made. I put the eternal plan before me, I sought that which was useful for the future by putting this example in your hearts, which is about to occur in this place, which the god made, because of my desire ³⁵to establish my monuments in his temple, to perpetuate my contracts^c in his house. His majesty loves that which I have done for him, he rejoices over that which I have decreed to do, ('for') triumph 'has been given' to him. ³⁶I am his son, his protector, he giveth to me the inheritance of the earth.^d [I] am the king, great in strength, excellent in commandment. He shall not live who is hostile to me; he shall not breathe ³⁷the air who revolts against me; his name shall not be among the living; his ka shall be seized before the officials; he shall be cast out for this god, ['together with'] him who shall disregard the command of my majesty and those who shall not ³⁸do according to this command of my majesty, who shall not exalt me to this august god, who shall not honor that which I have done concerning his offerings [who shall not] give to me praise ³⁹at every feast of this temple, of the entire [lay priesthood]^e of the sanctuary of this temple, and every office of Abydos. Behold, my majesty has made these monu-

^aThe god; he is taken to the workshop of the goldsmith, that a new statue may be made.

^bThe further execution of the work is narrated in a few very fragmentary sentences, in which is the interesting statement: "*No scribe who was in the suite of his majesty had ever found it*" (l. 21), referring doubtless to the king's discovery in the rolls. The continuation merges (l. 22) into a long speech of the king, addressed to the god; at l. 27 begins a prayer of the king, which merges at l. 32 into an address to the court.

^cSee § 535.

^d"*The estate of the earth*," literally.

^eRestored from Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, XXI, l. 15.

ments, for my father, Osiris, First of the Westerners, Lord of Abydos, ^abecause I so much loved him, more than all gods; that he might give to me a reward for this [which I have done], — — —^a consisting of millions of years

BOUNDARY STELA^b

766. This stela was one of two, erected one at each end of a part of the Abydos cemetery, and bearing a decree of Neferhotep forbidding all public access to this part of the necropolis.

Dedication

767. He made (it) as his monument for his father Upwawet, lord of Tazoser.

Entrance Prohibited

768. Year 4. My majesty, L. P. H., decrees that the cemetery (Tazoser) south of Abydos shall be protected and defended^c for his father Upwawet, lord of Tazoser, as Horus did for his father Osiris-Wennofer; not permitting any persons to set foot in this cemetery (Tazoser).

Stelæ Bearing Decree

769. Two^d stelæ are set up at its south and at its north, engraved with the great name of my majesty, L. P. H. The southern (stela) is made in addition^e to these stelæ,^f which are as far as the south, and the northern (stela) in addition^e to these stelæ, which are as far as the north.

^aThe reward consists of millions, etc.

^bLimestone stela, round-topped, found by Mace at Abydos; published by him, *El Amrah*, Pl. XXIX.

^cAll sacred things, including the king's person, are "*protected and defended*" (*ḥwy mky*) by the gods; cf. IV, 424, 528, l. 7, the last also of a cemetery.

^dOne at each end.

^eLit., "*upon*."

^fWhich were already there; other stelæ already existed, and the two bearing this decree are added to the former.

Penalties

770. As for him^a whom anyone shall find within these stelæ, whether a craftsman or a priest at his business, he shall be branded.^b

As for any official, who shall have a tomb made for himself within this cemetery (*ys·t-dsr·t*), he shall be reported, and the law shall be executed upon him, and the necropolis-custodian as on this day.^c

People's Burial Place

771. Now, as for any addition to this cemetery (*ys·t-dsr·t*), (in) the place where the people make tombs for themselves, there shall they be buried.

Benediction

772. May he (the king) be thereby given life, stability, satisfaction, health; may his heart be glad together with his ka, upon the throne of Horus, like Re, forever.

^aSee another example of *nty-tw* in *Recueil*, XV, 84, l. 8.

^bSee same word, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 257, a, l. 36.

^cOr: "*from this day*"?

REIGN OF NUBKHEPRURE-INTEF

COPTOS DECREE^a

773. In addition to its significant content, this decree is important as showing beyond doubt that one of the Intefs lived after the Twelfth Dynasty, for it is engraved upon a doorway of Sesostri I, and must, of course, be later than his reign.^b

774. The document itself decrees the degradation from office of a count of Coptos, with the loss of all income appertaining to the office, both to himself and his posterity; and the appointment of another to the position. The crime thus punished, vaguely called "*an evil thing*," is, of course, treason, and is doubtless one of the many attempts at rebellion such as produced the downfall of the Middle Kingdom. Teti, the traitor deposed, had he succeeded, would have become one of the ephemeral kings, whose names make up the long list of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Dynasties in the Turin Papyrus. The remarkable reference to mercy or favor being shown him by other rulers can hardly designate future kings, but is doubtless an indication of the divided state of the country under a number of petty kings reigning contemporaneously with Intef of our decree. The history of the whole period from the fall of the Twelfth Dynasty to the rise of the Eighteenth owes its paucity of monuments to the endless wars growing out of such

^aCut on a doorway of Sesostri I at Coptos; found by Petrie and published in *Coptos*, VIII.

^bThere can be no doubt that the *Nb-hpr-R* placed just before the Seventeenth Dynasty in the Karnak list, is this Intef.

attempts, complicated eventually by the invasion of the Hyksos. The plotting and revolts of local princes continued into the reign of Ahmose who, suppressed at least three such (§§ 11, 15, 16), and the name of the rebel in the third case was Teti-en (§ 16, l. 23), almost the same as that of the traitor in this decree.

Date

775. Year 3, third month of the second season, day 25, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nubkheprure (*Nb-ḥprw-R*), Son of Re, Intef, who is given life, like Re, forever.

Title of Decree

776. Royal decree to:

The wearer of the royal seal, the count of Coptos, ²Minemhet;

The king's-son, commandant of Coptos, Kinen (*Ky-nn*);

The wearer of the royal seal, the priest of Min, scribe of the temple, Neferhotepur;

The whole army of Coptos,

And the entire lay priesthood of the temple.

Discovery of Culprit

777. Behold, ³there is brought to you this decree, to let you know: that my majesty, L. P. H., has sent the scribe of the sacred treasury of Amon, Siamon, and the ¹—¹ Amenusere (*Ymn-wsr*), ⁴to make an inspection in the temple of Min; and that the lay priesthood of the temple of my father, Min, applied to my majesty, L. P. H., saying: "An evil thing is about to happen in this ⁵temple. Foes have been ¹stirred up¹ by, a curse to his name! Teti, son of Minhotep.

Punishment of Culprit

778. Cause him to be deposed^a from the temple of my father, Min; cause ⁶him to be¹ cast out of his temple office, from son to son, and heir to heir;^b ¹—¹ upon the earth; take away his bread, his ¹food¹, and

^aLit., "Cause him to be put upon the ground," to put upon the ground is to annul, and is used, for example, of remitting taxes (§ 408, ll. 10, 11).

^bThe penalty is entailed upon his posterity.

his joints of meat.^a His name shall not be remembered in this temple, ⁷according as it is done toward one like him, ^bwho is hostile toward the enemies of his god.^b His entries^c shall be cast out from the temple of Min, from the treasury, and on every book likewise.

No King or Dynast to Show Him Mercy

779. As for any king ⁸or any ruler,^d who shall be merciful to him, he shall not receive the white crown, he shall not wear the red crown, he shall not sit upon the Horus-throne of the living, the two patron goddesses shall not be gracious to him ⁹as their beloved. As for any commandant or any official who shall apply to the king, L. P. H., to be merciful to him (the traitor), his (the applicant's) people, his goods, his fields shall be given to the sacred property of ¹⁰my father, Min, lord of Coptos.

Culprit's Office Given to Minemhet

780. No one of his connections, or of the family of his father or of his mother shall be inducted into this office, ¹¹but this office shall be given to the wearer of the royal seal, the overseer of royal property, Minemhet. Its bread, its ¹food¹ and its^e joints of meat shall be given to him, established for him in writing, in the temple ¹²of my father Min, lord of Coptos, from son to son and heir to heir.^f

^aThe income of his office.

^bThere are no difficulties of lexicon or grammar in this clause, but the meaning when rendered, is uncertain.

^cThe registration of temple dues to be paid him.

^d*Šm-yrj*. The indication is strong that the king is not here referring to future kings, his successors, but to contemporary rulers of Egypt.

^eThe possessive pronouns refer to "*this office*" and indicate the income belonging to it, formerly paid to the traitor.

^fThe office is hereditary.

REIGN OF KHENZER

INSCRIPTIONS OF AMENISENEB^a

781. Ameniseneb was commissioned by the vizier in the time of King Khenzer to cleanse the temple of Abydos, a task which he accomplished so well that he was appointed to direct all inspections in the temple during the rest of his life. These honors he therefore recorded in the following interesting inscriptions, one of which refers to the work of Sesostri I on the Abydos temple over two hundred years before Ameniseneb's time.

782. The first stela^b begins with the usual mortuary prayer "*for the ka of the chief of a priestly phyle of Abydos, Ameniseneb, triumphant, son of Emku (^cm-k^w), born of the matron Nebetyotef (Nb·t-ytf).*" It then proceeds as follows:

Commission by the Vizier

783. ³He saith: "The scribe of the vizier, Seneb,^c the son of the vizier, came to call me, by order of ⁴the vizier. Then I went with him, and I found the governor of the residence city, the vizier, ⁵Enkhu^d (^cnḥw) in his hall. Then this official laid upon me a command, saying: 'Behold, ⁶it is commanded, that thou cleanse this temple of Abydos.

^aOn his two stelæ from the Middle Kingdom temple of Abydos, now in the Louvre (C 11 and C 12). Published by Horrack (*Mélanges égyptologiques*, 3^{me} ser., Vol. II, Pl. XIV, XV), and Sharpe (*Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 24). Neither is accurate. I had also a text collated with the Berlin squeeze by Sethe, and my own copy of the original.

^bLouvre, C 12.

^cSeneb is the scribe's name, and in apposition with "son."

^dThis vizier is mentioned in other documents of the time: the Account Papyrus (Cairo, No. 18, Pl. XVI, l. 3); a stela in St. Petersburg (Lieblein, *Dictionnaire*, No. 1542); and a stela in Budapest (noted by Pieper). His statue was found at Karnak by Legrain in the great *cache*.

Artificers shall be given to thee for the contract thereof, together with the lay 7priesthood of the 1'districts' of the storehouse of offerings.'"

Commission Executed

784. "Then I cleansed it in the 8lower house and the upper house, ^a on^b its walls, behind, and within; the painters filling with color, ⁹with 1—^c and with 1—^c, ^erestoring that which ¹⁰the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Kheperkere (Sesostris I), triumphant, made."^d

Ameniseneb's Rewards

785. "Then came 'the protector of the oil tree'^e ¹¹to assume his place in this temple,^f while the deputy of the chief treasurer, Sionouris (*S²-ym-hr-i*) followed him. Then ¹³he thanked^g me greatly, beyond everything, saying: 'How prosperous is he who has done ¹⁴this for his god!' Then ¹⁵he gave to me a 'heap'^h of 10 deben (weight), supplied with ¹⁵dates and half an ox."

"Then came the official (*šr*) of 1—¹ ¹⁶down-stream; then were seen these works; ¹⁷then was rejoicing thereat exceedingly, beyond everything."

786. The other stelaⁱ furnishes the name of the king for whom Ameniseneb executed the foregoing commission, and

^aDoubtless the upper and lower story; the upper story can only be the roof of the temple, over which awnings were drawn.

^bOr: "*in*."

^c*Tyt* and *ym*; the latter is probably paste.

^dWhether this indicates the whole of the temple or not, it is impossible to say. It cannot be said that this passage makes Sesostris I the founder of a new Abydos temple, as is often affirmed. On the commission to Abydos, intrusted by him to Mentuhotep, see § 534.

^eThis (*hw-b² k*) is doubtless a name of the cultus image of the god.

^fThe image of the god had been removed during the work in the holy place, and was now carried back to his place.

^gLit., "*he praised the god for me*."

^h"Heap" (*hc*) is a term commonly designating a pile of offerings, and regularly used of a group of articles of food when thus presented. Cf. § 747, l. 14, n. The insignificant weight is not the weight of the objects received, but their value in metal, weighing 10 deben (nearly 2½ pounds, troy). What metal is meant is not stated, but the weight clearly shows that copper is meant.

ⁱLouvre, C 11.

records the rewards decreed him by the king. At the top is the titulary, as follows:

The Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Offering, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nematre-Nekhe[re],^a who is given life forever; Bodily Son of Re, Khenger,^b who is given life, stability, satisfaction forever.

The text then proceeds:

787. ¹It was commanded to charge the chief of a priestly phyle of Abydos, Ameniseneb, triumphant, saying: "Behold, ²these works which thou hast done have been seen; the king praises thee, his ka praises thee. ³Spend thy good old age in this temple of thy god." Then it was commanded ⁴to give to me the hind quarters of an ox, and it was commanded to charge me, saying: "Conduct ⁵every inspection which takes place in this temple." I did according to all that was commanded; ⁶I had every 'shrine' (*mnkb*) of every god, who is in this temple, restored, ⁷their altars renewed with cedar, and the great 'oblation-table' which was in the presence.^c ⁸I executed my desire, it pleased my god; the king praised me.

^a*N-mꜣꜥ t-Rꜥ N-hꜥ*, in which the *Rꜥ* is perhaps to be twice read.

^bRather than *Rꜥ-ndr* (Nezerre).

^cOf the god; or possibly "*which was formerly there.*"

ADDENDUM

The reading of the name of Nibkhrure-Mentuhotep has been shown to be *Nb-hꜣp t-Rꜥ* (instead of *Nb-hrw-Rꜥ* as used above) by the recent excavations at Der el-Bahri. I owe this note to the kindness of Mr. Alan H. Gardiner.

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HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PERSIAN CONQUEST, COLLECTED
EDITED AND TRANSLATED WITH COMMENTARY

BY

JAMES HENRY BREASTED, PH.D.

PROFESSOR OF EGYPTOLOGY AND ORIENTAL HISTORY
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

VOLUME II

THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY

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CHICAGO

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
1906

LONDON: LUZAC & CO.

LEIPZIG: OTTO HARRASSOWITZ

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Published March 1906

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Composed and Printed By
The University of Chicago Press
Chicago, Illinois, U. S. A.

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EXPLANATION OF TYPOGRAPHICAL SIGNS AND SPECIAL CHARACTERS

1. The introductions to the documents are in twelve-point type, like these lines.

2. All of the translations are in ten-point type, like this line.

3. In the footnotes and introductions all quotations from the documents in the original words of the translation are in *italics*, inclosed in quotation marks. *Italics* are not employed in the text of the volumes for any other purpose except for titles.

4. The lines of the original document are indicated in the translation by superior numbers.

5. The loss of a word in the original is indicated by —, two words by — —, three words by — — —, four words by — — — —, five words by — — — — —, and more than five by —————. A word in the original is estimated at a “square” as known to Egyptologists, and the estimate can be but a very rough one.

6. When any of the dashes, like those of No. 5, are inclosed in half-brackets, the dashes so inclosed indicate not lost, but uncertain words. Thus [—] represents one uncertain word, [— —] two uncertain words, and [————] more than five uncertain words.

7. When a word or group of words are inclosed in half-brackets, the words so inclosed are uncertain in meaning; that is, the translation is not above question.

8. Roman numerals I, II, III, and IV, not preceded by the title of any book or journal, refer to these four volumes of Historical Documents. The Arabic numerals following such Romans refer to the numbered paragraphs of these volumes. All paragraph marks (§ and §§, without a Roman) refer to paragraphs of the same volume.

9. For signs used in transliteration, see Vol. I, p. xv.

THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY

REIGN OF AHMOSE I

BIOGRAPHY OF AHMOSE, SON OF EBANA^a

1. This inscription contains the biography of a naval officer, Ahmose, a nobleman of El Kab, who served with distinction under three successive kings: Ahmose I, Amenhotep I, and Thutmose I, his father having served under the predecessor of Ahmose I, Sekenenre. It is especially important, because it is our only contemporary source for the expulsion of the Hyksos, and forms, with the biography of Ahmose-Pen-Nekhet (§§ 17 ff.), our only source for the wars of the early Eighteenth Dynasty; for the royal records of this critical period have totally perished. The family of nomarchs at El Kab^b were strong supporters of the rising dynasty, and it is clear that such loyalty was liberally rewarded with the gifts of slaves and land,^c of which both the El Kab Ahmoses boast. It was by thus cementing a firm friendship with such local nobility that the first kings

^aOn the wall of Ahmose's cliff-tomb at El Kab; in two parts: the first, of 31 lines on the right-hand wall, and the second, of 8 lines, on the door-wall at the left of door. Text: Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 655-57, only 26 lines, and very inaccurate; first completely published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 12, *a* and *d*; thence inaccurately copied by Rheinisch, *Chrestomathie*, Pl. 6, omitting *d*; and equally incorrectly, Lemm, *Lesestücke*, 67; Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, 2d ed., V, 732, 733 (beginning only). I have collated the excellent Berlin squeeze (No. 172), which mostly sustains Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, but furnishes some important corrections. Valuable discussion of difficult passages by Piehl, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XV, 256-58, and *Sphinx*, III, 7-12.

^bThe family is far older than the Empire, and already under the Thirteenth Dynasty enjoyed the favor of the king (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 14, *b*); but it is impossible to trace the line back of Ahmose, son of Ebana's grandmother.

^cA boundary stone marking one limit of such a gift by Thutmose I was acquired by the Berlin Museum in 1899. It reads: "*Southern boundary of the fields given as a favor of the royal presence, to the orderly (smn) of his majesty, Nekri (Nkry); 150 stat.*" See a similar tablet in Mariette, *Monuments divers*, 47A, under Thutmose IV.

of the Eighteenth Dynasty maintained themselves during their long and exhausting wars. The royal children were even intrusted to these El Kab princes, to be reared under their charge,^a and they finally ruled from El Kab to Esneh.^b

2. The ten campaigns in which Ahmose took part are treated in the respective reigns under which they fall, as follows:

I. Career under Ahmose I, ll. 1-24 (§§ 4 ff.).

II. Career under Amenhotep I, ll. 24-29 (§§ 38 ff.).

III. Career under Thutmose I, ll. 29-39 (§§ 78 ff.).

3. The immediate authorship of the inscription is established by the neighboring relief. Ahmose is represented as standing at the left, and before him is his grandson, Pahri (*P²-hry*), accompanied by the following words:

By the son of his daughter the conductor of the works in this tomb, perpetuating the name of the father of his mother, the draughtsman^c of Amon, Pahri,^d triumphant.

The long inscription was therefore executed by Ahmose's grandson, Pahri, who was a draughtsman.

I. CAREER UNDER AHMOSE I

[Ll. 1-24; continued §§ 38 ff.]

4. After an introduction and a few words about his youth and parentage, Ahmose plunges directly into his first

^aSee *Tomb of Pahri*, "Eleventh Memoir," Egyptian Exploration Fund, and Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 10, b and 11, b.

^bPahri, grandson of Ahmose, son of Ebana, was "prince of Esneh (*Yny't*), governor of the southern lands (*ꜥ h't*), satisfying the excellent heart of his lord from the House of Hathor to El Kab." Tylor, *Tomb of Pahri*, Pl. III.

^cSee Goodwin, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1872, 21.

^dHis tomb is the most interesting one at El Kab; see *The Tomb of Pahri at El Kab*, by Griffith and Tylor, "Eleventh Memoir," of Egyptian Exploration Fund.

campaign, with an account of a siege of the city of Hatwaret (*ht-w^c r·t*). This can be no other than the city called Avaris by Manetho (Josephus, *Contra Apion*, I, 14), where, according to him, the Hyksos make their last stand in Egypt.^a It is also mentioned as the residence of the Asiatics (*ḥ^c mw*, § 303, l. 37) by Hatshepsut, and by a papyrus of the late Nineteenth Dynasty,^b as the residence of an Apophis; so that there is no doubt about the identification with Avaris. The siege, which must have lasted many years, was interrupted by the rebellion of some disaffected noble in Upper Egypt; but the city was finally captured, and the Hyksos, fleeing into Asia, were pursued to the city of Sharuhēn (Josh. 19:6). Here they were besieged for six years by Ahmose I, and this stronghold was also captured. It was probably at the conclusion of this siege that Ahmose I pushed northward and invaded Syria, as narrated by Ahmose-Pen-Nekhbet (§ 20), probably still in pursuit of the last remnants of the Hyksos.

5. The king now returned, and carried his army to the other extreme of his domain, invading Nubia. He was recalled from a successful campaign there, to quell two successive rebellions, the last of the internal dissensions which had distracted the country since the fall of the Middle Kingdom. At this point the wars, and probably the reign, of Ahmose I closed, Ahmose, son of Ebana, having gained distinction in all his campaigns.

^aAccording to *Egypt Exploration Fund Archaeological Report* (1900-1901, 13), there is in Cairo a stela containing a reference to this war with the Hyksos, but I have been unable to gain any information concerning it. It is probably § 30.

^bSallier I, 1-3; it contains a folk-tale narrating the cause of the war between a Hyksos king, Apophis in Avaris, and a Sekenenre, who was ruler (*ḥk^c*) in Thebes. Unfortunately, only the beginning is preserved. Most of the current translations and interpretations of this document are largely the products of a vivid imagination.

Introductory Address

6. ¹Chief of the sailors, Ahmose ($Y^c h-m\dot{s}$), son of Ebana ($?-b^2-n^2$), triumphant; ²he says: "I will tell you, O all ye people; I will cause you to know the honors which came to me. I was presented with gold seven times^a in the presence ³of the whole land; male and female slaves likewise. I was endowed with very many fields." The fame of one valiant in his achievements shall not perish ⁴in this land forever.^b

His Youth

7. He speaks as follows: "I spent my youth in the city of Nekheb ($N\dot{h}b$), my father being an officer of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sekenenre ($S\dot{k}nyn R^c-$), triumphant, Baba (B^2b^2), ⁵son of Royenet, (R^2-yn^2t), was his name. Then I served as an officer in his stead, in the ship 'The Offering' in the time of the Lord of the Two Lands, Nebpehtire ($Nb-p\dot{h}ty-R^c$, Ahmose I), triumphant, ⁶while I was (still) young, not having taken a wife,^d and while I was still sleeping in the [—] garment.^e Then after I set up a household, I was transferred ⁷to the northern fleet, because of my valor. I followed the king on foot^f when he rode abroad in his ⁸chariot.

Campaign against the Hyksos; Siege of Avaris

8. One besieged the city of Avaris ($Ht-w^c r^2t$); I showed valor on foot^f before his majesty; then I was appointed ⁹to (the ship) 'Shining-in-Memphis.'^g

^aAhmose has recorded elsewhere in his tomb (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 12, c) a list of the gifts he received, making a total of 9 men and 10 women; the total of land is lost. This does not agree with his narrative, which does not summarize, but in different gifts mentions in all 9 men and 7 women received from the king, and 8 men and 7 women captured.

^bThis last statement is probably a proverbial phrase; see Spiegelberg, *Recueil*, XXVI, 41, 42.

^cEl Kab.

^dSee Müller, *Liebespoesie*, 3.

^eThis is, of course, some garment worn by a youth; cf. the girdle of Uni's youth (I, 294, l. 1).

^fLit., "on my two feet;" this is emphasized as land service, Ahmose being a naval officer.

^gReward after the first battle at Avaris.

Second Battle of Avaris

9. One fought on the water in the canal: Pezedku (*P²-ddkw*) of Avaris. Then I fought hand to hand, ¹⁰I brought away a hand.^a It was reported to the royal herald. One gave to me the gold of valor.^b

Third Battle of Avaris

10. Then there was again fighting in this place; I again fought hand to hand ¹¹there; I brought away a hand. One gave to me the gold of bravery in the second place.^c

First Rebellion, Interrupting Siege of Avaris

11. One fought in this Egypt,^d south of this city; ¹²then I brought away a living captive, a man; I descended into the water; behold, he was brought^e as a seizure upon the road of this ¹³city,^e ('although') I crossed with him over the water. It was announced to the royal herald. Then one presented^f me with gold in double measure.^g

Capture of Avaris

12. One ¹⁴captured Avaris; I took captive there one man and three women, total four heads, his majesty gave them to me for slaves.^h

^aCut off as a trophy, from a slain enemy.

^bReward after the second battle.

^cReward after the third battle.

^dThere can be no doubt that the word (*km't*) means here, as always elsewhere, "Egypt;" "this city" is then El Kab, for the word "south" is an adjective feminine agreeing with "Egypt." The phrase can only be translated into a language like Greek or German, thus: "in diesem südlich von dieser Stadt befindlichen Aegypten." The siege of Avaris is therefore interrupted by a rebellion in upper Egypt, similar to the two later ones (§§ 15, 16), and for this reason the narrative particularly specifies "this Egypt, south, etc." See also § 13, l. 15.

^eContrast with this the two men "captured as a seizure upon the ship of the enemy" (l. 21). There is no ground for the fanciful rendering, indicating that he lost his way! Ahmose means that, although obliged to descend to and cross over the water (of some canal) with his prisoner, he brought him away as safely as one seized upon the road of the city.

^fRead *hr* for *myk* (confusion from hieratic?), as in l. 28.

^gReward after the fourth battle.

^hReward after the fifth battle; apparently Avaris was captured on the fourth assault; but these brief references to fighting may each one indicate a whole season of the siege, which would then have lasted four years, as that of Sharuhē lasted six. See § 13.

Siege of Sharuhen

13. ¹⁵One besieged Sharuhen^a (*Šꜣ-rꜣ-hꜣ-nꜣ*) for 6 years,^b (and) his majesty took it. Then I took captive there two women and one hand. ¹⁶One gave me the gold of bravery, 'besides' giving me the captives for slaves.

Campaign against Nubia

14. Now, after his majesty had slain the Asiatics (*Mntꜣw Stt*), ¹⁷he ascended the river to Khenthennofer (*Hnt-hn-nꜣr*), to destroy the Nubian Troglodytes;^c his majesty made a great slaughter among them. ¹⁸Then I took captive there, two living men, and three hands. One presented me with gold in double measure, 'besides' giving to me two female slaves.^d ¹⁹His majesty sailed down-stream, his heart joyous with the might of victory, (for) he had seized Southerners and Northerners.

Second Rebellion

15. ²⁰There came an enemy of the South; his fate, his destruction approached; the gods of the South seized him, and his majesty found him in Tinto-emu (*Tynt-tꜣ-mw*).^e His majesty carried him off ²¹a living prisoner, and all his people carried captive. I carried away two

^aCf. Josh. 19:6.

^bLepsius, *Denkmäler*, has "5," which has been generally accepted; Champollion's text and Brugsch's translation have "6." I repeatedly examined the squeeze for this point with especial care; it has a clear "6." The correctness of the rendering "*for 6 years*" rather than "*in the year 6*" has been clearly demonstrated by Piehl (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XV, 258). Another proof is that *m*, the preposition here, is used all through the Beknekhonsu inscription (Munich) for "*during*" or "*for*" a period of years. This throws a new light on the whole Asiatic campaign, for the stubbornness of the besieged and the persistence of Ahmose are almost certainly an indication that the siege is an extension of the campaign against the Hyksos, who, having retreated to Sharuhen, are here making their last stand. We may suppose, therefore, that the siege of Avaris itself also lasted many years, allowing opportunity for a rebellion in Upper Egypt. See § 11, l. 11.

^cCf. Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 21.

^dThese slaves being women, are not the two captives just taken, as the translations of Renouf and Petrie indicate.

^eLit., "*She of the land of the water-supply*" (*ꜣ-mw*, "*water-supply*," occurs at Siut, I, 407, l. 6, and in Rekhmire, § 698, l. 25); possibly the district of the first cataract is meant, as the rebellion was in the South. The name is elsewhere unknown.

archers^a as a seizure in the ship of the enemy;^b one ²²gave to me five heads besides pieces of land (amounting to) five stat (*st²t*)^c in my city.^d It was done to all the sailors likewise.

Third Rebellion

16. Then came that fallen one,^e ²³whose name was Teti-en (*Tty^cn*);^f he had gathered to himself rebels.^g His majesty slew him and his servants,^h annihilatingⁱ them. There were given ²⁴to me three heads, and fields (amounting to) five stat^j in my city.

[Continued §§ 38 ff.]

BIOGRAPHY OF AHMOSE-PEN-NEKHBET

17. This El Kab nobleman, like Ahmose, son of Ebana (§§ 1-16), served under the first kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty, but he lived to a greater age. Beginning his career under Ahmose I, he continued under Amenhotep I, Thutmose I, II, and III, and died enjoying the favor of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut. He has separated his

^aThis hitherto uncertain word (*myg* >) is rendered tolerably certain by a scene in the tomb of Harmhab (*Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, V, Pl. III, foll. p. 434; see also 420), where it bears the determinative of shooting, and stands over a man with a bow, with the title "*chief archer (myg >) of his majesty*."

^bThe determinative indicates an enemy, not a proper name, but the meaning of the word (> t >) is unknown. The rendering "*fiévieux*" from Chabas is based on an impossible etymology. See Piehl, *Sphinx*, III, 11.

^cA land measure containing about seven-tenths acres, here in apposition with "*pieces of land*."

^dEl Kab.

^eTerm of contempt for a foe.

^fThere is no reason for supposing that this is not the rebel's real name. On the contrary, this very name was especially common at this period; see the ushebtis published by Borchardt (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 32, pp. 113 f.).

^gLit., "*the wicked of heart*."

^hWritten feminine(!) in the text.

ⁱLit., "*as that which exists not*."

^jA land measure containing about seven-tenths of an acre, here in apposition with "*pieces of land*."

biography into three parts: his campaigns,^a his rewards,^b and a summary.^c

I. AHMOSE'S CAMPAIGNS^d

[Continued § 40]

18. He enumerates his campaigns and his captures under Ahmose I, Amenhotep I, Thutmose I and II.

I. Career under Ahmose I

19. His meager reference to a campaign of Ahmose I in Zahi is our sole source of knowledge for that event. It probably followed the capture of Sharuhén.

Campaign in Syria

20. ¹Hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal,^e chief treasurer, herald ¹of his Lord,^f —¹, ²Ahmose, called Pen-Nekhbet (*Pn-Nḥb t*), triumphant; he says: "I followed King Nebpehtire (*Nb-phṯy-R* ^c, Ahmose I), triumphant. ³I captured for him in Zahi (*D 2-hy*) a living prisoner and a hand."

[Continued § 40]

^aCampaigns, three originals: (1) statue-base belonging to Mr. Finlay, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1883, 77, 78; (2) statue-base in the Louvre, Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XIV A; Prisse, *Monuments égyptiens*, IV; (3) Ahmose's tomb-wall at El Kab, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 43, a (lower left-hand corner), and Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 85. All sources have been collated.

^bRewards, two originals: (1) statue-base belonging to Mr. Finlay, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1883, 78; (2) statue-base in the Louvre, Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XIV B; Prisse, *Monuments égyptiens*, IV.

^cSummary, Ahmose's tomb-wall in El Kab, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 43, a, ll. 10-20; Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 85, corrected and revised; and partially, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, IV, 46.

^dThe translation of the campaigns is distributed under the different reigns, under which he lived, because they furnish very important historical events, but his rewards and the summary, being more purely personal, are given in this reign.

^eAll except the Finlay text insert other titles here, but, except the first, "sole companion," they are illegible.

^fAll the other texts have *whm kf* ^c, which would mean "repeating captures." This unusual title was also in the rewards (l. 4).

^gLines numbered from the Finlay statue text.

II. AHMOSE'S REWARDS

21. ¹.....².....³.....⁴...^a Ahmose, called Pen-Nekhbet; he says: "By the ⁵sovereign, who lives forever! I was not separated from the king upon the battlefield, from (the time of) ⁶King Nebpehtire (Ahmose I), triumphant, to King Okhepernere (Thutmose II), triumphant; I was in the favor ⁷of the king's presence, until King Menkheperre (Thutmose III), living forever.^b

22. King Zeserkere (Amenhotep I), triumphant, gave to me, ⁸of gold: two bracelets, two necklaces, an armlet, a dagger, a headdress, a fan, and a mekhtebet.

23. ⁹King Okheperkere (Thutmose I), triumphant, gave to me, of gold: two bracelets, four necklaces, one armlet, six flies,^c ¹⁰three lions;^d two golden axes.

24. King Okhepernere (Thutmose II),^e triumphant, gave to me of gold: three bracelets, six necklaces, three armlets, a mekhtebet; a silver axe."

III. AHMOSE'S SUMMARY^f

25. ^{10g}He says, "I followed the Kings ¹¹of Upper and Lower Egypt, the gods; I was with ¹²their majesties when they went to the South and North country, in every place where they went; [from] ¹³King Nebpehtire (Ahmose I), triumphant, King Zeserkere (Amenhotep I) [triumphant], King ¹⁴Okheperkere (Thutmose I), triumphant, King

^aUnimportant titles of Ahmose (see § 20, l. 1) very fragmentary; lines are numbered according to text in Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*.

^bThis phrase shows that Thutmose III is still alive at this time, but Ahmose is now too old to be "*upon the battlefield*," under him.

^cThese are golden flies, like those among Ahhotep's jewelry at Cairo. They were a decoration of honor. The word has been mistranslated "helmets." See Breasted, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1900, pp. 94, 95.

^dCf. inscription of Amenemhab, § 585.

^eFinlay text, according to Maspero's copy, has Thutmose I; corrected by Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 239, n. 1, as above.

^fAhmose's tomb-wall in El Kab; published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 43, a, ll. 10-20; *ibid.*, Text, IV, 46; Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 85, corrected and revised, most of the lacunæ restored from Lepsius' papers and his squeeze.

^gThe summary does not begin until l. 10; ll. 1 and 2 contain an adoration of Re by Ahmose, and his titles occupy ll. 3-9. These 9 lines lack half their length.

Okhepernere (Thutmose II), triumphant, until this Good God, King Menkheperre (Thutmose III) ¹⁵who is given life forever.^a

I have attained a good old age, having ¹⁶had a life^b of royal favor, having had^b honor under their majesties and the love of me having been in the court."

[Concluded in § 344]

QUARRY INSCRIPTION^c

26. The inscription records the work of Neferperet, an official of Ahmose I, who, in the latter's twenty-second year, took out stone from the Ma^c sara quarry, for the temples of Ptah and of Amon. The inscription is important, because it is the last dated document of Ahmose I, because it records the first resumption of building after the expulsion of the Hyksos, and for its reference to the Fenkhu, whose cattle were captured on some Asiatic campaign.

Above, in a position of significant prominence in the queen's case, are the names and titles of Ahmose I, and his queen, Ahmose-Nefretiri (Y^c h-mš, n/r t-ryr).

27. ¹Year 22 under the majesty of the king, Son of Re, Ahmose, who is given life. ²The quarry-chambers were opened a[ne]w; good limestone ³of Ayan (^c nw) was taken out for his temples of myriads of [years],^d the temple of Ptah, the temple of Amon in southern Opet (Yp^t, Luxor), and all the monuments which his majesty made^f for him^l.

^aThis phrase after Thutmose III's name shows that he was living at the time of this inscription; all the others were at this time "triumphant" (deceased). Hence Ahmose, now an old man, died under Thutmose III.

^bLit., "having been in a life," and "having been in honor."

^cOn the wall of the limestone quarry of Ma^c sara, just southeast of Cairo. Published by Vyse, *Operations*, III, 99; Young, *Hieroglyphics*, 88; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 3, a = Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 488 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, I, 15; and Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 3, b; the text of the last is the same as the preceding, but it represents a second inscription. Both are badly broken, but they supplement each other, so that practically nothing is lost.

^dA conventional phrase applied to all temples, and referring, of course, to their durability.

The stone was dragged with oxen^a which his m[ajesty] captured [in his] victories [among]^b the Fenkhu (*Fnhw*).

28. The assistant, the hereditary prince ———, 'vigilant'^c one of the Lord of the Two Lands in restoring the monuments of e[ternity], greatly [satisfying] the heart of the Good God; the wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, chief treasurer, Neferperet (*Njr-pr't*).

KARNAK STELA^d

29. Among Ahmose's pious works for the temples was the restoration of the furniture, utensils, and the like, belonging to the ritual of the Karnak temple of Amon. He recorded this work upon a splendid stela, containing thirty-two lines of inscription, of which only the last six are devoted to the record of his benefactions, while the other twenty-six contain only conventional eulogy of himself. In the course of this tedious succession of phrases, there is a vague reference to his wars:

30. The Asiatics approach with fearful step together, standing at his judgment-hall; his sword is in Khenthennofer, his terror is in the Fenkhu-lands, the fear of his majesty is in this land like Min (l. 12).

31. He was thus as much feared in Egypt as in Nubia or Asia. The introduction closes with the names of Ahmose I and the queen Ahhotep, after which follows the record of the work in Karnak (ll. 27-32):

^aIt is not the Fenkhu themselves who are employed in the quarry (as sometimes stated, e. g., Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 93; also Petrie, *History of Egypt*, II, 36), but only the oxen captured.

^bThe horizontal lines in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, a, l. 5, indicate an *m* = "in," or "among;" indeed, the entire phrase, "which his majesty captured in his victories in —," is so common that the restorations are probable.

^c[RS]-ḏ > ḏ >, lit., "of watchful head."

^dA white limestone stela over 7½ feet high and nearly 3½ feet wide; found by Legrain by Pylon VII at Karnak. It was below the pavement of Thutmose III, and had been buried before Ikhnaton's time. Published in *Annales*, IV, 27-29.

32. Now, his majesty commanded to make monuments for his father Amon-Re, being: great chaplets of gold with rosettes of genuine lapis lazuli; seals^a of gold; large vases (*hs·t*) of gold; jars (*nms·t*) and vases (*hs·t*) of silver; tables (*wḏḥ·w*) of gold, offering-tables (*dbḥ·t ḥtp*) of gold and silver; necklaces of gold and silver combined with lapis lazuli and malachite; a drinking-vessel for the ka, of gold, its standard of silver; a drinking-vessel for the ka, of silver rimmed with gold, its standard of silver; a flat dish (*tnyw*) of gold; jars (*nms·t*) of pink granite, filled with ointment; great pails (*wšmw*)^b of silver rimmed with gold, the [handles] thereon of silver; a harp of ebony,^c of gold and silver; sphinxes of silver; a r—^d with gold; a barge of the "Beginning-of-the-River" called "Userhetamon,"^e of new cedar of the best of the terraces, in order to make his voyage [therein]. I erected columns of cedar — — likewise; I gave ———.

BUILDING INSCRIPTION^f

33. This document discloses to us the name of the mother of Ahmose I's father and mother. She was a queen Tetisheri, and although she is called a "*king's-mother and great king's-wife*," she is not designated as king's daughter. She was doubtless the wife of the last Sekenenre, and her daughter Ahmose I's mother, was, of course, the famous Queen Ahhotep. The latter's brother-husband, the father of Ahmose I, was probably Kemose.

^aOr: "*seal rings*."

^bThese are the ceremonial pails with bucket handles, swelling or bulbous below, with more or less pointed bottom. Schaefer calls my attention to the example on the Ethiopian stela in the Louvre, l. 11 (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1895, Pl. V). There are many examples in bronze in the museums.

^cI suspect that a word has been omitted at this point, as the repetition of the preposition indicates.

^d*Špt*, Schaefer suggests the *spd* which appears in the Mentuhotep coffin at Berlin.

^eMeaning "*mighty is the front of Amon*." This is the usual name of the sacred barge of Amon.

^fStela about 6½ feet high and 3 feet wide, found by Petrie at Abydos; published by him in *Abydos*, III, Pl. LII.

The inscription is so picturesque, and unconventional in form, as to be unique. In content it records the king's determination to erect further mortuary buildings for his grandmother, Queen Tetisheri.

Introduction

34. ¹Now, it came to pass that his majesty sat in the audience-hall, (even) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nebpehtire, Son of Re, Ahmose (I), given life; ²while the hereditary princess, great in favor, great in amiability, king's-daughter, king's-sister, divine consort, great king's-wife, Ahmose-Nefretiri, who liveth, was with his majesty.

The Conversation

35. One spoke ³with the other, seeking benefactions for^a the departed (dead), to present libations of water, to offer upon the altar, ⁴to enrich the offering-tablet at the first of every season, at the monthly feast of the first of the month, the feast of the coming forth of the sem, ⁵the feast of the night-offerings on the fifth of the month, the feast of the sixth of the month, the feast of Hakro^b (*H ˆ k-r ˆ*), the feast of Wag (*W ˆ g*), the feast of Thoth, and at the first ⁶of every season of heaven, and of earth. His sister spake and answered him: "Wherefore has this been remembered? ⁷And why has this word been spoken? What has come into thy heart?"

Ahmose's Purpose

36. The king himself spake to her: "I, ⁸it is, who have remembered the mother of my mother, and the mother of my father, great king's-wife and king's-mother, Tetisheri (*Tty-šry*), triumphant. ⁹(Although) she already has a tomb (*yš*) and a mortuary chapel^c (*m ˆ h ˆ t*) on the soil of Thebes and Abydos, I have said this to thee, in that ¹⁰my majesty has desired to have made for her (also) a pyramid and a house (*h ˆ t*) in

^aThe negative *n* is to be read as the preposition *n*; see the converse confusion in l. 14.

^bThe *r ˆ* has been overlooked in the publication?

^cLit., "*Her tomb and her chapel are at this moment (m ty (sic!) ˆ t) on the soil, etc.*" I can only understand this clause as concessive, and that the new buildings planned by Ahmose are in addition to the ones in l. 9.

Tazeser, as a monumental donation of my majesty. Its lake shall be dug, its trees shall be planted, ¹¹its offerings shall be founded, equipped with people, endowed with lands, presented ¹²with herds, mortuary priests and ritual priests having their duties, every man knowing his stipulation."

37. ¹³Lo, his majesty spake this word, while this was in process of construction. His majesty did ¹⁴this because he so greatly loved her, beyond everything. Never did former kings the like of it for ¹⁵their mothers. Lo, his majesty extended his arm, and bent his hand;^a he pronounced for her a mortuary prayer.^b

^aA posture of prayer.

^bHere follow three fragmentary lines, giving the names of the gods appealed to, and the usual objects in such an offering.

REIGN OF AMENHOTEP I

BIOGRAPHY OF AHMOSE, SON OF EBANA^a

[Ll. 24-29, continued from § 16; concluded §§ 78 ff.]

II. CAREER UNDER AMENHOTEP I

38. Under this king Ahmose commands the royal transports in a campaign against Kush. The enemy is defeated, Ahmose fighting at the head of the Egyptian troops. He brings the king back to Egypt in two days, and is given "*the gold*," and a title of honor: "*Warrior of the Ruler*." The campaign extended to the Middle Kingdom frontier, for a rock inscription of Amenhotep's eighth year has been found on the island of Uronarti, just below Semneh.^b

39. I sailed the King Zeserkere (*Dsr-k²-R^c*, Amenhotep I), triumphant, when he ascended the river to Kush (*Kš*), in order to extend ²⁵the borders of Egypt. His majesty captured that Nubian Troglodyte in the midst of his army, ————— who were brought away as prisoners, none of them missing. [— —] thrust ²⁶aside^c like those who are annihilated. Meanwhile I was at the head of our^d army; I fought incredibly;^e his majesty beheld my bravery. I brought off two hands, ²⁷and took (them) to his majesty. One pursued his people and his cattle. Then I brought off a living prisoner, and took (him) to his majesty. I brought his majesty in two days to

^aBibliography, etc., p. 3, n. a.

^bSteindorff, *Berichte der Philologisch-historischen Classe der Königlichen Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft*, Leipzig, Sitzung vom 18. Juni, 1900, p. 233.

^cSame phrase, Tombos Inscription (§ 71, l. 7).

^dThis and § 81 are the only places in all the historical texts of Egypt, where "*our troops*" are spoken of. It is a real touch of patriotism.

^eLit., "*I fought more than what is true*."

Egypt ²⁸from the upper well;^a one presented me with gold. Then I brought away two female slaves, in addition to those which I had taken ²⁹to his majesty. One appointed me 'Warrior of the Ruler.'

BIOGRAPHY OF AHMOSE-PEN-NEKHBET^b

[Continued from § 20; continued §§ 83 ff., and 344]

II. CAREER UNDER AMENHOTEP I

40. Ahmose-Pen-Nekhet accompanied the king on two campaigns: one against the Nubians, of which we have a fuller account in the biography of Ahmose, son of Ebana (§ 39); and the other against the Libyans; this biography being our only source for this war of Amenhotep I in Libya. For his valor on these occasions he was rewarded by the king.

Campaign in Kush

41. I ⁴followed King Zeserkere (*Dšr-k²-R^c*, Amenhotep I), triumphant; I captured for him ⁵in Kush, a living prisoner.

Campaign in Libya

42. Again I served for King Zeserkere, triumphant; ⁶I captured for him on the north of Imukehek (*Y² mw-khk*), three hands.

[Continued §§ 83 ff., and 344]

BIOGRAPHY OF INENI^c

43. This official served under four kings: Amenhotep I, Thutmose I, Thutmose II, and Thutmose III, reigning with

^aIn view of Amenhotep I's inscription at the second cataract, we are probably correct in concluding that the second cataract is meant here.

^bBibliography on p. 10, n. a.

^cFrom a Theban tomb at Abd el-Kurna, first noted by Champollion (*Notices descriptives*, I, 492-94), and then by Brugsch, who published some fragments (*Recueil de monuments*, I, 36, 1-3, tree list, etc., and Pl. 65, 4-5); also Piehl. *Inscriptions*, I, Pls. 129 Q-130 and pp. 105, 106. The long text is found in *Recueil*,

Hatshepsut. He evidently died under this joint reign; his biography was composed at this time, and is the most important of all sources for the history of the succession of the Thutmosids. Ineni was:

Hereditary prince, count, chief of all works in Karnak; the double silver-house was under his charge; the double gold-house was on his seal; sealer of all contracts in the House of Amon; excellency, overseer of the double granary of Amon.^a

These offices brought him the superintendence of many of the most important works executed in Thebes by the kings whom he served. His career is divided as follows:

I. Career under Amenhotep I (§§ 44-46).

II. Career under Thutmose I (§§ 99-108).

III. Career under Thutmose II (§§ 115-18).

IV. Career under Thutmose III and Hatshepsut (§§ 340-43).

I. CAREER UNDER AMENHOTEP I

44. The beginning, containing the name of the king, is lost, and the narrative begins in the middle of the account of a building probably Amenhotep I's gate on the south of the Karnak temple, found below the later pavement, of which the two dedications read:^b

1. "Amenhotep I; he made (it) as his monument for his father Amon, lord of Thebes (*ns-wt-t³ wy*), erecting for him a great gate of 20 cubits (in height) at the double façade of the temple, of fine limestone of Ayan, which the Son of Re, Amenhotep, living forever, made for him."

XII, 106, 107, where it is inaccurately published by Bouriant. (See also, *ibid.*, XIV, 73, 74.) The first "7 or 8 lines" are wanting, according to Bouriant, and also the ends of the first 14 remaining lines; following these are 6 complete lines. The wall scenes and plans of the tomb (also the long inscription) have been published by an architect, H. Boussac (*Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, XVIII). To the Egyptologist the publication is little more than worthless, and the work must be done again. But the long inscription has now disappeared.

^aOne of Boussac's plates; he has not numbered them!

^bLegrain, *Annales*, IV, 15 ff.

2. [Amenhotep I];^a building his house, establishing his temple, erecting the southern gate, made high, even 20 cubits, of fine white limestone ———.

It is important to note that this gate was erected in celebration of the king's first Sed Jubilee. Turning again to Ineni, his inscription begins:

Buildings^b

45. ——— 'Hatnub (*Ht-nb*), its doors were erected of copper made in one sheet; the parts thereof were of electrum. I inspected that which his majesty made ——— ²bronze, Asiatic copper, collars, vessels, necklaces. I was foreman of every work, all offices were under my command. ——— ³at the feasts of the beginning of the seasons; likewise for his father Amon, lord of Thebes; they were under my control. Inspection was made for me, I was the reckoner. ——— 4f—1.

Death of Amenhotep I

46. His majesty having spent life in happiness and the years in peace, went forth to heaven; he joined the sun, he associated (with him) and went forth ———.

[Continued §§ 99-108]

STELA OF HARMINI^c

47. Harmini (*hr-myny*) prefixes no other title to his name than "*scribe*," but he was no less a man than the chief magistrate of Nekhen-Hieraconpolis. This impor-

^aAs in the first, as far as "*Thebes*."

^bPossibly also the mortuary temple of Amenhotep I, found by Spiegelberg in 1896 at Drah abu-'n-Neggah on the west side at Thebes (see Spiegelberg, *Zwei Beiträge zur Geschichte und Topographie der thebanischen Nekropolis im Neuen Reich* (Strassburg, 1898; and Sethe, *Götting'sche Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1902, No. 1, 29-31). The temple is referred to as "*House of Zeserkere (Amenhotep I) on the west of Thebes*" (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 238). See also Sethe, *loc. cit.*, 30.

^cMortuary stela of unknown provenience (probably Abydos), now in the Florence Museum, No. 1567; published in *Catalogue*, 288-90; Piehl, *Recueil*, II, 122-24. I had also my own photograph of the original.

tant post on the original Nubian frontier either resulted in his promotion to the governorship of Wawat in lower Nubia, or his Nekhen appointment involved jurisdiction in Wawat, in view of the fact that earlier Nubia began in the vicinity of Nekhen. In any case, he had charge of the "*tribute*" from Wawat, which was later in the hands of the "*king's-son of Kush*" (§§ 1034 ff.). Although the inscription mentions no king, it clearly belongs to the Eighteenth Dynasty before the first appointment of a "*governor of the south countries, and king's-son of Kush*," by Thutmose I (§§ 61 ff.). Hence we are not far wrong in placing it under Amenhotep I, though Harmini must of course have served under Ahmose I, also.

48. After the usual mortuary prayer, the inscription continues, in Harmini's own words:

I passed many years as mayor (*h³ ty-^c*) of Nekhen (Hieraconpolis). I brought in its tribute to the Lord of the Two Lands; I was praised, and no occasion was found against me. I attained old age in Wawat, being a favorite of my lord. I went north with its tribute for the king, each year; I came forth thence justified; there was not found a balance against me.

STELA OF KERES^a

49. Keres, like his contemporary, Yuf (§§ 109 ff.), was in the service of one of the queen-mothers. The question arises here whether the "*king's-mother Ahhotep*," whom Keres served, was Ahhotep (II), wife of Amenhotep I, in whose tenth year her command was issued, or Ahhotep (I), mother of King Ahmose. As Ahhotep II was never the mother of a king, it must have been Ahhotep I, who had a tomb

^aLimestone stela, 0.82 m. high, from Drah abu-'n-Neggah, now in Cairo, without a number. Published by Bouriant, *Recueil*, IX, 94 f., No. 74 (his text is excessively incorrect); much better by Piehl, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1888, 117 f. I am also indebted to Schaefer for a carefully collated copy made from the original.

erected at Abydos for Keres. We thus see this queen, from whom the Eighteenth Dynasty sprang, still living in the tenth year of the second king of the dynasty.

50. Keres, who was her herald, has not only preserved for us the old queen's command, honoring him with a tomb and a statue at Abydos, but has also added a loose enumeration of his duties as her herald, which resembles that of the herald, Intef (§§ 763-71).

51. ¹Year 10, first month of the third season (ninth month), first day, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt; Zeserkere, Son of Re, of his body: Amenhotep (I), beloved of Osiris, given life.

52. ²Command of the king's-mother to the hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, overseer of the gold-house, overseer of the silver-house, chief steward of the king's-mother, ³Ahhotep, who liveth; the herald (*whm·w*), Keres (*K·rs*). The king's-mother has commanded to have made for thee a tomb ⁴at the stairway of the great god, lord of Abydos, confirming thy every office and every favor. There shall be made for thee thy ⁵statues, abiding in the temple, among the followers of ————^a their virtues in writing ⁶in — — —.^a There shall be made for thee mortuary offerings (*hlp dy stny*), as the king's-wife does for the one whom she has loved, for the hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal, the steward, the herald, Keres (*Krs*), only favorite united ⁷with the limbs of Sekhmet, following his queen (*hnw·t*) at her going. He ⁸— before the people, the real ⁹confidant¹ of his queen, to whom secret things are told, ⁸experienced¹ in the plans of his queen, transmitting affairs to the palace, finding ⁹solutions, making agreeable unpleasant matters, one upon whose word his queen depends, approaching the truth, knowing the affairs of the mind, profitable in speech to his queen, ¹⁰great in respect in the house of the king's-mother, weighty in affairs, excellent in speech, secretive in mind, administering the palace, ¹¹sealing (his) mouth concerning that which he hears, official who solves knotty problems, chief steward, Keres (*Krs*), vigilant administrator for the king's-mother, ¹²not more lax^b by night than by day, the herald, Keres (*Krs*).

^aCut out.

^bRead *wsf*.

53. He says: "O ye mayors, scribes, ritual priests, ¹³attendants, citizens (^c *nh·w*) of the army, as your city-gods favor you, and love you, as ye would bequeath your office(s) to your children ¹⁴after old age; verily so shall ye say: 'An offering which the king gives; ————,^a king, of the two lofty plumes, lord of life, giver of that which is desired, ¹⁵lord of burial after old age. May he give bread, beer, oxen, geese, everything good and pure, that comes forth upon the table of ¹⁶the All Lord, for the *ka* of^b Keres, a man of truth, before the Two Lands, really honest, free ¹⁷from lying, [—] in deciding matters, protecting the weak, defending him who is without ¹⁸him (sic!), sending forth two men, reconciled by the utterance of his mouth, accurate like a pair of balances, ¹⁹the like [of Thoth] in [—] the name, inclining the heart to hear matters, the likeness of a god in his hour, real [confidant] ²⁰of his queen, whom the queen of the Two Lands has advanced. . . . Keres."

^aName of Amon cut out in time of Ikhnaton.

^bHis titles.

REIGN OF THUTMOSE I

CORONATION DECREE^a

54. This unique document is a royal decree issued on the king's coronation day to the viceroy of Nubia, Thure, informing him of the king's accession, fixing the full titulary, the royal name to be used in offering oblations, and the royal name to be used in the oath. Thure's official residence was doubtless Elephantine, for he is charged to offer oblations to the gods of that city, and it was he who put up the records of Thutmose I's return from his Nubian campaign, at the first cataract (§§ 74 ff.). He then caused the decree to be cut on stelæ and set up in Wadi Halfa,^b Kubbân, and probably also Elephantine.

Superscription

55. Royal^c command to the king's-son, the governor of the south countries, Thure (*Tw-r*) triumphant.

Announcement of Accession

Behold, there is brought to thee this [command]^d of the^d king in order to inform thee that my majesty has appeared^e as King of Upper

^aIn two copies: (1) a sandstone (?) stela, 72 by 84 cm., found at Wadi Halfa, now in Cairo, published from a copy of Brugsch by Erman (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 29, 117 = Erman, *Aegyptische Grammatik*, 37*-38*); (2) a sandstone stela, 67 by 76 cm., found by Borchardt at Kubbân (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 36, 26, n. 1), now in Berlin (No. 13725, *Ausführliches Verzeichniss des Berliner Museums*, 131), unpublished. The beginning is lost on the Cairo stela, and the end on the Berlin stela; the two thus furnish a practically complete text. The relief at the top is lost on both. I used my own copy of the Berlin text.

^bNot Elephantine, as stated (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 29, 117). See *ibid.*, 36, 3, n. 1.

^cSee the similar introduction to Pepi II's letter to Harkhuf (I, 351, l. 2).

^dSupplied from the Story of Sinuhe, 180, 181.

^eLit., "*dawned*;" the same word is used for the rising sun, and is transferred without change to the king. It is regularly used also of his appearance in public.

and Lower Egypt upon the Horus-throne of the living, without his like forever.

Titulary

56. Make my titulary as follows:

Horus:^a "Mighty Bull, Beloved of Mat;"

Favorite of the Two Goddesses:^a "Shining in the Serpent-diadem, Great in Strength;"

Golden Horus:^a "Goodly in Years, Making Hearts Live;"

King of Upper and Lower Egypt:^a "Okheperkere;"

Son of Re:^a "[Thutmose], Living forever, and ever."

Name to be Used in the Cultus

57. Cause thou oblations to be offered to the gods of Elephantine of the South,^b as follows:^c "Performance of the pleasing ceremonies^d on behalf of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Okheperkere, who is given life."

Name to be Used in the Oath

58. Cause thou that the oath be established in the name of my majesty, born of the king's-mother, Seniseneb, who is in health.

Conclusion

59. This is a communication to inform thee of it; and of the fact that the royal house is well and prosperous — —.

Date

60. Year 1, third month of the second season (seventh month) twenty-first day; the day of the feast of coronation.

^aThese five titles are common to all Middle Kingdom and Empire kings; only the names following each title are individual.

^bCf. Erman (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 29, 117).

^cThis preposition (*m*) introduces the title or designation of the ceremony of presenting oblations by the priest on the king's behalf.

^dLit., "doing of the pleasing things."

BIOGRAPHICAL INSCRIPTION OF THURE^a

61. In this inscription the name of the author is lost. He served under Ahmose, Amenhotep I, Thutmose I, by whom he was appointed viceroy of Kush (l. 6), Thutmose II, and Thutmose III (l. 14, note). He is supposed by Brugsch (*Egypt under the Pharaohs*, 135), and by Maspero (*Struggle of the Nations*, 230, n. 2) to be the same as Nehi, the viceroy of Kush, who also served under Thutmose III, and has also placed his inscription on the façade of the Semneh temple (§§ 651 ff.).

Now, Nehi was still in office in Thutmose III's fifty-second year, and if he began his official career under Ahmose, he would have been over 117 years old^b at that time! The identity with Nehi, which was at best an assumption, is therefore impossible. Another identification is, however, certain. This unknown was appointed viceroy of Kush by Thutmose I, at whose accession he was in his prime. He is therefore the same as the viceroy, Thure, whom we find at Elephantine in Thutmose I's first year (§ 55), being the earliest viceroy of Kush whom we know. That he survived into Thutmose III's reign is shown by a tomb at Silsileh, where he is mentioned under Hatshepsut.^c

Service under Ahmose I

62. ¹——— under the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nebpehtire (Ahmose I); he made me overseer of the — ²——— of very good character in his heart, not careless in — ³——— his court.

^aInscribed on the south wall (façade) of Thutmose III's Semneh temple; text: Young, *Hieroglyphics*, 91; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 47, c. The upper half of all the lines has been cut away for a later relief of Thutmose III. I am indebted to Steindorff for the use of his collation of the original.

^bIf he was 25 at Ahmose I's death, we must then add 10 for Amenhotep I, 30 for Thutmose I, and 51 for Thutmose III—a total of 117 years.

^cGriffith, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XII, 104. See also note on l. 14 in the translation, *infra*.

Service under Amenhotep I

63. Favor was repeated by his son, King of Upper and Lower Egypt [Zeserke]re (Amenhotep I) ⁴_____ the granary of Amon, to conduct the works in Karnak — — ⁵_____ [‘I did’] for him the excellent things of (his)^a heart; he favored me for doing his^a truth — — ⁶_____.

Service under Thutmose I

64. The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Okheperkere (Thutmose I); he appointed me to be king’s-son of [Kush] — — ⁷_____ of gold; an armlet the second time — — — — ⁸_____ gave me of gold: a vase, two bracelets — — — — ⁹_____ he — me more than the magnates of the palace, he recognized the excellence of — — — — ¹⁰_____ ¹¹_____ in the place of satisfying the heart. He attained old age — — — — ¹²_____.

Service under Thutmose II

65. The first of the repetition of the favor of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Okhepernere (Thutmose II); he made [‘me’] _____ ¹³_____ with a royal message, recording _____ ¹⁴_____.^c

Service under Thutmose III

66. [King Thutmose III]; he magnified me in the midst _____.

TOMBOS STELA^d

67. Three important facts are preserved to us in this inscription:

^aBoth these pronouns refer to Amon; the same thought occurs in Suti and Hor’s tablet (British Museum, 826), ll. 16, 17.

^bThe portion preserved is hopelessly obscure.

^cHere are the remains of a royal oval, which certainly contained the name of Thutmose III; in this king’s second year, a viceroy of Kush is mentioned in this same temple (§ 170, l. 2), but the name is unfortunately broken out. He is doubtless the same as our viceroy.

^dEngraved on the rocks on the island of Tombos, just above the third cataract of the Nile; published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 5, a, and thence Piehl, *Petites études égyptologiques*. The Berlin squeeze (No. 284) permitted some important corrections, but the publication (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*) is a brilliant example of correctness in the form of the signs, as drawn by M. Weidenbach.

1. In the second year Thutmose I defeated the Nubians and conquered the country as far as the third cataract^a (cf. ll. 6 and 7, and the location of the inscription);

2. He then built a fortified station for his troops at Tombos, remains of which still survive, and thus established his southern frontier at this point (cf. l. 10).^b

3. His empire extended from this point on the south to the Euphrates on the north (cf. l. 13); the Asiatic peoples are already subdued (cf. ll. 3, 4, and 16), but his Asiatic campaign did not take place until after this Nubian expedition (see § 81, l. 35). Hence we must suppose, either that he had already made an Asiatic campaign of which no account has survived; or that his predecessors had already made the conquest of the country as far as Euphrates, and thus he could refer to it as in his domain. The latter is the more probable supposition.

68. Other interesting data are the fact that the oath, even in the foreign provinces, is made in the name of the king (l. 14), according to the instructions in his coronation announcement (cf. § 58); and the curious reference to the Euphrates as "*that inverted water which goes down-stream in going up-stream*" (cf. l. 13, note).

Unfortunately, this important inscription offers no sober narrative of the events which it commemorates, but is written in that fulsome style so often found in victorious hymns of the Pharaohs. This is a style so overloaded with far-fetched figures and unfamiliar words that it is often quite unintel-

^aAn unpublished inscription of his, on the Island of Arko (Wilkinson, *Thebes*, 472, note) shows that he pushed some forty miles south of the third cataract.

^bThis expedition left another inscription at Tangûr, about seventy-five miles above the second cataract, but we possess only a partial copy by a layman, from which it is impossible to make out much. It is dated "*Year 2, first month of third season*," which shows that it was made on the way out (Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 41), about five months before the Tombos inscription.

ligible.^a It is at its worst in ll. 5-9, where some phrases containing only exaggerated epithets applied to the king have necessarily been left untranslated.

Introduction

69. ¹Year 2, second month of the first season, fifteenth day, under the majesty of Horus: Mighty Bull, Beloved of Mat (*M³c³t*); Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Shining in the Serpent-diadem, Mighty^b in Strength; Golden Horus: Goodly in Years, Making hearts live; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Okheperkere, who is given life; Son of Re: Thutmose (I, living) forever, eternally.^c

Hymn of Victory

70. ¹— —¹ of his induction ²his coronation as Lord (*hry-ḏ³ ḏ³*) of the Two Lands, to rule the circuit of the sun; South and North land as ruler of the portions of Horus and Set,^d the Uniter of the Two Lands. He has seated himself upon the throne of Keb, wearing ³the radiance of the double crown, the staff^e of his majesty; he hath taken his inheritance, he hath assumed the seat of Horus, in order to extend the boundaries of Thebes and the territory of Khaftet-hir-nebes;^f so that the Sand-dwellers and the barbarians shall labor for her.^g ⁴An abomination¹ of the god are the Haunebu; bound are the Ekhet (*ḏ³ ḏ³*); the Southerners come down^h-river, the Northerners come up^h-river, and all lands are together bringing their tribute ⁵to the Good God, the primordial, Okheperkere (Thutmose I), who liveth forever, the mighty one,

^aThere is a good example on the second Semneh stela (I, 657).

^bThe coronation letter has "*great in strength*," the usual form.

^cCf. the titulary given by the king himself in the coronation letter (§ 56).

^dThe myth of Horus and Set states that they divided the Nile country between them; over both these domains the Pharaoh rules, and hence follow the words: "*uniter, etc.*," It is possible that "*Horus and Set*" should be translated only "*the two lords*," see Piehl, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XX, 199, 200.

^eFor the same phrase applied to a successor, see I, 692.

^fThe goddess of western Thebes.

^gThe pronoun refers to Thebes; the foreign captives are to be employed on her buildings.

^hTo Thebes, the royal residence.

Horus, Lord of the Two Lands, '— — —'. The [Sand]-dwellers, chiefs of their tribes '—' to him, bowing down; the 'interior'^{1a} peoples^b send to his majesty, doing obeisance to that which is on his front.^c

Victory in Nubia

71. He hath overthrown the chief of the 'Nubians'; the Negro is 'helpless, defenseless' in his grasp. He hath united the boundaries of his two^d sides, there is not a remnant among the Curly-Haired,^e who come to attack him; there is not a single survivor among them. The Nubian Troglodytes fall by the sword, and are thrust aside in their lands; ⁸their foulness, it floods their valleys; the '—' of their mouths is like a violent flood. The fragments cut from them are too much for the birds,^f carrying off the prey to another place. ^{9g}. the sole staff of Amon; Keb, divine begetter, whose name is hidden, ¹⁰reproducer, Bull of the divine ennead, chosen emanation of the divine members who doeth the pleasure of the Spirits of Heliopolis.

Tombos Fortress Built

72. The lords of the palace have made a fortress for his army, (called) "None-Faces-Him-¹¹Among-the-Nine-Bows-Together;"^h like a young panther among the fleeing cattle; the fame of his majesty blinded them.

Universal Triumph

73. (He) brought the ends of the earth into his domain; (he) trod its two extremities ¹²with his mighty sword, seeking battle; (but) he

^a*Hwtjw*, with a hide as the first determinative.

^bThe interior peoples of the neighboring lands.

^cThis means the sacred uraeus serpent on his forehead, as the determinative shows.

^dSee I, 311, l. 14.

^eAn epithet for the Negro, used also by Amenhotep II (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 61), by Seti I (III, 155, l. 4); and again in the Nineteenth Dynasty, *Recueil*, XXII, 107, ll. 7, 8. See Piehl, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XV, 261 f., and *Sphinx*, VI, 19 f.

^fDeterminative is an eagle.

^gThe first half of line 9 is a series of obscure epithets of praise applied to the king.

^hIt is doubtful whether this is the name of the fortress. It is probably the same fortress which is referred to by Thutmose II in his Assuan inscription (§ 121, l. 7).

found no one who faced him.^a (He) penetrated valleys which ¹³the (royal) ancestors knew not, which the wearers of the double diadem had not seen. His southern boundary is as far as the frontier of this land,^b (his) northern as far as that inverted water^c which goes down-stream in going up-stream.^d ¹⁴The like has not happened to other kings; his name has reached as far as the circuit of heaven, it has penetrated the Two Lands as far as the nether world;^e the oath is taken^f by it (viz., his name) in all lands, because of the greatness of the fame of his majesty. ¹⁵They (viz., the lands) were not seen in the archives of the ancestors since the Worshipers of Horus,^g who gives his breath to the one that follows him, his offerings to the one that treads ¹⁶his way. His majesty is Horus, assuming his (Horus's) kingdom of myriads of years, ¹⁷subject¹ to him are the isles of the Great Circle (*šn[w]-wr*, Okeanos), the entire earth is under his two feet; ¹⁷bodily son of Re, his beloved, Thutmose (I), living forever and ever. Amon-Re, king of gods is his father, the creator of his beauty, ¹⁸beloved of the gods of Thebes, who is given life, stability, satisfaction, health, joy of his heart upon the throne of Horus, ¹⁹leading¹ all the living like Re, forever.

INSCRIPTIONS AT THE FIRST CATARACT

74. Some eight months after the preceding expedition passed Tangur, about seventy-five miles above the second cataract, on the way out, they had reached Assuan on the return—a fact which was recorded by Thure, the viceroy of Kush, in two inscriptions on the island of Sehel and one at Assuan.

^aSee Sethe, *Verbum*, II, § 967.

^bNubia.

^cThe Euphrates.

^dFor the Egyptian on the Nile north was "*down-stream*," and south was "*up-stream*." It seemed very curious to him that in another country as here on the Euphrates, one went south in going down-stream; hence the anomaly of the text, which becomes clear, if we substitute "south" for "*up-stream*." See also IV, 407.

^eHeaven, earth, and the nether world, include the entire Egyptian universe.

^fIn the coronation announcement the form of the king's title to be used in the oath is given (see § 58).

^gThe pre-dynastic kings, now mythical demigods.

I. SEHEL INSCRIPTION^a

75. On arriving at the first cataract, the king found the canal of Sesostri III (see I, 642 ff.) stopped up. He cleared it, and the viceroy made the following records:

Year 3, first month of the third season, day 22, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Okheperkere (Thutmose I), who is given life. His majesty commanded to dig this canal, after he found it [stopped up] with stones, (so that) no [ship sailed upon it]. He [sail]ed [down-stream] upon it, his heart [glad, having slain his enemies].^b The king's-son, [Thure].^c

II. SEHEL INSCRIPTION^d

76. Above are the Horus-, throne- and personal-names of Thutmose I; and below, the following:

Year 3, first month of the third season, day 22. His majesty sailed this canal in victory and in power, at his return from overthrowing the wretched Kush.

The king's-son, Thure.

III. ASSUAN INSCRIPTION^e

77. On the same day the king arrived at Assuan, where he left a similar record:

Year 3, first month of the third season, day 22, under the majesty of Thutmose (I).^f His majesty arrived from Kush, having overthrown the enemy.

^aDe Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 85, No. 13.

^bThe preceding restorations are from Thutmose III's copy of this inscription (see §§ 649 f.).

^cRestored from the following inscription. Thure, also § 55.

^dDiscovered by Wilbour, and published in *Recueil*, XIII, 202; better, de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 85, No. 19.

^eDe Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 41, No. 185.

^fFull titulary.

INSCRIPTION OF AHMOSE, SON OF EBANA^a

[Ll. 29-39; concluded from § 39]

III. CAREER UNDER THUTMOSE I

78. Ahmose's career under Thutmose I is still one of active service in campaigning. He first sails the royal transport in the campaign against Nubia (§ 80), resulting in his appointment to the head of the naval forces. They returned in triumph with the Nubian foe hanged head downward at the bow of the royal barge.

79. It was not until after this Nubian campaign that the famous expedition to Naharin set out. Our only sources for this event are the biographies of the two El Kab Ahmoses. Thutmose III states that he set up his boundary tablet beside that of his father (§ 478), and it must have been on this campaign that this first boundary tablet was set up by Thutmose I.^b For it is always supposed that this campaign was the only Asiatic expedition of Thutmose I; but as the Tombos inscription (§§ 67 ff.) speaks of the conquest of Asia as far as the Euphrates, before the Asiatic campaign narrated by the two Ahmoses, we must suppose either that Thutmose I had already made a still earlier campaign in Syria; or that his predecessors, Ahmose I and Amenhotep I, had achieved greater conquests in Asia than our scanty sources for their reigns would indicate.

Campaign against Nubia

80. I sailed the King Okheperkere (Thutmose I), triumphant, when he ascended the river to Khenthennofer (*Ḥnt-ḥn-n/r*),³⁰ in order to cast

^aFor bibliography, see p. 3, note a.

^bThe inscription of Hatshepsut's childhood (§ 225, l. 11) mentions her father's (Thutmose I's) survivals among the chiefs of Retenu, meaning those he had left.

out violence in the highlands, in order to suppress the raiding^a of the hill region. I showed bravery in his presence in the bad water, in the 'passage'¹ of ³²the ship by the bend. One appointed me chief of the sailors. His majesty was ———.^b

³²His majesty was furious thereat, like a panther;^c his majesty cast his first lance, which remained in the body of that fallen one.^d This was — — — —^e ^{33f}—¹ powerless before his flaming uraeus,^f made 'so'¹ in an instant of destruction; their people were brought off as living prisoners. ³⁴His majesty sailed down-river, with all countries in his grasp, that wretched Nubian Troglodyte being hanged head downward at the [prow]^g of the ba[rge] of his majesty, and landed ³⁵at Karnak.

Asiatic Campaign

81. After these things^h one journeyed to Retenu (*Rtṁw*) to ⁱwash his heartⁱ among the foreign countries.

His majesty arrived at Naharin (*N ḥ ry-n*) ³⁶his majesty found that foe when he was 'planning'¹ destruction; his majesty made a great slaughter^j among them. ³⁷Numberless were the living prisoners, which his majesty brought off from his victories. Meanwhile I was at

^aThe flying raids into the valley of the Nile made by the barbarians inhabiting the desert behind the hills on either side of the valley. The account of the battle is very obscure, but the weakness of the enemy makes the result certain.

^bThe text ends here in the middle of a sentence, and proceeds around the corner of the wall with what seems to be the account of another incident in the same Nubian campaign.

^cThis is precisely what is said of Thutmose II in his Nubian war (Assuan Inscription, l. 9, II, 121) when the announcement of revolt was brought to him, hence a similar incident probably should precede here.

^dCf. Sinuhe's weapon which "*remained in his (his foe's) neck*."

^eIt is possible that there is no lacuna here, as the squeeze shows not a trace of a sign in the last 9 inches of the line.

^fThe sacred serpent which crowns the royal forehead.

^gThe restoration is from the Amāda tablet of Amenhotep II, II, 797, l. 17, where the same phrase occurs.

^hThis phrase shows clearly that the Nubian campaign took place before the Asiatic campaign. The same order is observed in the biography of Ahmose-Pen-Nekhet (§§ 84, 85). The usual supposition that the Asiatic preceded the Nubian campaign is based on a false conclusion from the Tombos inscription (§§ 67 ff.).

ⁱAn idiom for taking revenge or obtaining satisfaction.

^jFrom the squeeze; cf. also l. 17.

the head of our troops,^a and his majesty beheld my bravery. ³⁸I brought off a chariot, its horses, and him who was upon it as a living prisoner, and took them to ^bhis majesty.^b One presented me with gold in double measure.

His Old Age

82. ³⁹When I grew old, and had attained old age, my honors were as at their beginning.^c —————^d a tomb, which I myself made.

BIOGRAPHY OF AHMOSE-PEN-NEKHBET^e

[Continued from § 42; concluded §§ 123-4, 344]

III. CAREER UNDER THUTMOSE I

83. In this reign Ahmose-Pen-Nekhbeth took part in the campaign in Nubia; and also accompanied the Asiatic campaign to Naharin, of which Ahmose, son of Ebana, furnishes a fuller account (§ 81). He was then richly rewarded for his valor by the king.

Campaign in Kush

84. I ⁷followed the King Okheperkere (Thutmose I), triumphant; I captured for him ⁸in Kush, two living prisoners, beside three living prisoners, whom I brought off ⁹in Kush, without counting them.^f

Campaign in Naharin

85. Again^g I served ¹⁰for King Okheperkere (Thutmose I), triumphant; I captured for him in the country of Naharin (*N²-h-ry-n*), ¹¹21 hands, one horse, and one chariot.

^aSee note on l. 26, § 39.

^bFrom the squeeze; cf. also l. 27.

^cHe continued to receive rewards as at the beginning.

^dNearly one-third line is lacking.

^eBibliography, p. 10, note a.

^fPerhaps meaning that they were not included in the official count.

^gShowing clearly that the Asiatic campaign took place after the Nubian campaign.

KARNAK OBELISKS^a

86. This pair stood before the pylon (IV) of Thutmose I in the great Karnak temple; the northern obelisk, which Pococke saw still standing, has since fallen. Their erection by Thutmose I is narrated by the chief architect in charge, Ineni (see § 105). Both Ineni and the standing obelisk refer to "*two great obelisks*," so that there can be no doubt that Thutmose I erected both.^b The work must have been done just before his demission of the crown—an event which left the northern obelisk still uninscribed. It is certainly very significant that it was later inscribed by Thutmose III! If he did not reach the throne until after the reigns of Thutmose II and Hatshepsut, the northern obelisk remained uninscribed for some twenty-three years at least! This is improbable, and the fact that the northern obelisk was not usurped by Thutmose II or Hatshepsut would indicate that they had no opportunity to do so, because Thutmose III, having succeeded Thutmose I for a few years, had already taken possession of it himself (see Sethe, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 36, 39 f.).

Only the middle columns of the standing obelisk are the inscriptions of Thutmose I; the side columns are later additions by Ramses IV and Ramses VI of the Twentieth Dynasty. The middle columns of the north and south sides contain only the elaborate titulary of Thutmose I; those of the east and west, his dedication, as follows:

^aText: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 6; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 127 f.; Champollion, *Monuments*, IV, 312–313; Rougé, *Album photographique*, 50, 53, 54, 68. See also Pococke, *Description of the East*, I, 95; and Brugsch, *Reiseberichte*, 159.

^bSee Breasted, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXII, 90. The two additional bases noted in Baedeker (1902, 253) probably belong to some other king, perhaps Amenhotep III, who mentions obelisks (§ 903, l. 57); or to Thutmose III.

87. ^aHorus: Mighty bull, beloved of Truth; King of Upper and Lower Egypt; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Shining with the Serpent-diadem, great in strength; Okheperkere, Setepnere; Golden Horus: Beautiful in years, who makes hearts live; Bodily Son of Re, Thutmose (I), Shining-in-Beauty.

He made (it), as his monument for his father Amon, Lord of Thebes, Presider over Karnak, that he might be given life like Re, forever.

88. ^bHorus: Mighty bull, beloved of Truth, King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Okheperkere, Setep-Amon (Thutmose I).

He made (it) as his monument for his father Amon-Re, chief of the Two Lands, erecting for him^c two great obelisks^c at the double façade of the temple. The pyramidions were of ————. ^d

89. A fragment of an obelisk^e on the island of Elephantine also refers to Thutmose I's jubilee. It still bears the words:

———— Thutmose (I); Shining-in-Beauty; he made (it) as his monument to his father, Khnum; making for him two obelisks of granite. First occurrence.^f That he may be given life forever.

ABYDOS STELA^g

90. This stela recorded the king's works in the Abydos temple of Osiris. In the lost introduction he has apparently held an audience and declared his intention of exe-

^aMiddle column, east side.

^bMiddle column, west side.

^cSee Ineni, ll. 9-11, § 105.

^dAbout one-third of the line is flaked off; the material of the pyramidions crowning the obelisks was usually copper or bronze.

^eBrugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1220. The epithet, "*Shining-in-Beauty*," is found on Thutmose I's Karnak obelisk, and is not used by other Thutmosids. Hence the obelisk certainly belongs to Thutmose I.

^fReferring, of course, to the royal jubilee.

^gSandstone stela from Abydos, now in Cairo; published by Mariette (*Abydos*, II, 31) and by de Rougé (*Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 19-22). Only the lower portion is preserved, the relief above being broken off, and probably a considerable fraction of the text.

cutting certain works for the god; whereupon the priests reply in the words with which the preserved portion begins. The chief treasurer is then instructed to execute the said works, which, he states, he did. On their completion the king delivers an address to the priests like that of Thutmose III (§§ 571 ff.).

Address of the Priests

91. ²—^a “How pleasant is this in the hearts of the people! How beautiful is this in the sight of the gods! Thou makest a monument for Osiris, thou beautifiest the First of the Westerners, the great god of the beginning, whose place Atum advanced, whom he magnified before ³his — — his heart, for whom kings have labored since this land was founded. As for thee, thou wast born to him; he made thee in the uprightness of his heart, to do that which he did in the earth, to restore ⁴the sanctuaries of the gods, [to] — their temples. Thou art gold, thine is the silver, Keb^b has opened for thee that which is in him, Tatenen^c has given to thee his things. All the countries labor for thee, all the lands are under thy rule. ⁵Every costly stone is ‘collected’ — in thy house; ⁶‘if there is’ a wish in thee, it must be done; it is that which thy ka desires which happens.

Royal Instructions to the Chief Treasurer

92. His majesty commanded the chief treasurer: “Conduct the work, causing to come ⁶— — — — every prepared one of his workmen, the best of his lay priests, who knows the directions and is skilful in that which he knows, who does not transgress what was commanded him, ⁷‘[to erect]’ the monument of his father [Osiris], to equip his everlasting statue. Execute the very secret things, no one seeing, no one beholding, no one knowing his body. Make for him the portable chapel-barque (*wts-nfr w*) of silver, gold, lapis lazuli, black copper, ⁸every splendid costly stone.”

Words of the Chief Treasurer

93. I executed for him the offering-tables, — (*sh̄m-*) sistrums and (*šsy t-*) sistrums, necklace-rattles (*mny wt*), censers, ¹‘a flat dish’ (*tnyw*),

^aThe number of lines lost before this point is uncertain.

^bThe earth-god.

^cPtah.

a great oblation there. I did not 'remove' them. I did not discontinue them.

The Sacred Barge

94. I built^a the august [barge] of new cedar of the best of the terraces; its bow and its stern being of electrum, making festive the lake;^b to make his voyage therein at his feast of the "District of Peker" (*Pkꜣy*).

Statues of the Gods

95. Furthermore, ¹⁰[his majesty] commanded to shape^c (statues of) the great ennead of gods dwelling in Abydos; (each) one of them is mentioned by his name; Khnum, lord of Hirur, dwelling in Abydos; Khnum, lord of the cataract, dwelling in Abydos; Thoth, leader of the great gods, ¹¹presider over Hesret; Horus, presider over Letopolis; Harendotes; Upwawet of the South, and Upwawet of the North; mysterious and splendid were their bodies. The standards^d thereof were of ¹²electrum, more excellent than their predecessors; more splendid were they than that which is in heaven; more secret were they than the fashion of the nether world; more — were they than the dwellers in Nun.

Words of the King

96. ¹³My majesty did these things for my father Osiris, because I loved him so much more than all gods, in order that my name might abide and my monuments endure in the house of my father, Osiris, First of the Westerners, ¹⁴lord of Abydos, forever and ever.

Address to the Priests

97. [I say to] you, divine fathers^e of this temple, priests (*wꜥ bꜥ w*), ritual priests, dwellers in the place of the hand,^f ¹⁵all the lay priests of the temple; offer ye to my tomb, present ye to my oblation-tablet; maintain ye the monuments of my majesty; mention ye my name;

^aRead: *ꜣ kh* as in Ineni (§ 105, l. 10).

^bMeaning it was reflected in the water; see same idea more clearly (§ 888, l. 20).

^c*Ms*, "*to shape*," with a following name of a god, is not uncommon (cf. I, 672).

^dThese are the standards upon which the statues were borne.

^ePriestly title.

^fAn order of priests of whom we know nothing.

remember ye my titulary; give ye ¹⁶praises to my likeness; praise ye the statue of my majesty; set my name in the mouth of your servants, my memory among your children. For ¹⁷I am a king excellent because of what he has done; the unique in might through the (mere) mention of his name ¹⁸— ^{1a} which I made in this land, till ye know it. There is no lie before you, nor exaggeration ¹⁸therein. I have made monuments for the gods; I have beautified their sanctuaries for the future; I have maintained their temples, I have restored that which was ruinous, I have surpassed ¹⁹that which was done before. I have informed the priests (*w^c b^w*) of their duties, I have led the ignorant to that which he did not know. I have increased the work of others, the kings ²⁰who have been before me; the gods had joy in my time, their temples were in festivity.

Universal Triumph

98. I made the boundaries of Egypt (*t²-mry*) as far as that which the sun encircles. I made ²¹strong those who were in fear; I repelled the evil from them. I made Egypt the superior of every land ¹— — — — ¹ favorite of Amon, ²²Son of Re, of his body, his beloved Thutmose (I), Shining like Re, beloved of Osiris, First of the Westerners; Great God, lord of Abydos, ruler of eternity; given life, stability, satisfaction, and health, while shining as King upon the Horus-throne of the living; and joy of his heart, together with his ka, like Re, forever.

BIOGRAPHY OF INENI^b

[Continued from § 46; continued § 115]

II. CAREER UNDER THUTMOSE I (LL. 4-14)

99. The career of Ineni, which began under Amenhotep I, continues here under Thutmose I. The king's name and the narrative of his accession unfortunately fall in the lacunæ at the ends of the lines (probably l. 4). The biography then narrates the wide dominion of the king, and the rich tribute therefrom (§ 101); Ineni's advancement to

^aRead *r-d* ²*t*.

^bBibliography on p. 18, note c.

superintendence of the king's building projects (§ 102) especially the construction of the Karnak pylons of Thutmose I, and the erection before them of his two obelisks, one of which still stands (§§ 103-5); also the excavation of the king's cliff-tomb and improvements in the necropolis of Thebes (§ 106); Ineni's rewards in serfs and treasury dues (§ 107); and the death of the king (§ 108).

100. The Karnak hall, which Ineni constructed, is of great historic interest, as it was the first hall on entering the building, and served as the chief hypostyle, or colonnaded hall, of the temple throughout the reign of Thutmose I. It was in this hall that Thutmose III was proclaimed king by the priests of Amon (§§ 131 ff.), thus putting aside either its builder, Thutmose I, or the weakling Thutmose II, and in this hall Hatshepsut erected her two great obelisks. The description of the erection of the hall itself is unfortunately lost in the lacuna at the end of l. 7, and l. 8 begins with a reference to the "*great pylons on its either side*," the erection of which follows. But Thutmose III informs us of the interesting fact that he replaced with stone columns the cedar columns erected by Thutmose I in this hall (§ 601). Indeed, Thutmose I himself was obliged to replace the northernmost two of his cedar columns by stone ones before the end of his reign.^a The fact is recorded by him on one of the new columns (see Piehl, *Actes du 6^{me} congrès des orientalistes à Leide*, 1883, IV^{me} partie, section 3, 203-19). This inscription is unfortunately now only a series of disconnected fragments, of which little is intelligible. The dedication on one of the columns is as follows: "*Thutmose I, he made (it) as his monument for his father Amon-Re, chief of the Two Lands*,

^aThis is a hint as to the length of his reign; he must have reigned long enough for the wooden colonnade to begin to decay.

making for him an august colonnade, which adorns the Two Lands with its beauty." (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1311, and Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 163.) On the further career of this historic hall, only begun here, see §§ 599 ff.; 803 ff.

Accession and Power of Thutmose I

101. ——— 5the Good God, who smites the Nubians, lord of might, who overthrows the Asiatics. He made his boundary as far as the 6Horns of the Earth,^a and the marshes in Kebeh (*Kbh*) ——— 6a ——— 7Elephantine. The Sand-dwellers bore their tribute like the impost of the South and the North; his majesty forwarded them to Thebes, for his father Amon, each year. Everything was made to prosper^b for me under ———.

Ineni's Promotion

102. 7He filled his heart with me,^c I was brought to be a dignitary, overseer of the granary; the fields of divine offerings were under my authority; all^d the excellent works together were under my administration.

Karnak Pylons

103. I inspected the great monuments^e which he made ——— 8great pylons on its either side of fine limestone of Ayan (^c*nw*); august flagstaves were erected at the double façade of the temple of new cedar of the best of the Terraces;^f their tops were of electrum.^g I inspected ——— 9wrought with electrum.

^aThe same phrase occurs in Assuan inscription of Thutmose II (§ 120, l. 4), where it refers to the south; the marshes above must therefore be those of the Euphrates in the north, also used by Thutmose II, *loc. cit.*

^bSuch a passive is often a respectful circumlocution to indicate an act of the king.

^cAn idiom signifying favor with the king.

^dRead: *nb't*.

^eThe following is the description of the erection and adornment by Ineni of the hall and two pylons of Thutmose I at Karnak (IV and V), and the two obelisks before them, of which one still stands.

^fMeaning the slopes of Lebanon; cf. the "*Myrrh-terraces*."

^gFour such flagstaves, set in channels cut for them in the faces of the pylons, usually adorned the temple façade.

Karnak Portal

104. I inspected the erection of the great doorway (named): "Amon-Mighty-in-Wealth;"^a its huge door was of Asiatic copper whereon was the Divine Shadow,^b inlaid with gold.

Karnak Obelisks

105. I inspected the erection of two^c obelisks ———— ^{10d}built the august boat^d of 120 cubits in its length, 40 cubits in its width,^e in order to transport these obelisks. (They) came in peace, safety^f and prosperity, and landed at Karnak ———— ¹¹of the city. Its 'track' was laid with every pleasant wood.

Thutmose I's Cliff-tomb

106. I inspected the excavation of the cliff-tomb of his majesty, alone, no one seeing, no one hearing.^g I sought out the excellent^h things upon ———— ^{12f}—¹ I was vigilantⁱ in seeking that which is excellent. I made fields of clay, in order to plaster their tombs of the necropolis; it was a work such as the ancestors had not done which I was obliged to do there ¹³—¹ ———— ¹³I sought out for those

^aThe name is not among the ten gates given by Mariette, *Karnak*, 38.

^bExplained § 889, note.

^cHence Petrie, depending on Mariette's plan (*Karnak*, 2) is under misapprehension in attributing one of these obelisks to Thutmose III (Petrie, *History of Egypt*, II, 67). The standing obelisk of this pair distinctly refers to the erection of "two great obelisks" (§ 88); hence Thutmose III must have appropriated the now fallen obelisk after it was up, and before the inscriptions were cut.

^dThe same words are used of the transport of Hatshepsut's obelisks; see § 326, note.

^e*Egypt Exploration Fund Archaeological Report*, 1895-96, 9 and 10, where Naville gives the equivalents of the above dimensions rather inaccurately. One hundred and twenty royal cubits = 206.6 feet, and 40 royal cubits = 68.86 feet.

^fRead *hṯp*, < *nd*, *wḏ* >.

^gThe same phrase: "no one seeing, no one hearing," occurs on the statue of Sennefer, British Museum, 48. See also § 92. This remarkable statement indicates the secrecy with which the vast rock-cut tombs of the Emperors were excavated, in order to avoid the tomb-robberies, which finally forced the removal of the royal mummies to Der el-Bahri. Another officer, Hapuseneb (§ 389, ll. 7, 8), also states that he worked on the king's "cliff-tomb" (*hr' t*), see Piehl, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 23, 59. See Breasted, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXII, 90-94. The construction of such a tomb is described in the last twelve lines of Sinuhe; see Goodwin, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1872, 21 ff.

^hThe various supplies for the tomb. ⁱLit., "My head was watchful."

who should be after me. It was a work of my heart, my virtue was wisdom; there was not given to me a command by an elder. I shall be praised because of my wisdom after years, by those who shall imitate that which I have done, ——— ‘⁴while I was chief (*r²-hry*) of all works.

Ineni's Rewards

107. My praise endured in the palace, my love among the court. His majesty endowed me^a with peasant-serfs, and my income was from the granary of the king's estate on each day.

Death of Thutmose I

108. The king rested from life, going forth to heaven, having completed his years in gladness of heart.

[Continued §§ 115-118]

STELA OF YUF^b

109. This official served under Queen Ahhotep, the mother of King Ahmose I, and administered her property in Edfu. He also repaired for her there a ruined tomb belonging to her ancestor, the queen Sebekemsaf, who was the wife of one of the Thirteenth Dynasty Intefs.^c He says nothing of any subsequent connection with the royal house under the following reign of Amenhotep I, but he was later in the service of Queen Ahmose, the favorite wife of Thutmose I, and mother of Hatshepsut. His career therefore extended through at least part of four generations of the royal house.

^aThe same rare phrase in Ahmose, son of Ebana (§ 6, l. 3).

^bSandstone stela, 0.62 m. high, from Edfu, now in Cairo, old No. 238; published by Bouriant, *Recueil*, IX, 92, 93, No. 72. I had also a carefully revised copy, kindly loaned me by Schaefer.

^cSee Newberry, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXIV, 285-89. Maspero supposed (*Momies royales*, 625-28) that Sebekemsaf was a deceased daughter of Ahhotep, but Newberry has clearly shown that she was an ancestor of Ahhotep.

Relief

110. In the middle is an offering-table, before which on the left are two women sitting, and on the right a man, standing, accompanied by his son. Before the first woman are the words: "*Divine consort, great king's-wife, Ahhotep, triumphant*"; before the second: "*King's-wife, king's-sister [Sebek]emsaf^a —.*"

Before the first man is a mortuary prayer for "*thy (jem.) ka*," but his name is illegible; before the son: "*His son, prophet of the dues (š² w), Harhotep, triumphant.*" Below is the following inscription:

Mortuary Prayer

111. ¹An offering which the king gives; Horus of Edfu, Osiris and Isis; may they give bread, beer, oxen, geese, everything good and pure for the ka of the great king's-wife, ²the king's-mother, Ahhotep, triumphant; and her son Nebpehtire (Ahmose I), triumphant.

Restoration of Sebekemsaf's Tomb

112. She gave to me.^b The ¹second^{1c} prophet of the dues (š² w) of the altar, ³the door-keeper of the temple, the priest, Yuf (Yw' f), son of Iritset (Yry' t-s' t), he says: "I repaired this tomb (ysy) of ⁴the king's-daughter, Sebekemsaf, after finding it beginning to go to ruin."

Favor under Queen Ahhotep

113. Then this priest said: "⁵O ye who pass by this stela, I will tell you, and I will cause you to hear my favor with the great king's-wife, Ahhotep. She appointed ⁶me to offer to her; she intrusted me with the statue of her majesty. She gave to me bread: ⁷100 (by' t-) loaves, and 10 persen loaves; ² (ds-) jars of beer, and a joint (pns w) from every ox. I was endowed^d [with] ⁸upland, and with lowland.

^aOf course, Sebekemsas is meant.

^bThe connection of this phrase is not clear; the following list of titles terminating with the name of the owner of the stela can hardly be connected with the preceding. Perhaps the stela is the gift meant.

^cTwo strokes, perhaps misunderstood from hieratic determinative for a man.

^dŠ² h' kwy, as in Ahmose, § 6, l. 3.

She repeated to me another favor, she gave to me all her property in Edfu, ⁹to administer^a it for her majesty.

Favor under Queen Ahmose

114. Another favor of the great king's-wife, Ahmose, triumphant, whom king ¹⁰Okheperkere (Thutmose I), triumphant, loves. She appointed me to be scribe of the assistant treasurer. She intrusted me with ¹¹the statue of her majesty, she gave to me 100 loaves of bread, 2 (*ds-*) jars of beer, and a joint (*w^c b·t*) from every ox. ¹²I was endowed with upland, and with lowland.

Field-scribe^b of Horus of Edfu, Denereg (*Dnrg*).

^a*Hrp*; hence we may possibly render: "to present it (the income?) to her majesty."

^bEvidently the subscript of the scribe who made the document.

REIGN OF THUTMOSE II

BIOGRAPHY OF INENI^a

[Continued from 108; concluded §§ 340 ff.]

III. CAREER UNDER THUTMOSE II

115. According to this biography, Thutmose II succeeded directly at the death of Thutmose I;^b under the new reign, Ineni enjoyed the greatest favor, until the death of Thutmose II.

Succession of Thutmose II

116. The Hawk^c in the nest^c [appeared as]^d the ¹⁵King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Okhepernere (^c²-*hpr-n-R*^c, Thutmose II), he became king of the Black Land^e and ruler of the Red Land,^e having taken possession of the Two Regions in triumph.

Ineni's Favor

117. I was a favorite of the king^f in his every place; greater was that which he did for me than^g those who preceded (me). I attained the old age of the revered, I possessed the favor of his majesty every day. I was supplied from the table of the king ¹⁶with bread of oblations for

^aBibliography on p. 18, note c.

^bThis seems unfavorable to Sethe's theory that Thutmose III succeeded Thutmose I and reigned for a short time before the accession of Thutmose II. But Sethe offers very cogent arguments in explanation of Ineni's silence on this point. See Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 19, § 29, and 39, § 52; and *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 36.

^cThis is a poetical designation of the crown prince as Horus, who also succeeded his father, Osiris.

^dErmann's restoration. Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 40, n. 1.

^eThe cultivable land and the desert.

^fLit., "one who filled the heart of the king."

^gSupply of course: "than that which he did for those who, etc.;" or "than that which those did who, etc.," meaning he received greater favor than from preceding kings.

the king, beer likewise, meat, fat-meat, vegetables, various fruits, honey, cakes, wine, oil. My necessities were apportioned in health and life, as his majesty himself said, for love of me.

Death of Thutmose II

118. (He) went forth to heaven, having mingled with the gods.^a

[Concluded §§ 340-43]

ASSUAN INSCRIPTION^b

119. This inscription narrates: (1) the arrival of a messenger who announces to his majesty a rebellion in Kush, and mentions a frontier fortress of the king's father, Thutmose I (see § 72) (ll. 5-9); (2) the anger of the king (ll. 9-11); (3) his dispatch of an army thither (ll. 11, 12); (4) the overthrow of Kush, and the capture of one of the chief's children with some other prisoners (ll. 12-15); (4) the complete pacification of the country (ll. 15-17). The inscription is dated on the day of the king's accession, and, according to l. 7, his father, Thutmose I, was living at the time, thus proving the coregency of the two.

Protocol

120. ¹Year 1, second month of the first season, day 8, coronation day^c under the majesty of Horus: Mighty Bull, Powerful in Strength; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Divine in kingship; Golden Horus: Powerful in Being; ²King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Okhepernere, Son of Re: Thutmose (II), Beautiful in diadems, upon the Horus-

^aSee also Senmut's reference to his death (§ 368, ll. 7, 8).

^bCut into the rock on the road from Assuan to Philæ; text in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 16, a; de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, I, 3, 4, and Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 250, 251; but the best text is revised from a squeeze by Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 81; translation, 38.

^cThe "appearance" (lit., *dawning*) of a king is his coronation; it is to be construed with "upon, etc.," after the names of the king. As this is the king's first year, the coronation is not an anniversary, but the very first day of the reign.

throne of the living; his father, Re, is his protection, and Amon, lord of Thebes; ³they smite for him his enemies. Lo, his majesty is in the palace, (‘but’) his fame is mighty; the fear of him is in the land, [his] terror in the lands of the Haunebu; ⁴the two divisions of Horus and Set^a are under his charge; the Nine Bows together are beneath his feet. The Asiatics come to him bearing tribute, and the Nubian Troglodytes bearing baskets. His southern boundary is as far as the Horns of the Earth^b (his) ⁵northern as far as the ends; ⁶the marshes of Asia^c are the dominion of his majesty, the arm of his messenger is not repulsed among the lands of the Fe[n]khu.

Announcement of Rebellion

121. One came to inform^d his majesty as follows: “The wretched Kush ⁶has begun to rebel, those who were under the dominion of the Lord of the Two Lands purpose hostility, beginning to smite him. The inhabitants of Egypt are about to bring away the cattle behind this ⁷fortress^e which thy father built in his campaigns, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Okheperkere (Thutmose I), living forever,^f in order to repulse the rebellious barbarians, the Nubian Troglodytes of Khenthennofer, for those who are ⁸there on the north of the wretched Kush [— — —] with the two Nubian Troglodytes among the children of the chief of the wretched Kush who [—] before the Lord of the Two Lands ⁹— [———].” His majesty was furious thereat, like a panther, when he ¹⁰heard it. Said his majesty, “I swear,^h as Re loves me, as my father, lord of gods, Amon, lord of Thebes, favors me, I will not let live anyone among their males [—] ¹¹among them.”

^aCf. § 70, l. 2.

^bCf. § 101, l. 5; and Index V.

^cSee Index V, s. v.

^dLit., “to make prosperous the heart of his majesty,” which is the conventional form for introducing a matter to a superior in letter-writing.

^eThese are the cattle of Egyptians who have settled in Nubia beyond the frontier military station, and are thus in danger of being pillaged by the rebellious Nubians.

^fThis epithet indicates that Thutmose I is still living.

^gSethe: “neigen zum Bündniss?”

^hCompare the same royal oath in the obelisk inscription of Hatshepsut (§ 318, l. 2, north side) and in the Megiddo campaign of Thutmose III (§ 422, l. 40).

The Campaign

122. Then his majesty dispatched a numerous army into Nubia (*T²-pd² t*) on his first occasion of a campaign, in order to overthrow all those who were rebellious against his majesty or hostile to the Lord of the Two Lands. ¹²Then this army of his majesty arrived at wretched Kush (———).^{1a} This army ¹³of his majesty overthrew those barbarians; they did [not]^b let live anyone among their males, according to all the command of his majesty, except one of those children of the ¹⁴chief of wretched Kush, who was taken away alive as a living prisoner with their people to^c his majesty. They were placed under the feet of the Good God; for his majesty had appeared upon his throne when ¹⁵the living prisoners were brought in, which this army of his majesty had captured. This land was made a subject of his majesty as formerly, the people ¹⁶rejoiced, the chiefs were joyful; they gave praise to the Lord of the Two Lands, they lauded this god, excellent in examples of his divinity. It came to pass on account of the fame of his majesty, ¹⁷because his father Amon loved him so much more than any king who has been since the beginning. The King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Okhepernere, Son of Re: Thutmose (II), Beautiful in Diadems, given life, stability, satisfaction, like Re, forever.

BIOGRAPHY OF AHMOSE-PEN-NEKHBT^d

[Concluded from § 85; see also § 344]

IV. CAREER UNDER THUTMOSE II

123. The conclusion of the long military career of this officer, at least in so far as he has recorded it, was a campaign of Thutmose II against the Shasu-Bedwin, of which this is our only record. It is probable that this defeat of the Shasu was only an incident in the northward march

^aPartially broken away.

^bThe negative is broken out in the text, but may certainly be supplied from l. 10.

^cLit., "to a place under his majesty" = the place where his majesty was.

^dBibliography on p. 10, note a.

against Niy (§ 125).^a This last campaign also brought its reward of valor from the king (§ 24).

Campaign against the Shasu

124. I followed King Okheperner^b (Thutmose II), triumphant; there were brought off for me in Shasu (Š²-sw) very many living prisoners; I did not count them.

[See also § 344]

CAMPAIGN IN SYRIA^c

125. The great importance of this fragment has been overlooked in all the histories, and was first noticed by Sethe.^d It records a campaign of Thutmose II in "*Retenu, the Upper*" and as far probably as Niy.

¹[Gifts which were brought to]^e the fame of the king, Okheperner (Thutmose II)^f [from his vic]²tories ——— ³elephant[s]^g ——— ⁴horse[s] ——— [Retenu] ⁵the Upper ——— [the land] ⁶of Niy ——— ⁷kings ——— ⁸his majesty in ——— ⁹[when] he came out of ———.

^aThe reign of Thutmose II was so short that we can hardly suppose that he made more than one campaign into Asia, in addition to his Nubian campaign (§§ 119-22).

^bPublished by Maspero (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1883, 78) as "Thutmose I;" corrected as above, Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 239, n. 1.

^cFragment from the Der el-Bahri temple, middle colonnade, toward the right end of the Punt reliefs (§ 272). Only the extreme tops of nine lines are preserved. Text: Mariette, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 7; Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 17; Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 102 and 40. Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 80. Besides this inscription, there is a short building inscription of Thutmose II in the Der el-Bahri temple, giving the usual dedication of a doorway which he erected there (Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, 69, 1).

^dSethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 40.

^eAs the inscription accompanies a relief representing gifts, the beginning is undoubtedly to be restored according to numerous analogies, as Sethe has done, *Untersuchungen*, I, 40.

^fIn Naville's text the end of the name is lost; hence Naville, not having collated the old publications, is unable to identify the name, but says "it seems to be that of Thothmes I" (Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 17). Both Mariette and Dümichen give Thutmose II.

^gCf. the elephant hunt in the same region here mentioned, in Amenemhab (ll. 22-25, § 588) under Thutmose III.

THE EBONY SHRINE OF DER EL-BAHRI^a

126. The left side-panel of an ebony shrine, unearthed by Naville in the temple of Der el-Bahri, contains the following dedication written thrice on the outside. It is in the name of Thutmose I and II, but the feminine pronoun occurs thrice, and the feminine verbal ending four times;^b hence Hatshepsut was certainly the author of the monument. Moreover, one of Hatshepsut's partisans, Thutiy, states that he made just such an ebony shrine in her time (§ 375, l. 24). It was therefore later usurped by the two Thutmoses, showing that Hatshepsut reigned for a time before them.

127. The Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, lord of offering, lord of diadems, who hath taken the crown of the Two Lands, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Okhepernere, Bodily Son of Re, Thutmose (II)^c; he made (it) as his monument for his^d father, Amon-Re, making for him an august shrine of ebony of the best of the highlands, that she^e might live and abide^f 'for him^g like Re, forever.

^aNaville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, II, xxv-xxix.

^bThe feminine occurs continually in the other inscriptions on the shrine also, as Sethe has shown (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 8, 9).

^cRight-hand column has Thutmose I!

^dThe column on the edge has "her!"

^eNaville has not noted this feminine, which occurs in two of the three texts; he offers an impossible masculine in his translation.

^f"Live" and "abide" are both feminine forms. They are ignored by Naville; Pl. XXVII is very inaccurate in reproducing the alterations evident in the original.

^gOr: "through him."

REIGN OF THUTMOSE III AND HATSHEPSUT

INTRODUCTION

128. The close of Thutmose I's independent reign was followed by years of conflict and strife among the Thutmosids, in which the parties of Thutmose I (not yet deceased), Thutmose II, Thutmose III, and Hatshepsut were all pushing the claims of their respective candidates for the throne at the same time. As they all succeeded for longer or shorter periods, there is the greatest confusion of royal names on the monuments dating from this period. It seems to the author that Sethe's explanation of the problem is the first correctly to solve the difficulty. It is the first, and thus far the only, scientific study of the problem employing and reckoning with all the materials. Sethe maintains the following propositions:

1. The instigator of the insertion of a royal name over another royal name is the king bearing the inserted name; hence

2. The systematic insertion of the names of Thutmose I and Thutmose II together, over the name of Hatshepsut on buildings erected by her together with Thutmose III, shows that Thutmose I and II reigned for a short time together, after the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III had begun.

3. The earliest monuments of Thutmose III show that he at first reigned alone, Hatshepsut being called merely "*great king's-wife*," until she later became king coregent with him.

129. The real succession on the first fall of Thutmose I was therefore probably thus:

1. Thutmose III reigns for a time alone.

2. Hatshepsut's party forces her upon Thutmose III as coregent.

3. About year 6 of Thutmose III, Thutmose I and II together gain the throne, for a brief coregency, but are not able to suppress Thutmose III, who, on the disappearance (probably death) of Thutmose I, regains the throne, and rules as coregent with Thutmose II, till the latter's death,^a which followed shortly, about year 8 of Thutmose III's reign (numbered from his first accession).

4. Thutmose III, with Hatshepsut now associated with him permanently, holds the throne, and they rule together at least twelve years more, till the death of the queen, when Thutmose III finally holds undivided possession. He numbered his years from his first accession, ruling at least thirty-four years more, till the year 54.^b

130. It will be seen that in this readjustment of the reigns practically all of the reign of Thutmose I falls before, and the bulk of Thutmose III's reign after, the period of the family conflict; while the reign of Thutmose II falls in the midst of this period of conflict that lies between. Hence the old numbering of these three kings need not be changed, and for this reason also their inscriptions are taken up in the old order. It should be noted that a number of difficulties

^aFragments of a statue from the temple of Wazmose at Thebes, as published by Daressy (*Annales du service*, I, 99) bear the date: year 18 of Thutmose II! In view of Daressy's numerous errors in publishing the short inscription, this is not to be accepted without examination of the original which, according to Borchartt, is stated by Daressy to be missing at Cairo. The date is probably year 18 of Thutmose I.

^bIt is impossible here to discuss the large mass of evidence which favors the above conclusions. Some of it will be found in the following translations. For the rest, the student is referred to Sethe's first treatise (*Untersuchungen*, I), his discussion with Naville (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 35, 36, and 37), and Breasted, *A New Chapter in the Life of Thutmose III* (Leipzig, 1900, or *Untersuchungen*, II). For year 20 of Hatshepsut, see Petrie, *Catalogue . . . Sinai*, p. 19.

beset any theory of the Thutmosid struggle. The above reconstruction, in view of recent discoveries, is perhaps not to be regarded as finally demonstrated, but it at least deals with and attempts to solve the otherwise insuperable difficulties of the current traditional theory.

INSCRIPTION OF THE CORONATION; BUILDINGS AND OFFERINGS^a

131. This inscription contains historical material of the highest importance, which has been overlooked in all the histories. On the occasion of the completion of one of his numerous additions to the Karnak temple, sometime between the years 15 and 22 (l. 17), Thutmose III held an audience and addressed his court, informing them that he owed his crown to Amon, and that he had shown his gratitude by great buildings and sumptuous offerings (ll. 1-22). The court replied, acknowledging his divine call to the throne (ll. 22-24). All this is now recorded as an intro-

^aIn the Karnak temple of Amon, on the exterior of the south wall of the chambers south of the sanctuary; three fragments were first published in 1863 by Brugsch (*Recueil de Monuments*, I, Pl. XXVI), then entire by Mariette (*Karnak*, 14-16) in 1875, with lines numbered backward and incorrect arrangement of fragments; then more accurately, but less completely and without the fragments, by de Rougé (*Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 165-74) in 1879, with lines numbered correctly; then much better than either, with correct arrangement of fragments, by Brugsch (*Thesaurus*, 1281-90); finally I published the coronation portion alone, based on the old publications (*New Chapter*, 6-9). But I have since secured much better materials, especially a careful copy of the original by my friend, Mr. Alan Gardiner, which he kindly placed at my disposal; also, through the kindness of Mr. Newberry, two large photographs made by Dr. Page May; and finally two more, which I owe to the thoughtfulness of Borchardt. These materials add much to the publications, and show that Brugsch made numerous restorations in the lacunæ, without indication that the added signs were not found on the original. The inscription is in forty-nine vertical lines, and as the upper courses of masonry have perished, the upper half of all the lines has been lost, except ll. 36-49, where fragments with the tops of these lines have survived, though with lacunæ below them.

duction to a three-fold list of the king's benefactions to the god: first, his buildings (ll. 25-36); second, his offerings of the field, and the herds, besides gifts of lands (ll. 36-41); third, temple utensils and the like (ll. 42-48). A short peroration concludes the record (ll. 48-49).

132. The introductory speech of the king begins with an account of his youth and of how he was named king. In the course of these reminiscences, the king in one phrase only (l. 3) compares himself to the youthful Horus in the Delta marshes. This very common comparison of the king with Horus^a in the Delta, together with the following context,^b was misunderstood by Brugsch as literal.^c This error was exposed by Maspero^d in 1880, and since then the inscription was left for twenty years untouched, as if its significance and content had been finally settled. This conclusion, however, is hardly to be justified if we notice that the inscription as used in all the histories now current, is translated backward!^e

133. Translating the king's speech in the proper direction, it becomes coherent in spite of the loss of the first half of each line, and tells a remarkable story. The king states, with protestations of his truthfulness, that he was a lad in the temple of Amon, before he had received his appointment as priest (*hn-ntr*, "prophet,"^f l. 2); and that he later

^aSee, for example, the identical statement with reference to Amenmeses, III, 642, note (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 201, c).

^bIt was the following context which misled Brugsch, for he remarks that such comparisons were an "oft wiederkehrende Redensart junger Könige" (365).

^c*Geschichte*, 365, and 288, 289; for the same error recently repeated, see *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1904, 37.

^d*Revue critique*, 1880, I, 107, n. 1; and *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1882, 133.

^eBrugsch, the entire inscription, beginning with the last line, and ending with the first. As far back as 1879 the publication of the admirable de Rougé had added the proper numbering to the lines; Brugsch has it in his *Thesaurus* (1891).

^fOf course, this appointment must have followed later.

occupied the priestly office of "*Pillar of his Mother*" (l. 3). On the occasion of a great feast the young priest was stationed by the god in the northern hypostyle (l. 3). The splendid procession of the god appeared (l. 4), with the then king (who is unfortunately not named) offering incense and conducting the ceremonies (l. 5). The procession passed around the hall where the young priest was, while the god^a sought for him (l. 6). As he stopped before the young priest the latter fell down before him in adoration, but was raised up and placed before the god (l. 7).

134. Then followed the oracle^b of the god, proclaiming him king; it is unfortunately lost in the lacuna, but immediately following is a reference to the "*secrets in the hearts of the gods*" now revealed, namely, their intention to make him king (l. 8).^c At this juncture in their coronation by the gods, Hatshepsut and Amenhotep III proceed to Heliopolis to be crowned by the sun-god, as was the immemorial custom (cf. §§ 221 ff.). But the young priest, Thutmose, is more highly favored; for him the gates of heaven are opened, he flies thither to be received by the sun-god (l. 9), who then crowned him (ll. 10, 11), and fixed his four royal names^d (in addition to the fifth, Thutmose, which he already bore), in accordance with divinely conferred qualities (ll. 12-14). Thus he is installed in the kingship, and his authority established at home and abroad (ll. 15, 16), in

^aOr possibly the then king.

^bThis oracle is referred to by the court in their reply (l. 23), and by Thutmose III himself in his inscription of year 23 at Halsa: "*He (the god) hath assigned to him his inheritance as a body which he begat; he uttered an oracle concerning him (nḏ·j r· hr·f) that his coronation might be established for him (as) king upon the Horus-throne of the living*" (ll. 3, 4, from a photograph by Steindorff).

^cCompare the designation of Hatshepsut and Amenhotep III as king by the gods before their coronation (§ 231).

^dHarmhab's names are declared at his divine coronation at precisely the same juncture (III, 29, l. 19).

order that he may offer the wealth of the earth to Amon (ll. 16, 17), erect him buildings, and present him offerings like the present ones (ll. 17-22).

135. This remarkable narrative, under a cloak of alleged divine interposition, like that in the life of Harmhab (III, 22 ff.), records the elevation of Thutmose III from a position of humble rank in the priesthood of the Karnak temple of Amon to the throne of Egypt. This is unquestionable fact. The only difference between this elevation of Thutmose III and that of Harmhab is that Harmhab reached it after a long official career, culminating in great political power, while Thutmose III rose to it directly from his priestly rank in the temple. Any attempt to explain this is to pass distinctly from fact to theory. Suppose that Thutmose III was the oldest son of Thutmose I, born before the latter's accession; his mother being, as we know, a lady not of royal blood, named Isis. This would explain why we find him as a priest in the Amon temple. When his father, Thutmose I, after marrying the royal princess Ahmose, gained the throne, and Hatshepsut, his daughter by her, grew up, she (Hatshepsut) was given in marriage to the king's eldest son, still a priest in the temple. Thus was the young priest immediately invested with a future claim upon the throne—a claim which a young man of the ability which we know he possessed, would surely make effective. Queen Ahmose dies, and with her perishes Thutmose I's right to the throne. The young priest immediately claims his right to reign, through his wife, precisely as his father, Thutmose I, had done.^a And now we pass from theory to fact again.

^aHarmhab also gained his right to the throne through his wife, a royal princess, who is referred to in his coronation inscription (III, 28, l. 15).

136. On the occasion of a great feast, when the god appears in procession, the future Thutmose III has all arranged so that the god shall stop before him as he stands in his place among the ranks of priests in the colonnaded hall, and shall indicate him as the future king. The plan is carried out successfully, and a superb stroke of imagination adds also the visit to the celestial realm there to be crowned and named by Re, the sun-god himself. Thus Thutmose III succeeded his father; and of his wife, the royal heiress, Hatshepsut, in whose right he ruled, we hear not a word in the whole transaction.^a The later buildings and gifts are also all in his own name.

137. The inscription refers to offerings of the fifteenth year; it is important to note that already at this time, between this date and the beginning of his great campaigns (year 22), Thutmose III possessed forest domains in Syria (l. 34), from which he drew cedar for his temple doors. He was also receiving captives and the children of native princes from Syria at this time. These facts indicate that he was still holding his father's conquests, at least as far north as Lebanon;^b and it was to suppress a widespread and persistent revolt that he began his campaigns in Syria at the close of the year 22.^c

Birth and Youth of Thutmose III

138. 1 ————^d my — is he; I am his^e son, whom he commanded that I should be upon his throne, while I was one dwelling in his

^aThis coincides with Sethe's conclusion that Thutmose III succeeded Thutmose I for a time alone, before the legitimists forced Hatshepsut upon him as coregent.

^bWhere his forest domains of cedar must have been located.

^cFor a full exposition of the historical and other data in this remarkable inscription, see the author's *A New Chapter in the Life of Thutmose III* (in Sethe's *Untersuchungen*), Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1900.

^dThe king in the relief is represented enthroned at the left, holding audience. There is little doubt that l. 1 began "year x, month x, day x, occurred the sitting (*hpr hms' t'*)", as, e. g., at Der el-Bahri (§ 292). The audience now begins with a speech from the throne.

^eThe god's; see "*his temple*" (l. 2).

nest;^a he begat me in uprightness of heart ²——— there is no lie therein; since my majesty was a stripling, while I was a youth in his temple, before occurred my installation to be prophet ³——— my majesty. I was in the capacity^b of the "Pillar of his Mother,"^c like the youth Horus in Khemmis. I was standing in the northern hypostyle^d ⁴———.

The Feast

139. ——— the splendors of his horizon.^e He made festive heaven and earth with his beauty; he received the great marvels;^f his rays were in the eyes of the people like the "Coming forth of Harakhte." The people, they gave to him ⁵[praise] —— the 'altar' of his temple. His majesty placed for him incense upon the fire, and offered to him a great oblation consisting of oxen, calves, mountain goats, ⁶———.

Search and Discovery

140. —— [the god]^g made the circuit of the hypostyle^h on both sidesⁱ of it, the heart of those who were in front did not comprehend his actions, while searching for my majesty in every place. On recognizing me, lo, he halted ⁷——— [I threw myself on] the pave-

^aA common figure for the young king, conceived as the young Horus-hawk; see § 116.

^bOr: "role."

^cA title of the god Horus, and then of a priest; (see *New Chapter*, 12 and 30) as it was an office which could be held by a high priest (*ibid.*, 30), this indicates promotion of Prince Thutmose from the rank of "prophet."

^dThis is the northern half of the colonnaded hall built by Thutmose I in the Karnak temple between his two Pylons (IV and V, see § 99 and my *New Chapter*, 12-14, 30, 31). As it was later dismantled by Hatshepsut for the erection of her obelisks in it, we have here also a terminus ad quem for the date of Thutmose III's coup d'état. On the later history of the hall, see §§ 600, 601, and 803 ff.

^eA common poetic designation for the temple of a god; to or from the temple at this juncture the sacred procession is moving, as the following three sentences show. In the lacuna opening the next line, he reaches "his temple," these being the first words of the line which are preserved.

^fDoubtless the things offered to him.

^gOr the procession.

^hWhere Prince Thutmose has already been stationed by the god (l. 3).

ⁱMeaning the colonnades on either side of the central aisle; Prince Thutmose is standing in the left, or "northern," colonnade.

ment, I prostrated myself in his presence. He set me before his majesty;^a I was stationed at the "Station of the King."^b He was astonished at me⁸——— without untruth. Then they [revealed]¹ before the people the secrets in the hearts of the gods, who know these his —; there was none who knew them, there was none who revealed them 9[beside him].

Ascent to Heaven

141. [He opened for] me the doors of heaven; he opened the portals of the horizon of Re. I flew to heaven^c as a divine hawk, beholding^d his form in heaven; I adored his majesty¹⁰——— feast. I saw the glorious forms of the Horizon-God upon his mysterious ways in heaven.

Coronation in Heaven

142. Re himself established me, I was dignified with the diadems which [we]re upon his head, his serpent-diadem, rested upon¹¹[my forehead] —— [he satisfied] me with all his glories; I was sated with the counsels^e of the gods, like Horus, when he counted his body at the house of my father, Amon-Re. I was [present]^led with the dignities of a god, with¹²——— my diadems.

Fixing Titulary^f

143. His own titulary was affixed for me.

^aProbably "*his majesty*" = "himself;" viz., he raised me up and set me before himself.

^bThe "*Station of the King*" is the place in the holy of holies where the king stood in the performance of the prescribed state ritual. One is known in Amâda, in Elephantine, in Thebes (temple of Memnon colossi), and, as above, at Karnak. (See Spiegelberg, *Recueil*, XX, 50, and my *New Chapter*, 16, 17.) I have since found another at Memphis (III, 532). The placing of Prince Thutmose at this official "*Station of the King*" is a public recognition of him as king.

^cThe usual meaning of this phrase applied to a king is that he died, but this is clearly not its meaning here, where the king on the throne uses the phrase himself in addressing his courtiers.

^dSo Brugsch, but Gardiner and photographs have only a lacuna for "*beholding*."

^e*S>r't*," see Piehl, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 24, 83-85; it occurs also in Harmhab's coronation, ll. 3 and 11.

^fCompare the fixing of the titulary by the gods in the coronation of Hatshepsut and that of Amenhotep III (§§ 230, 239).

First Name

He fixed my Horus upon the standard;^a he made me mighty as a mighty bull. He caused that I should shine in the midst of Thebes¹³[in this my name, Horus: "Mighty Bull, Shining in Thebes"].^b

Second Name

144. [He made my kingship enduring, like Re in heaven, in]^c this my [name], Favorite of the Two Goddesses: "Enduring in Kingship, like Re in Heaven."

Third Name

145. He formed me as a Horus-hawk of gold, he gave to me his might and his strength and I was splendid with these his diadems, in this my name, ¹⁴[Golden Horus: "Mighty in Strength, Splendid in Diadems"].

Fourth Name

146. ——— [in this my name], King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: "Menkheperre" (the being of Re abides).

Fifth Name

147. I am his son who came forth from him, a likeness fashioned like the presider over Hesret;^d he beautified all my forms, in this my name, Son of Re: "Thutmose, Beautiful of Form," living forever and ever.

Recognition of His Authority

148. ¹⁵——— my —; he caused that [the princes of] all [countries [should come], doing obeisance because of^e the fame of my majesty; my terror was in the hearts of the Nine Bows; all lands were under my sandals. He gave victory by my arms, in order to widen ¹⁶[the boundaries of Egypt] ——— because — so much — — him. He

^aThis is the Horus-hawk which surmounts the so-called standard or banner (really the façade of a building) containing the Horus-name of the king.

^bRestored from the name of the king, as it occurs elsewhere.

^cThis restoration is not literally certain, but something similar must have occupied the lacuna.

^dThat is, Thoth, with whose name "Thutmose" (or Thothmose) is compounded.

^eOr: "to."

rejoiced in me, more than (in) any king who had been in the earth since it was loosened.^a

Purpose of His Choice

149. I am his son, beloved of his majesty, whom his double desires 'to cause' that I should present this land at the place, where he is. I cause to encompass ¹⁷—— which he established, to make a monument abiding in Karnak. I requited his beauty with something greater than it by magnifying him more than the gods. The recompense of him who does excellent things is a reward for him of things more excellent than they. I have built his house as an eternal work. ¹⁸—— my ['father'] caused that I should be divine, that I might extend the throne of him who made me; that I might supply with food his altars upon earth; that I might make to flourish for him the sacred slaughtering-block with great slaughters in his temple, consisting of oxen and calves without limit. ¹⁹—— descending 'for' things, of those which were paid anew, — the dues therefor. I filled for him his granaries with barley and spelt without limit. I increased for him the divine offerings, I gave to him increase, ²⁰—— for this temple of my father Amon, at all feasts; ^bof the sixth day (of the month)^b satisfied with that which he desired should be. I know that it is forever; that Thebes is eternal. Amon, Lord of Karnak, Re of Heliopolis of the South (Hermonthis), his glorious eye which is in this land ²¹——.

Erection of This Monument

150. I made my monument, I recorded my commands at the stairway of the lord of Karnak, of the fashioner of all that is or exists. Everything shall remain forever, that is therein ['——'] ²²—— a libation, together with the things of his gods, when the god is satisfied with his things. The monument is a work in the temple for a memorial of my beauty in his house, and I shall endure in the mouth^c forever.

^aThat is, loosened (*wḥ**) and separated from the heavens at the beginning, as in the Pyramid Texts.

^bSo Brugsch; it is not now visible on the wall.

^cOf the people.

Reply of the Court

151. These companions, they said: ²³“——— this [word] which has been spoken to us; which we have heard in the court, L. P. H. May thy nostrils be rejuvenated with satisfying life; may thy majesty endure upon the great throne. The oracle of the god himself,^a is like the word of Re at the first beginning. Thoth is he who makes the writing speak,^b ²⁴——— rejoicing. His kingship is assigned to thee; established is thy coronation upon the Horus-throne, and recorded are thy annals as King of Upper and Lower Egypt. He has united for thee the Two Lands in peace, all countries in subjection.”

A New Chapel^c

152. ²⁵——— anew, together with a “Divine Abode,” a monument of fine white sandstone. The king himself performed with his two hands the stretching of the cord and the extension of the line, putting (it) upon the ground, and furnishing on this monument the exaction of work, according to the command of ²⁶——— enduring work of their hands.

A Holy of Holies

153. Behold, my majesty erected for him an august Holy of Holies,^d the favorite place of Amon (named): “His-Great-Seat-is-Like-the-Horizon-of-Heaven,” of sandstone of the Red Mountain.^e Its interior was wrought with electrum ²⁷———.

Three Portals

154. I[erected] the first portal, (named:) “Menkheperre-is-Splendid-in-the-Opulence-of-Amon;” the second portal, (named:) “Menkhe-

^aEvidently a reference to the oracle which decreed Thutmose III king. Compare the “oracle of the god himself” in the Punt reliefs (§ 285, l. 5).

^bSee Papyrus Ebers, I, 8.

^cHere the audience of the court seems to have been concluded, and the list of buildings and offerings begins.

^dThe form of the determinative is like the shrine of Saft-el-Henneh.

^eNear Cairo (cf. Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1902, 77; wrongly stated to be near Syene in *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, 176), about two miles east of the city. It yields a reddish, sandy conglomerate called “gritstone.” This passage shows the elastic character of the word rendered “sandstone” (*rwd't*); it indicated only gritty, hard stone, and usually sandstone. See also Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 478, n. 1.

perre-is-Abiding-in-Favor-with-Amon;" [the third^a portal, (named:) "Menkheperre,]^bis-the-Great-One-of-the-Souls-of-Amon;" wrought with real electrum, through which Mat^c enters for him ²⁸_____ making festive the monument. He rejoiced in his praise, he did that which he desired, he united his (sic) majesty with satisfying life, and joy of heart forever.

Pylon VI

155. My majesty [erect]ed an august pylon^d of the interior in front of ²⁹[the holy of holies] _____ I erected for him a great door, fashioned of new cedar, wrought with gold, mounted with real black copper, — with copper. The great name upon it was of electrum, doubly 'refined' gold and black copper ³⁰_____ the [—] thereof were of doubly 'refined' gold made in the likeness of the horizon of heaven. It was more beautiful than [anything] that has (ever) been.

My majesty further made for him these three portals^e ³¹_____.

Shrines and Statues

156. _____ the northern —; shrines of stone, (with) doors of new cedar thereto; ^fthe statues of [my majesty] belonging thereto, and the statues^g of my fathers, the kings ³²[of Egypt who were before me].

^aMariette found six gates bearing the name of Thutmose III in Karnak; but of the three above named he could only find the last (see Mariette, *Karnak*, Textes, 58, and Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1311, 1312, 1315. The first was found by Legrain in 1901 (*Annales du service*, II, 227); the second has never been found.

^bInserted by Brugsch, but no longer visible on original.

^cGoddess of truth.

^dThis pylon of the interior is, of course, the pylon (VI) of Thutmose III, behind the two pylons (IV and V) of his father, Thutmose I, and just in front of the holy of holies. The back of this pylon is occupied by the conclusion of the Annals and the record of feasts and offerings (§§ 541 ff.), and the front by Nubian lists.

^eApparently a further reference to the three portals mentioned before (§ 154).

^fSo Brugsch, but it is probably one of his tacit restorations, as there is no trace of it on the wall.

^gThese statues were those of his ancestors mentioned in the list in one of the rear chambers of the Karnak temple and now in Paris (see §§ 604 f.).

A Restoration^a

157. ——— [for] my father Amon-Re in Karnak, by making for him a monument anew, — upon — the ancestors, by beautifying for him his temple which built^b for him ³³[my majesty] ———. Behold, my majesty found this (made) of brick,^c very ruinous, of the work of the ancestors. My majesty himself wrought with his two hands, at the feast of "Stretching-the-Cord," upon this monument ³⁴———. Its beautiful name which my majesty made was: "Menkheperre-(Thutmose-III)-Adored-of-the-People-is-Great-in-the-Strength-of-Amon." Its great door was of cedar of the royal domain,^d wrought with [copper; the great name upon it]^e was of electrum. ³⁵———.

Conclusion of Buildings

158. He [‘did’] more than any king who has been since the beginning. There was none beyond his majesty in knowledge of everything in every handicraft, exacting f — — — — 136 f — ‘when’ there was an “Appearance”^g at ——— of very great monuments, excellent in work according to the desire of his majesty concerning them, because he so much loved his father Amon [‘lord of Thebes’].

^aIt is impossible to identify this structure, but it must have been a considerable building, as a special ceremony of laying out the plan was held. It may have been the chambers attributed to Hatshepsut, on the south wall of which the inscription stands. As this is the last building in the list, its conclusion or dedication is doubtless the occasion of the audience of the court and the introductory speech of the king.

^bEgyptian order preserved, to indicate division of lines.

^cIn contrast with his restoration of it in stone (which here falls into the following lacuna); cf. Thutmose III's Ptah-temple at Karnak, which bears the inscription: "His majesty found this temple of brick — — he made this temple of sandstone" (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1188).

^dThis domain must have been in Syria, for cedar did not grow in Egypt. This indicates that Thutmose III maintained his authority there before the beginning of his great campaigns (see my *New Chapter*, 28, 29).

^eSo Brugsch; evidently another tacit restoration.

^fAt this point begins a part of the lost upper portions of the lines, preserved on two blocks at the top of the wall. They have been set on wrong by Mariette, and should be shifted two lines to the right. From here to the end, the average loss is from one-quarter to one-half line.

^gOf the god, in procession.

New Offerings

159. The king himself commanded to make divine offerings, ³⁷anew for his father Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, ——— 30 jars of —, 100 bundles of vegetables, 3 (*hbn'-t-*) jars of wine, (*ht^c-*) fowl, fruit, white loaves, ^a1 *nd²* of (² *h-*) herb and 1 *nd²* of dates.^a

Live Offerings

160. My majesty furthermore commanded ³⁸to present an offering, consisting of oxen, calves, of bulls, of gazelles, ———.

Vegetable Garden and Lands

161. My majesty made for him a garden anew, in order to present to him vegetables and all beautiful flowers. My majesty furthermore gave lands, ³⁹2800 stat^b to be fields of divine offerings; many lands in South and North, —^c 1 stat¹.

Foreign Slaves

162. ——— supplied with people. I filled it with [captives] from the south and north countries, being children ⁴⁰[of] the chiefs of Retenu^d and children [of the chiefs] of Khenthennofer, according as my father [Amon] commanded ——— milk therein, each day for these vessels^e (*m[hr]w*) of silver, gold, and bronze, which my majesty made for him ⁴¹anew.

Another New Offering

163. Year 15, first (month) of the third season, day 27; my majesty commanded to found a great divine offering anew ——— [in the year]^f for the sake of the life, prosperity, and health of my majesty, in order that the altars of my father Amon may be supplied for all eternity.

^aSee same two items together in feasts and offerings (§ 571, l. 30, and note).

^bSee Griffith, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XIV, 412.

^cNumeral is lost.

^dSee *New Chapter*, 28.

^eThey are mentioned from l. 42 on, § 164.

^fSo Brugsch, but there is now no trace of it.

Small Monuments,^a Utensils, Etc.

164. ⁴²My majesty furthermore presented to him [very many]^b monuments: a great vase (*hs' t*) of electrum, of 7 cubits^c ——— of silver, gold, bronze, and copper, they shone over the (sacred) lake; the Two Lands were flooded with their brightness, ⁴³like the stars in the body of Nut, while my statue followed. Offering-tables of electrum of ——— real —, which my majesty exacted anew. I made it for him out of the conceptions of my heart,^d by the guidance of the god himself, ⁴⁴being the work of the hands of "Him-Who-is-South-of-His-Wall."^e Never was made the like in this land since the time of the an[cestors] ——— 'beyond everything'. My majesty furthermore presented to him 2 great (*hbn' t-*) jars, as the first of this great oblation, ⁴⁵which my majesty founded anew, for my father Amon, lord of Thebes, ——— at all his feasts forever. My majesty furthermore [made] many 'chambers'^f wrought with electrum and black copper,^g erecting an 'enclosure', a seat ⁴⁶———.

A Harp, Etc.

165. [My majesty made]^h a splendid harp wrought with silver, gold, lapis lazuli, malachite, and every splendid costly stone, ⁴⁷for the praise of the beauty of his majestyⁱ at his appearances in the names ——— gold, bronze, and every costly stone, a hall as in the beginning; (*mnk' t-*) linen, made anew, supplied with all that belongs thereto; ⁴⁸two chambers (*yšwy*) containing splendid ointment for [my father Amon] ——— ['which] I ['exact']ed for it.

Conclusion

166. My majesty did this for my father Amon, 'lord [of Thebes]', as recompense for the permanence of ⁴⁹the statues of my majesty which are in [this] temple ——— the limbs, as an everlasting work, to make his voyage therein, at his great feasts of the New Year.

^aThe Egyptian uses the word "monument" also for smaller works, vessels, utensils, etc., of which a list begins here.

^bSo Brugsch, but Gardiner has the *mk*-sign and a lacuna.

^cIf this refers to the height, as seems certain, it was of the astonishing height of twelve feet!

^dThe same phrase (*km ʔ-n-yb*) occurs in Papyrus Harris (IV, 308, l. 4).

^eAn epithet of Ptah, patron of handicrafts. ^f*Sbk' t*.

^gSee Building Inscription of Amenhotep III, ll. 3, 11, and 22 (§§ 883, 886, and 889).

^hSo Brugsch; no trace on original. ⁱThe god.

SEMNEH TEMPLE INSCRIPTIONS^a

167. The temple of Semneh was rebuilt of stone from the ground up, by Thutmose III, with the pious intention of restoring the brick sanctuary of his great ancestor (at least officially so), Sesostris III, in whose fortress of Semneh the temple stands. Of Sesostris III's original temple nothing has ever been found, unless the "Second Semneh Tablet" (I, 653-60) was a part of it. This tablet Thutmose III piously set up in the wall of his new temple; and also had recorded on the new walls the old list of feasts and offerings which he found among the inscriptions of Sesostris III. More than this the old temple was sacred to Khnum and Dedun; but Thutmose III adds to them Sesostris III, now apotheosized as the hero who conquered Nubia^b (see I, 640 ff.). There is here a noble regard for the greatest king of the Middle Kingdom, which contrasts very strikingly with the shameful desecration of which the Nineteenth Dynasty was guilty.

Thutmose III completed his new temple early in his second year, and the original sculptures show not a trace of Queen Hatshepsut's regnancy.^c

I. RENEWAL OF SESOSTRIS III'S LIST OF OFFERINGS^d*Scenes*

168. On the right Sesostris III is enthroned under a baldachin. Before him at the extreme left stands Thutmose III.

^aLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 47, a-56, b; Young, *Hieroglyphics*, 91-95. Steindorff's collation of Lepsius with the original shows that the latter's plates are very accurate.

^bThis apotheosis of Sesostris III doubtless took place earlier than this, but we have no earlier evidence.

^cOn later traces of her in the reliefs, see Sethe, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 36, 59-63, and Pls. VI-X.

^dOn the east wall, outside (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 55, a-b).

Inscription

169. ¹Year 2, second month of the third season (tenth month), day 7 under the majesty of^a ²Thutmose (III), given life.

Decree of Renewal

170. That which was spoken by^b the majesty of the Court, L. P. H., to the wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, king's-son, governor of the southern countries —^c: ³"Cause that there be engraved the divine offerings, which the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Offering, Khekure (Sesostris III)^d made — — —⁴in the temple of his father Dedun, presider over Nubia, the avenging son; that he might do excellent things for his fathers who begat him; and the festal offerings, that [his name might be mentioned in the house of]^e his father] ⁵Khnum, binder of the (Nine) Bows, smiter of the Shasu (*šs'w*); while the king, Khekure (Sesostris III) was among the living, while he lived — — — ⁶the gods; causing that there be offered divine offerings to the gods and the mortuary offering to the dead by his majesty. Divine offerings were made anew — — — ⁷in the house of his father Dedun, that his name might be mentioned in the house of his father Khnum, binder of the (Nine) Bows, smiter of the Shasu.

Sesostris III's List

171. There shall be given: southern grain and spelt^f for them, and the water of Wawat — — — — ⁸for his father Dedun, presider over Nubia, a festal offering of the beginning of the seasons: of southern grain, 15 heket;^g for his father Dedun, presider over Nubia: of southern grain, 645 heket; of spelt, 20; — — — — [for his father], ⁹Khnum, binder of the (Nine) Bows: a festal offering of the beginning of the seasons: southern grain, 50 heket; southern grain, 425 heket; of spelt, 20; each year for his father Khnum, binder of the (Nine) Bows: a bull of the herd for the New Year (*wp-rnp't*); for his father

^aFull titulary.

^bLit., "from" (*m*).

^cThe name of the official is lost, but it is almost certainly the viceroy of Kush, who was appointed by Thutmose I (§§ 61 ff.), whose name was probably Thure.

^dHis Horus-name follows.

^eRestored after l. 7.

^fSee Griffith (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XIV, 430).

^gThe offerings are separated by a semicolon.

Dedun: a bull — — — — — ¹⁰a bull of the herd for the feast, (named:) "Repulse-of-the-Troglodytes,"^a which occurs in the fourth month of the second season, on the twenty-first day, ^ba festal offering of the beginning of the seasons; ^bsouthern grain, 50 heket; southern grain, 202^c heket; of spelt, 15; each year at (the feast) "Repulse-of-the-Troglodytes:" royal linen, 8 — — — — — [for] ¹¹the feast, which occurs in the first of the third season^d (ninth month): a bull of the herd; for his father Khnum, binder of the (Nine) Bows, smiter of the Shasu: southern grain, 26 heket; each year for the king's-wife: ———, ¹²southern grain, 26 heket; each year for the great king's-wife, Merseger (*Mr-sgr*), at (the feast) "Binding-of-the-Barbarians:"^e southern grain, 135 heket; of spelt, 10; each year for the king, Khekure (Sesostris III): ———.

172. ¹³His majesty enjoined them upon the chiefs, and governors of the fortresses of Elephantine of the South, as dues of each year to abide and to endure: ———.

II. DEDICATION TO DEDUN AND SESOSTRIS III

Scene^f

173. Sacred barque, containing a shrine with statue of Sesostris III; behind this Thutmose III and Dedun standing, the god embracing the king.

Words of Dedun

174. My beloved son, Menkheperre, how beautiful is this beautiful monument, which thou hast made for my beloved son, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khekure (Sesostris III). Thou hast perpetuated his name forever, that thou mayest live.

^aSee I, 654.

^bThe season feast and the feast of victory seem to have fallen together.

^cThere is a small lacuna after the units; the number is probably 205.

^dProbably Thutmose III's coronation feast, which occurred on the fourth of this month.

^eThere is no doubt that this is another feast introduced by *r*, "*at*," as in l. 10.

^fInside, on the west wall (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 48, b-49, a). There is a similar scene on the newer portion of the same wall, farther north.

175. On the opposite wall in a similar scene^a Dedun adds:

Thou hast renewed his birth^b a second time in a monument in memoriam.^c Thou hast presented to him many offering-tables of silver and gold, bronze, and Asiatic copper. The reward thereof for thee is satisfying life, like Re, forever.

176. The dedication inscription in full is as follows:^d

1The Good God, Menkheperre (Thutmose III). He made (it) as his monument for his father Dedun, presider over Nubia (*T²-pd·t*), and for the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khekure (Sesostris III); making for them a temple 2of fine white stone of Nubia (*T²-pd·t*) although my majesty found (it) of ruinous brick; as a son does, 1according to1 the desire which his father desired, 3who assigned to him the Two Regions, who brought him up to be Horus, lord of this land. I have set it in my divine heart that I should make his monument; that I should make him mighty according as he gave 4—; that I should perpetuate his house forever, according as he has become greater than any god. He hath given to me all life, stability and satisfaction like Re, forever.

BIOGRAPHY OF NEBPAWI

177. This official enjoyed a long career, beginning early in the reign of Thutmose III and continuing under Amenhotep II. The narrative of his career was evidently distributed upon a number of monuments,^e some of which are lost, so that we now possess only the story of his earliest and latest years, the former on a statue, the latter on a stela, both of which were gifts from the king.

^aLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 50, b.

^bLit., "repeated birth for him."

^cLit., "a monument of putting the heart," that is, of putting in mind, reminding. Compare Hebrew, *לֵב סִים*.

^dOn the outside of the west wall; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 52, b; see also Young, *Hieroglyphics*, 93.

^ePerhaps four (see Spiegelberg, *Recueil*, XIX, 99).

"He (Thutmose I) recognized the auspiciousness of a coronation on^a New Year's Day as the beginning of the peaceful years and of the spending of myriads (of years) of very many jubilees."^b

Thutmose I therefore ostensibly selected New Year's Day as the most auspicious day for his daughter's coronation. But if we examine her obelisk inscription (§ 318, l. 8), we find that, as she actually reckoned, the beginning of her regnal year fell somewhere between the first of the sixth and the thirtieth of the twelfth month, and not on New Year's Day. Finally, this account of the coronation in the Der el-Bahri temple, is taken verbatim from the account of the coronation of Amenemhet III in the Middle Kingdom temple at Arsinoe,^c and deserves no more credence than the geographical lists of Ramses III at Medinet Habu, which have been copied from the lists of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties. It is clear that this entire coronation of Hatshepsut, like the supernatural birth, is an artificial creation, a fiction of later origin, prompted by political necessity. As such it is closely paralleled by the similar representations of Ramses II in his great Abydos inscription (III, 251-81), with the sole difference that his father is stated to have remained as coregent on the throne.

Scene

234. Thutmose I is enthroned at the left, with his daughter standing before him; in their presence three rows of courtiers standing on the right.

^aLit., "*of*," making the phrase, "*New Year's coronation*."

^b§ 239, ll. 33, 34.

^cFragments in Berlin (Nos. 15801-4; see *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Heft III, 138). I owe the knowledge of the character of these fragments to my friend, Mr. Alan Gardiner, who kindly called my attention to them.

Inscriptions^a

They furnish the only surviving account of such a coronation, in the presence of the superseded monarch and the court.

Thutmose I Summons His Daughter to be Crowned

235. ¹There saw her^b the majesty of her father, this Horus;^c how divine is her great fashioner! Her heart is glad, (for) great is her crown; ²she advocates her cause 'in¹ truth, 'exalter¹ of her royal dignity, and of that which her ka does. ³The living were set before her^d ³in his palace^e of '—¹. Said his majesty to her: "Come, glorious one;^f I have placed (thee) before me; that ⁴thou mayest see thy administration^g in the palace, and the excellent deeds of thy ka's^b that thou mayest assume thy royal dignity, glorious ⁵in thy magic, mighty in thy strength. Thou shalt be powerful in the Two Lands; thou shalt seize the rebellious; ⁶thou shalt appear in the palace, thy forehead shall be adorned with the double diadem, resting upon the head of the heiress of Horus, whom I begat, ⁷daughter of the white crown, beloved of Buto. The diadems are given to thee by him who presides over the thrones of the gods.

Thutmose I Summons the Court

236. ⁸My majesty caused that there be brought to him the dignitaries of the king, the nobles, the companions, ⁹the officers of the court,ⁱ and the chief of the people,^j that they may do homage,^k to set the maj-

^aThey are in vertical lines, divided into three groups by the king's throne and the group of courtiers. The language is in many respects unusual, the whole is difficult and sometimes uncertain.

^bHatshepsut.

^cMeaning King Thutmose I, to whom all the following epithets are applied.

^dReferring to the court spectators.

^eOf course, read: *h c-j-n-ys't* as in l. 10.

^fAddressed to his daughter, the queen.

^gShe has already seen it in the land at large on the northern journey (§ 224, l. 8).

^hThat which the ka does, is to reign; the phrase is not uncommon.

ⁱOf course, correct to *šny't*.

^j*Rhy't*, a class of people not yet closely defined.

^k*Nd't-hr*.

esty of ¹⁰the daughter of this Horus^a before him in his palace of I—I.^b There was a sitting^c of the king himself, ¹¹in the audience-hall of the right of the I'court', while these people prostrated themselves^d in the court.

Thutmose I's Address to the Court

237. Said^e his majesty before them: "This my daughter, Khnemmet-Amon, Hatshepsut, who liveth, I have appointed [her] — —; she is my successor^f ¹³upon my throne, she it assuredly is who shall sit upon my wonderful seat.¹⁴ She shall command the people^g in every place of the palace; she it is who shall lead you; ¹⁵ye shall proclaim her word, ye shall be united at her command. He who shall do her homage shall live, he who shall speak evil in ¹⁶blasphemy of her majesty shall die. Whosoever proclaims with unanimity the name of her majesty (fem.), ¹⁷shall enter immediately into the royal chamber, just as it was done by the name of this Horus (viz., by my name).^h For ¹⁸thou art divine, O daughter of a god, for whom even the gods fight; behind whom they exert their protection every day according to the command of her father, the lord of the gods.ⁱ

The Court and People Acknowledge the New Queen

238. ¹⁹The dignitaries of the king, the nobles and the chief of the people^j hear ²⁰this command for the advancement of the dignity of

^aMeaning the king, Thutmose I.

^bSee l. 3 (note). Possibly referring to the tomb-temple of Der el-Bahri, where the scene is engraved. In this case, the events narrated took place in the Der el-Bahri temple itself.

^cSee sitting of year 9, Punt relief (§ 292, l. 1).

^dLit., "*were upon their bellies.*"

^eAt this point the inscription is interrupted by the scene representing the king seated in a pavilion, etc.

^fThis word (*ys'ty*) is very important; for it indicates, not association as coregent, but accession as successor. It is used in the same sense, precisely, by the nomarch Key (I, 692).

^gLit., "*She shall command matters to the people (rhy't).*"

^hThat is, the name of the new queen is to be as effective in securing entrance as had been that of the king, her father.

ⁱHere the text is interrupted by the bas-relief of the three rows of officials named in ll. 8, 9.

^jSee § 236, l. 9, n. f.

his daughter, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Makere (Hatshepsut) living forever. They kissed the earth at his feet, when the ²¹royal word fell among them; they praised all the gods for the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Okheperkere (Thutmose I), living forever. They went forth, their mouths ²²rejoiced, they published his proclamation [to] them. All the people^a of all the dwellings ²³of the court heard; they came, their mouths rejoicing, they proclaimed (it) beyond everything, dwelling on dwelling ²⁴therein was announcing (it) in his name; soldiers on soldiers ¹—¹,^b they leaped and they danced ²⁵for the double joy of their hearts. They ¹proclaimed¹, they ¹proclaimed^{1c} the name of her majesty (fem.) as king; while her majesty (fem.) was a youth, while the great god was ²⁶turning¹ their hearts to his daughter, Makere (Hatshepsut), living forever, when they recognized that it was the fa[ther] of the divine daughter, and ²⁷thus they were excellent in her great soul beyond everything. As for any man who shall love her in his heart, and shall do her homage every day, ²⁸he shall shine, and he shall flourish exceedingly; [but] as for any man who shall speak against the name of her majesty, the god shall determine his death immediately, ²⁹even by the gods who exercise protection behind her every day. The majesty of this her father hath published this, all the people^d have united upon ³⁰the name of this his daughter for king. While her majesty was a youth, the heart of his majesty inclined to [her] exceedingly.

Proclamation of the Queen's Names

239. ³¹His majesty commanded that the ritual priests be brought to ¹proclaim¹ her great names that belonged to the assumption of the dignities of her royal crown and for insertion in (every) work and every seal of the ³²Favorite of the Two Goddesses, who makes the circuit north of the wall,^e who clothes all the gods of the Favorite of the Two Goddesses. ³³He has recognized the auspiciousness of the coronation on New Year's Day as the beginning of the peaceful years and of the

^aSee § 236, l. 9, n. f.

^bA verb of shouting is lacking, as it is construed with *hr*.

^cWritten twice, cf. note a.

^dSee § 236, n.

^eSome ceremony unknown to us. The whole line refers to ceremonies in which the official name of the monarch must be used (see § 57).

spending of myriads (of years) of ³⁴very many jubilees. They proclaimed her royal names, for ³⁵the god caused that it should be in their hearts to make her names according to the form with which he had made them before:^a

³⁶Her great name, Horus: [Wosretkew (*wsr' t-k' w*)],^b forever;

³⁷Her great name, Favorite of the Two Goddesses: "Fresh in Years,"^c good goddess, mistress of offering;

³⁸Her great name, Golden Horus: "Divine of diadems;"^d

³⁹Her great name of King of Upper and Lower Egypt: "Makere, who liveth forever."^e

It is her real name which the god made beforehand.

VIII. SECOND PURIFICATION^f

240. After the public coronation, further ceremonies of the gods follow.

First Scene

The queen is led away by the god Kheseti. *Q . C . L .*

Inscriptions

^gThe first (day) of the first season, New Year's Day, the first of the peaceful years of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Favorite of the Two Goddesses, who makes the circuit north of the wall, the Feast of Shed^h

ⁱThe leading away to enter the "Great House" ('by') the "Pillar of his Mother,"^j of the "Great House" ('for the') purification of the "Great House."

^aThey were inspired to announce the same names which the god had already conferred upon her before (§ 230). This is to explain how the officials knew the same names already conferred by the god.

^b"*Mighty of doubles.*"

^c*W' q' t rnp' wt.*

^d*Ntr' t-k' w.*

^eThe complete titulary should contain five names of which the last is here lacking. This last fifth name was her personal name, Hatshepsut, which she had already received in childhood.

^fNaville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 63.

^gOver the queen.

ⁱOver the god.

^hCf. I, 150. Titulary of the queen.

^jA priestly title.

Second Scene

241. The god Kheseti, standing at the right, holds over the queen, who stands at the left, a vessel in the form of the sign of life.

Inscription

Over the queen, merely her name with epitheta; over the god, the following:

I have purified thee with these waters of all satisfying life, all stability, all health, all joy of heart, to celebrate very many jubilees, like Re, forever.

IX. CONCLUDING CEREMONIES^a

242. The queen is now led away by Horus, and several ceremonies follow, which are too nearly destroyed to be clear, but one of them was the "*making of the circuit north of the wall*," in accordance with the title of the queen used above.^b The coronation is now regarded as complete, for Horus says: "*Thou hast established thy dignity as king, and appeared upon the Horus-throne.*"

SOUTHERN PYLON INSCRIPTION AT KARNAK^c

243. There is a distinct tendency on the part of Hatshepsut to show especial respect to her father, Thutmose I. The evident purpose of the following inscription is to make clear that her father recognizes her right to rule as king. It represents him shortly after her accession, as praying for

^aNaville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 63, 64.

^bIn § 240, and elsewhere.

^cOn the north side of the third southern pylon, left wing, below; text: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 18; Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 113, 114; translated by de Rougé, *Mélanges d'archéologie égyptienne*, I, 46 f.; Sethe, *ibid*, I, 27, 28 (cf. also p. 1). The inscription is very mutilated, and some omissions have been necessary.

the blessing and favor of the gods upon her reign,^a and the entire document is of course, the work of the queen herself.

244. The accompanying scene shows Thutmose I standing on the right before Amon, Mut, and Khonsu, the Theban triad on the left; the inscription of twenty lines occupies the space between. Over half of it is occupied with the names, titles, and fulsome epithets of Thutmose I, and the translation omits these, beginning in the middle of l. 11, with the king's address to the three divinities.

245. ¹¹. I come to thee, lord of gods; I do obeisance^b [before] thee, in return for this that [thou hast put]^c ¹²the Black and the Red Land^d under (the dominion of) my daughter, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Makere^e (Hatshepsut), who lives forever, just as thou didst put (it) under (the dominion of) my majesty ¹³. . . Thou hast given to me the kingdom of every land in the presence of the Two Lands, exalting my beauty while I was a youth . . . [the Black Land] ¹⁴and the Red Land are under my dominion. I am satisfied with victories, thou hast placed every rebellious land under my sandals which thy serpent-diadem has bound, bearing their gifts; thou hast strengthened the fear [of me] ——— ¹⁵their limbs tremble, I have seized them in victory according to thy command; they are made my subjects; [they come to me] doing obeisance, and all countries with bowed head. Tribute ——— ¹⁶. ¹⁷. the heart of my majesty is glad because of her ¹⁸[the petition] concerning my daughter Wosretkew,^g King of Upper and Lower Egypt, of whom thou hast desired, that she be associated with [thee]^h — 'that' thou mightest

^aSethe has shown (*Untersuchungen*, I, 28) that it does not record the installation of Hatshepsut as coregent.

^bLit., "*smell the ground*."

^cSethe's emendation, *Untersuchungen*, I, 113.

^dThe black land of the valley and the red of the desert hills.

^eThe name has been changed to that of Thutmose II, but the queen's name can still be read.

^fThe conventional praise of the king; in the following lines which are very fragmentary, only the references to the queen are translated.

^gHorus-name of Hatshepsut.

^hApparently a play on her name, "*Associate of Amon*" (Khnetmet-Amon).

assign [this] land [to] her grasp. Make her prosperous as King ———
¹⁹mayest thou [grant] for me the prayer of the first time, my petitions
 concerning [my] beloved (fem.) ——— ²⁰. under her
 majesty (fem.).

THE PUNT RELIEFS^a

246. These are undoubtedly the most interesting series of reliefs in Egypt, and form almost our only early source of information for the land of Punt. They are as beautiful in execution as they are important in content. They record an important expedition of the queen thither, which was successfully concluded just before her ninth year (§ 292, l. 1).

247. The only earlier evidences of intercourse with Punt are as follows: In the Fourth Dynasty a Puntite negro appears as the slave of one of the sons of King Khufu;^b in the Fifth, King Sahure sent an expedition thither (I, 161, 8),

^aIn the Der el-Bahri temple, occupying the south half of the middle terrace (corresponding to the Birth and Youth on the north half, §§ 187 ff.). See accompanying plan (p. 105). First copied by Dümichen and published by Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 8–20, and *Fleet*, 1–3, and 18, a; then by Mariette, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 5–10. The excavations of the Egypt Exploration Fund since 1894 have for the first time uncovered all the Punt reliefs, and they have all now appeared in the superb publication of the Egypt Exploration Fund (Naville, *The Temple of Deir-el-Bahari*, Introductory Memoir, Pls. 7–10, and Vol. III, Pls. 69–86). Unfortunately, the old publications have not been collated and the portions since lost, added. It is therefore still necessary to collate Mariette and Dümichen; I have placed all copies in parallel columns as a basis for the present translation. The inscriptions and reliefs have suffered, not merely from the hand of time and modern vandalism, but the inscriptions and figures of Hatshepsut were hacked out by her political enemies after her fall, and the figure and neighboring inscriptions of Amon, wherever occurring, were later erased by Amenhotep IV. The faint traces remaining on the wall are difficult to read; hence the numerous errors in the old publications. The most useful treatments are Erman (*Life in Ancient Egypt*, 505 ff.), Maspero (*Struggle of the Nations*, 247–53, with very full citation of the older bibliography); and for Punt especially see Müller (*Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, III, 42; also *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, II, 416) and Krall (*Beiträge zur Geschichte der Aegypten und Nubien*, "Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie," Philologisch-historische Classe, Vol. XLVI, 4te Abhandlung) to which is added an excursus on Punt).

^bLepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 23; see Erman, *Aegypten*, 670.

and King Isesi sent another, which brought back a dancing dwarf (I, 351); in the Sixth, an officer of Pepi II, named Enenkhet, was killed by the Sand-dwellers on the coast, while building a ship for the Punt voyage (I, 360), and another expedition thither under the same king was led by the assistant treasurer, Thethy (I, 361); in the Eleventh Dynasty, Henu, chief treasurer of King Senekhkere-Mentuhotep III, dispatched an expedition to Punt, which he accompanied only to the coast of the Red Sea (I, 430); in the Twelfth Dynasty, an officer of Amenemhet II, named Khentkhetwer, records his safe return from Punt (I, 604-6);^a and finally there was also an expedition under Sesostris II (I, 618). None of these sources contains more than the meagerest reference to the fact of the expedition.

248. The reliefs illustrating her expedition, which Hatshepsut had carved in her beautiful Der el-Bahri temple, are therefore, as stated, the first and only full source for a study of ancient Punt and the voyage thither. The expedition, like those of Henu^b and of Khentkhetwer, may have left the Nile at Koptos, and proceeded by caravan to Wadi Gasûs on the Red Sea, where the ships may have been built.^c But as no shift of cargo is mentioned, and the same ships depicted as sailing the Red Sea are afterward shown on the Nile, it is possible that the canal through the Wadi Tumilât connecting the Nile and the Red Sea had existed from the Twelfth Dynasty, having been made by one of the Sesostrises.^d The question of the location of Punt is too large for dis-

^aA fairy-tale in a St. Petersburg papyrus of the Middle Kingdom, in possession of M. Golénischeff, narrates the adventures of a shipwrecked sailor on a voyage to Punt.

^bAs Henu returned by way of Hammamat, he must have sent his expedition from the Red Sea terminus of the Koptos-Hammamat road.

^cCf. the ship of Enenkhet (I, 360).

^dStrabo, XVII, 1, 26.

cussion here, but it was certainly in Africa, and probably was the Somali coast.

249. The successive scenes and the accompanying inscriptions tell the story of the expedition so clearly that no introductory outline is necessary.

250. Historically, it is important to note that Thutmose III appears only once in the Punt reliefs, and that in a subordinate position, so that, as far as this source is concerned, the queen is the author of the expedition, which she undertakes in accordance with an oracle of Amon (§ 284).

251. The arrangement of the reliefs on the wall is interesting; Punt is at the extreme south (left) on the end wall of the colonnade (see plan), and the fleet bound thither is placed by the artist with prows literally toward the south, while the returning fleet is correspondingly represented with stern toward Punt in the south and bows to the north. The successive scenes then proceed northward (to the right) and conclude on the north end-wall.

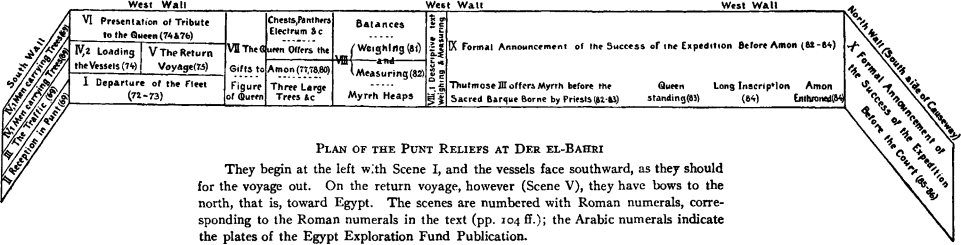
I. DEPARTURE OF THE FLEET^a

Scene

252. Five vessels, two of which are still moored, the rest already under sail. The last vessel bearing over its stern the pilot's command, "*Steer^b to port.*" A small boat lashed to a tree has above it the words: "*(An offering) for the life, prosperity, and health of her majesty (fem.), to Hathor, mistress of Punt [————] that she may bring wind;*"

^aFirst scene on the west wall, lower row; Mariette, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 6 below; Mariette, *Voyage dans la haute Egypte*, II, 63; Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 11; Dümichen, *Fleet of an Egyptian Queen*, 1; Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 72, 73.

^bLit., "*make.*"



showing that a propitiatory offering is being made ashore as they leave.^a

Inscriptions

253. ¹Sailing in the sea, ²beginning^b the goodly way toward God's-Land, journeying ³in peace to the land of Punt, by ⁴the army of the Lord of the Two Lands, according to the command^c ⁵of the Lord of Gods, Amon, lord of Thebes, presider over Karnak, ⁶in order to bring for him the marvels of ⁷every country, because he so much loves ⁸the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, [Makere (Hatshepsut)],^d ⁹for his father Amon-Re, lord of heaven, lord of earth, ¹⁰more than the other kings ¹¹who have been ¹²in this land ¹³forever.

II. RECEPTION IN PUNT^e

254. The voyage has been safely made, and the expedition has landed.

Scene^f

On the right the "*king's-messenger*" advances at the head of his soldiers. A pile of necklaces, hatchets, daggers, etc., before him, ostensibly an offering to Hathor, are for trade with the Puntites, whose chief, "*Perehu*," advances from the left to meet the Egyptians. Behind him follow his abnormally fleshy wife,^g "*Eti*," their children—two sons^h

^aCf. Erman, *Aegypten*, 675. Henu in the Eleventh Dynasty made a similar offering as he dispatched his Punt expedition (I, 432; see also III, 423).

^bLit., "*taking the head of the way*."

^cSee Oracle, § 285.

^dThe queen's name has been cut out; later Ramses II inserted his name over the old erasure; the following clause, to the word "*earth*," is also due to him; hence "*his father*" and the entire loss of connection with l. 10.

^eOn the south wall, lowest two rows; Mariette, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 5; Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 8 and 10; Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 69. As Naville has unfortunately not added the now lacking portions contained in the old publications, it is necessary here to employ them also.

^fLowest row.

^gOnly in the old publications, as this block has been stolen from the wall; see Dümichen, *Resultate*, LVII; photograph in Mariette, *Voyage dans la haute Egypte*, II, 62.

and a daughter^a—and three Puntites^a driving the “*ass which bears his wife*.” Behind these is a landscape in Punt, showing among the trees the houses of the Puntites set on poles (*Pfahlbauten*). Below the whole is a line of water, showing that the scene is near the sea or the haven in which the Egyptians have landed. The inscriptions are these:

Over the Egyptians

255. [The arrival] of the king’s-messenger in God’s-Land, together with the army which is behind him, before the chiefs of Punt; dispatched with every good thing from the court, L. P. H., for Hathor, mistress of Punt; for the sake of the life, prosperity, and health of her majesty.

Before the Puntites

256. The coming of^b the chiefs of Punt, doing obeisance, with bowed head, to receive this army of the king; they give praise to the lord of gods, Amon-Re ————.^c

Over the Puntites

257. They say, as they pray for peace: “Why have ye come thither^d unto this land, which the people^e know not? Did ye come down upon the ways of heaven, or did ye sail upon the waters, upon the sea of God’s-Land? Have ye trodden (‘the way of’)^f Re? Lo, as for the King of Egypt, is there no way to his majesty, that we may live by the breath which he gives?

Before the Leader of the Puntites

258. The chief of Punt, Perehu (*P³-r³-hw*).

^aOnly in the old publications.

^bEgyptian “by.”

^cHere evidently the name of the queen originally stood; it was then erased by Thutmose III, and in the time of Ramses II the blank was mistaken for an erasure of Amon’s name by Amenhotep IV, which name was then inserted. Traces of the old inscription are visible at the end.

^dLit., “Why have ye reached this?”

^eThe people of Egypt (*rmꜥ*). See the oracle, § 285, l. 10.

^fThe text has “Re” as the direct object of “trodden;” something must be supplied.

Before His Wife

His wife, Eti (³ ty).^a

Over the Ass

The ass which bears his wife.

III. THE TRAFFIC^b*Scene^c*

259. At the right is the tent of the "*king's-messenger*," who stands before it. Before him are the products of Punt, and approaching from the left is a long line of Puntites, bearing similar products; at their head, as before, the chief and his enormous wife. At the extreme left the Puntite landscape, as in II.

In the Tent

260. Pitching the tent of the king's-messenger and his army, in the myrrh-terraces of Punt on the side^d of the sea, in order to receive the chiefs of this country. There are offered to them bread, beer, wine, meat, fruit, everything found in Egypt, according to that which was commanded in the court, L. P. H.

Before the Egyptian

261. Reception of the tribute of the chief of Punt, by the king's-messenger.

Before the Puntites

262. The coming of^e the chief of Punt bearing tribute at the side of ^fthe sea before the king's-[messenger]^f ———.

^aBefore the two sons who follow her: "*His son*;" before the daughter: "*His daughter*."

^bSouth wall; references as for II.

^cSecond row from below.

^dThe Egyptian has a dual, "*on the two sides of*," from which Dümichen (*Geschichte*, 120) would locate Punt on both sides of the Red Sea, but this dual is a common idiom, meaning no more than a singular. See § 262, where it is absurd to suppose that the chief of Punt is bringing his gifts "*at both sides of the sea*!" Dümichen's translation "*von beiden Seiten*" is, moreover, impossible, for the text has "*upon*," not "*von*."

^eEgyptian "*by*."

^fThese words extend over the Puntites; it is uncertain how much has been lost at the end.

IV. LOADING THE VESSELS^a*Scene*

263. Two vessels heavily laden with myrrh trees, sacks of myrrh, ivory, woods, apes; on shore^b and ascending the gang-planks, men carrying sacks and trees.

Over Men with Trees on Shore

264. (Look to!)^c your feet, ye people! Behold! the load is very heavy!

^dProsperity [be] with [us,] for the sake of the myrrh tree in the midst of God's-Land, for the house of Amon; there is the place [where] it shall be made to grow for Makere, in his temple, according to command.

Over the Vessels

265. ¹The loading of the ships very heavily with marvels of ²the country of Punt; all goodly fragrant woods of God's-Land, heaps of ³myrrh-resin, with fresh myrrh trees, ⁴with ebony^e and pure ivory, with green gold ⁵of Emu, (^cmw), with cinnamon wood, ⁶khesyt wood,^f with ihmud-incense, ⁷sonter-incense, eye-cosmetic, ⁸with apes, ⁹monkeys, ¹⁰dogs, ¹¹and ¹²with skins ¹³of the southern panther, ¹⁴with natives and ¹⁵their children. Never was brought ¹⁶the like of this for any king who has been since the beginning.

^aSouth wall, uppermost row; first scene on the west wall, upper row; Mariette, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 5 and 6; Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 9 and 12; *Fleet of an Egyptian Queen*, 2; Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 69 above, and 74 below.

^bAt the left, over the scene of the traffic.

^cA guess; the words are broken away, and some similar exclamation on the part of the men carrying the trees is to be expected. Note the Puntites represented as speaking Egyptian!

^dWords of a second man.

^eFragments of the Punt wall show the felling of the ebony trees, with the inscription: "*Cutting the ebony in great quantities*" (Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 70).

^fSweet wood, used in making incense.

V. THE RETURN VOYAGE^a*Scene^b*

266. Three vessels under full sail, with the cargo enumerated in § 265.

Inscriptions^c over the Vessel

Sailing, arriving in peace, journeying to Thebes^d with joy of heart, by the army of the Lord of the Two Lands, with the chiefs of this country^e behind them. They have brought that, the like of which was not brought for other kings, being marvels of Punt, because of the greatness of the fame of this ^frevered god, Amon-Re, Lord of Thebes.^f

VI. PRESENTATION OF THE TRIBUTE TO THE QUEEN BY THE CHIEFS OF PUNT, IREM, AND NEMYEW^g*Scene^h*

267. At the right the cartouches of the queen, badly defaced; approaching from the left, two lines of men with gifts, led by four lines of kneeling chiefs, being the chiefs of Punt (two lower lines), "*the chiefs of Irem*"ⁱ (upper middle line) and "*the chiefs of Nemyew*"ⁱ (*Nm^yyw*, upper line, negroes). Behind them approach Egyptians and Puntites with myrrh trees and other products of Punt.

^aMariette, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 6; *Voyage dans la haute Egypte*, II, 63; Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, 13; *Fleet of an Egyptian Queen*, 3; Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 75.

^bAt the right of the vessels loading.

^cBeginning at the right.

^dThis scene is therefore upon the Nile, not upon the Red Sea.

^ePunt.

^fRestored by Ramses II, supposing that the name of Amon had been here erased by Amenhotep IV. In reality, it was the name of Hatshepsut which had been erased.

^gMariette, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 6; Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, 14, 15; Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 74 and 76.

^hOver the loading of the ships and the return voyage.

ⁱThe location of these two countries is uncertain; Nemyew is entirely unknown, and it is a question whether Irem is one of the inland Nubian countries or on the Red Sea coast north of Punt.

Inscriptions^a

268. ¹—— [Kis]sing the earth to Wosretkew^b (Hatshepsut) by the chiefs of Punt ²—— the Nubian Troglodytes of Khenthennofer, every country — of ³—— doing obeisance with bowed head, bearing their tribute to the place where her majesty (fem.) is ⁴—— ways not trodden by others ⁵—— every country is dominion of her majesty and counted ⁶—— lord of Thebes, as tribute each year ⁷which her father Amon [appointed] for her, ^dwho hath set all the lands beneath her sandals, living forever.

Over the Chiefs of Punt^c

269. They say as they pray for peace from her majesty (fem.): "Hail to thee, king (*sic*) of Egypt, Re (fem.),^f who shines like the sun, your sovereign, mistress of heaven ———. Thy name reaches as far as the circuit of heaven, the fame of [Makere (Hatshepsut)]^g encircles the [sea]^h ———.

VII. THE QUEEN OFFERS THE GIFTS TO AMON^h*Scene*

270. The queen stands at the left; before her the products of Punt and Irem (lower row), brought back by the expedition, mingled with those of Nubia (upper row).

Before the Queen

271. The King himself, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Makere (Hatshepsut); presentationⁱ of the marvels of Punt, the treasures

^aBy the queen's cartouches.

^bThe queen's Horus-name: "*Mighty in ka's.*"

^cMore probably a short lacuna here.

^dReferring to Amon.

^eThe remains of a similar inscription are visible over the chiefs of Nemyew.

^fFeminine; cf. the similar "*female Horus*" (obelisk-base, south, l. 1, § 314; Senmut statue, § 354; etc.).

^gTraces of the cartouche in Naville, (Pl. 74); the determinative for "sea" is also probable, and suits the context admirably.

^hMariette, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 7, 8; Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 16, 17; Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 77, 78, and 80.

ⁱAn absolute infinitive used as the title of the scene, the preceding royal name being the date.

of God's-Land, together with the gifts of the countries of the South, with the impost of the wretched Kush,^a the baskets of the Negro-land, to^b Amon, lord of Thebes, presider over Karnak, for the sake of the life, prosperity, and health of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Makere (Hatshepsut), that she may live, abide, and her heart be joyful; that she may rule the Two Lands like Re, forever.

By the Trees^c

272. Thirty-one fresh myrrh trees, brought as marvels of Punt for the majesty of this god, Amon, lord of Thebes; never was seen the like since the beginning.

Under the Trees^c

Electrum; eye-cosmetic; throw-sticks of the Puntites; ebony; ivory, 'shells' (*k* 3 §).

With Panther^d

A southern panther alive, captured^e for her majesty (fem.) in the [south] countries.

Miscellaneous Objects

Electrum;^f many panther-skins; 3,300 (small cattle).^g

VIII. WEIGHING AND MEASURING THE OFFERINGS^h

273. This scene is closely connected with the preceding presentation scene, of which it forms the unbroken continuation. It is accompanied by the following descriptive text:ⁱ

^aBy an evident emendation.

^cLower row.

^bConstrue with "*presentation*."

^dUpper row.

^eLit., "*brought*" (*ynyy*); it is regularly used of prisoners and apparently also of wild beasts, e. g., also the lions captured by Amenhotep III (§ 865). Two more panthers show fragments of a similar inscription.

^fWith four chests, probably made by Thutiy (§ 376, l. 31).

^gOver a gap among these offerings is the inscription recording the Asiatic campaign of Thutmose II (§ 125).

^hOn the right of the preceding scene in two rows; Mariette, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 8; Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 18, 19; Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 79, 81, 82.

ⁱAt the extreme right in five columns, behind the figure of Thutmose III offering incense (Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 82).

274. ¹The king himself, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Makere (Hatshepsut).^a Taking the measure (*hk·t*) of the electrum, laying the hand on the [—] of the heaps, first instance of doing the good things. Measuring of the fresh myrrh unto Amon, lord of Thebes, lord of heaven, the first of the harvest ²— — — of the marvels of the countries of Punt. The lord of Khmunu (Thoth) records them in writing; Sefkhet counts the numbers. Her^b majesty (fem.) ³herself, is acting with her two hands, the best of myrrh is upon all her limbs, her fragrance is divine dew, her odor is mingled with Punt, her skin is gilded^c with electrum, ⁴shining as do the stars^d in the midst of the festival-hall, before the whole land. There is rejoicing by all the people; they give praise to the lord of gods, ⁵they laud Makere (Hatshepsut) in her divine qualities, because of the greatness of the marvels which have happened for her. Never did the like happen under any gods^e who were before, since the beginning. May she be given life, like Re, forever.

Measuring Scene^f

275. Two huge heaps of myrrh are being scooped into measures by four men; a fifth, whose figure has been carefully erased, is Hatshepsut's favorite, "*the scribe and steward, Thutiy*" (§§ 369 ff.), who is keeping record of the measure for the queen; while the god Thoth at the extreme right performs a similar office for Amon.

Over the Myrrh Heaps

276. Heaps of myrrh in great quantities.

Over the Men Measuring

277. Measuring the fresh myrrh, in great quantities, for Amon, lord of Thebes; marvels of the countries of Punt, treasures of God's-Land, for the sake of the life, prosperity and health ———.^g

^aThe date.

^bRead -s for -j.

^cA bold figure referring to the yellow hue of the women of ancient Egypt.

^dYellow stars painted on a blue field form a common ceiling decoration. For comparison of the king with a star, not so common as with the sun, see I, 510 ff., l. 2.

^eThat is, "*kings*."

^fLower row (Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 79).

^gThe queen's name has been erased.

Before Thoth

278. Recording in writing, reckoning the numbers, summing up in millions, hundreds of thousands, tens of thousands, thousands and hundreds; reception of the marvels of Punt, ^afor Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, lord of heaven.^a

Weighing Scene^b

279. A huge pair of balances piled on one side with commercial gold in large rings, against weights in the form of cows on the other side, is presided over by the gods Horus and Dedun of Nubia,^c standing at the left. At the right is Sefkhêt, the goddess of letters, keeping record. Round and cow "*weights*," and quantities of "*electrum*" in bars and rings, are piled up beside the balances.

Over the Balances

280. The balances, accurate and true, of Thoth, which the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, [Make]re (Hatshepsut), made for her father, Amon, lord of Thebes, in order to weigh the silver, gold, lapis lazuli, malachite, and every splendid costly stone, for the sake of the life, prosperity, and health of her majesty (fem.) ———.^d

Under the Balances

281. Weighing the gold and electrum, — the impost of the southern countries, for Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, ———, presider over Karnak ———.^d

Before Sefkhêt

282. Recording in writing, reckoning the numbers, summing up in millions, hundreds of thousands, tens of thousands, thousands, and hundreds. Reception of the marvels of the South countries, for Amon, lord of Thebes, presider over Karnak.

^aAmon is here not properly restored by Ramses II; see end of 9.

^bUpper row (Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 81).

^cBecause the gold comes from Nubia.

^dThe name of the queen has been erased.

"He (Thutmose I) recognized the auspiciousness of a coronation on^a New Year's Day as the beginning of the peaceful years and of the spending of myriads (of years) of very many jubilees."^b

Thutmose I therefore ostensibly selected New Year's Day as the most auspicious day for his daughter's coronation. But if we examine her obelisk inscription (§ 318, l. 8), we find that, as she actually reckoned, the beginning of her regnal year fell somewhere between the first of the sixth and the thirtieth of the twelfth month, and not on New Year's Day. Finally, this account of the coronation in the Der el-Bahri temple, is taken verbatim from the account of the coronation of Amenemhet III in the Middle Kingdom temple at Arsinoe,^c and deserves no more credence than the geographical lists of Ramses III at Medinet Habu, which have been copied from the lists of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties. It is clear that this entire coronation of Hatshepsut, like the supernatural birth, is an artificial creation, a fiction of later origin, prompted by political necessity. As such it is closely paralleled by the similar representations of Ramses II in his great Abydos inscription (III, 251-81), with the sole difference that his father is stated to have remained as coregent on the throne.

Scene

234. Thutmose I is enthroned at the left, with his daughter standing before him; in their presence three rows of courtiers standing on the right.

^aLit., "*of*," making the phrase, "*New Year's coronation*."

^b§ 239, ll. 33, 34.

^cFragments in Berlin (Nos. 15801-4; see *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Heft III, 138). I owe the knowledge of the character of these fragments to my friend, Mr. Alan Gardiner, who kindly called my attention to them.

Inscriptions^a

They furnish the only surviving account of such a coronation, in the presence of the superseded monarch and the court.

Thutmose I Summons His Daughter to be Crowned

235. ¹There saw her^b the majesty of her father, this Horus;^c how divine is her great fashioner! Her heart is glad, (for) great is her crown; ²she advocates her cause 'in¹ truth, 'exalter¹ of her royal dignity, and of that which her ka does. ³The living were set before her^d ³in his palace^e of '—¹. Said his majesty to her: "Come, glorious one;^f I have placed (thee) before me; that ⁴thou mayest see thy administration^g in the palace, and the excellent deeds of thy ka's^b that thou mayest assume thy royal dignity, glorious ⁵in thy magic, mighty in thy strength. Thou shalt be powerful in the Two Lands; thou shalt seize the rebellious; ⁶thou shalt appear in the palace, thy forehead shall be adorned with the double diadem, resting upon the head of the heiress of Horus, whom I begat, ⁷daughter of the white crown, beloved of Buto. The diadems are given to thee by him who presides over the thrones of the gods.

Thutmose I Summons the Court

236. ⁸My majesty caused that there be brought to him the dignitaries of the king, the nobles, the companions, ⁹the officers of the court,ⁱ and the chief of the people,^j that they may do homage,^k to set the maj-

^aThey are in vertical lines, divided into three groups by the king's throne and the group of courtiers. The language is in many respects unusual, the whole is difficult and sometimes uncertain.

^bHatshepsut.

^cMeaning King Thutmose I, to whom all the following epithets are applied.

^dReferring to the court spectators.

^eOf course, read: *h c-j-n-ys't* as in l. 10.

^fAddressed to his daughter, the queen.

^gShe has already seen it in the land at large on the northern journey (§ 224, l. 8).

^hThat which the ka does, is to reign; the phrase is not uncommon.

ⁱOf course, correct to *šny't*.

^j*Rhy't*, a class of people not yet closely defined.

^k*Nd't-hr*.

esty of ¹⁰the daughter of this Horus^a before him in his palace of I—I.^b There was a sitting^c of the king himself, ¹¹in the audience-hall of the right of the I'court', while these people prostrated themselves^d in the court.

Thutmose I's Address to the Court

237. Said^e his majesty before them: "This my daughter, Khnemet-Amon, Hatshepsut, who liveth, I have appointed [her] — —; she is my successor^f ¹³upon my throne, she it assuredly is who shall sit upon my wonderful seat.¹⁴ She shall command the people^g in every place of the palace; she it is who shall lead you; ¹⁵ye shall proclaim her word, ye shall be united at her command. He who shall do her homage shall live, he who shall speak evil in ¹⁶blasphemy of her majesty shall die. Whosoever proclaims with unanimity the name of her majesty (fem.), ¹⁷shall enter immediately into the royal chamber, just as it was done by the name of this Horus (viz., by my name).^h For ¹⁸thou art divine, O daughter of a god, for whom even the gods fight; behind whom they exert their protection every day according to the command of her father, the lord of the gods.ⁱ

The Court and People Acknowledge the New Queen

238. ¹⁹The dignitaries of the king, the nobles and the chief of the people^j hear ²⁰this command for the advancement of the dignity of

^aMeaning the king, Thutmose I.

^bSee l. 3 (note). Possibly referring to the tomb-temple of Der el-Bahri, where the scene is engraved. In this case, the events narrated took place in the Der el-Bahri temple itself.

^cSee sitting of year 9, Punt relief (§ 292, l. 1).

^dLit., "*were upon their bellies*."

^eAt this point the inscription is interrupted by the scene representing the king seated in a pavilion, etc.

^fThis word (*ys'ty*) is very important; for it indicates, not association as coregent, but accession as successor. It is used in the same sense, precisely, by the nomarch Key (I, 692).

^gLit., "*She shall command matters to the people (rhy't)*."

^hThat is, the name of the new queen is to be as effective in securing entrance as had been that of the king, her father.

ⁱHere the text is interrupted by the bas-relief of the three rows of officials named in ll. 8, 9.

^jSee § 236, l. 9, n. f.

his daughter, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Makere (Hatshepsut) living forever. They kissed the earth at his feet, when the ²¹royal word fell among them; they praised all the gods for the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Okheperkere (Thutmose I), living forever. They went forth, their mouths ²²rejoiced, they published his proclamation [to] them. All the people^a of all the dwellings ²³of the court heard; they came, their mouths rejoicing, they proclaimed (it) beyond everything, dwelling on dwelling ²⁴therein was announcing (it) in his name; soldiers on soldiers ²⁵they leaped and they danced ²⁶for the double joy of their hearts. They ²⁷proclaimed¹, they ²⁸proclaimed^{1c} the name of her majesty (fem.) as king; while her majesty (fem.) was a youth, while the great god was ²⁹turning¹ their hearts to his daughter, Makere (Hatshepsut), living forever, when they recognized that it was the fa[ther] of the divine daughter, and ³⁰thus they were excellent in her great soul beyond everything. As for any man who shall love her in his heart, and shall do her homage every day, ³¹he shall shine, and he shall flourish exceedingly; [but] as for any man who shall speak against the name of her majesty, the god shall determine his death immediately, ³²even by the gods who exercise protection behind her every day. The majesty of this her father hath published this, all the people^d have united upon ³³the name of this his daughter for king. While her majesty was a youth, the heart of his majesty inclined to [her] exceedingly.

Proclamation of the Queen's Names

239. ³⁴His majesty commanded that the ritual priests be brought to ³⁵proclaim¹ her great names that belonged to the assumption of the dignities of her royal crown and for insertion in (every) work and every seal of the ³⁶Favorite of the Two Goddesses, who makes the circuit north of the wall,^e who clothes all the gods of the Favorite of the Two Goddesses. ³⁷He has recognized the auspiciousness of the coronation on New Year's Day as the beginning of the peaceful years and of the

^aSee § 236, l. 9, n. f.

^bA verb of shouting is lacking, as it is construed with *hr*.

^cWritten twice, cf. note a.

^dSee § 236, n.

^eSome ceremony unknown to us. The whole line refers to ceremonies in which the official name of the monarch must be used (see § 57).

spending of myriads (of years) of ³⁴very many jubilees. They proclaimed her royal names, for ³⁵the god caused that it should be in their hearts to make her names according to the form with which he had made them before:^a

³⁶Her great name, Horus: [Wosretkew (*wsr' t-k' w*)],^b forever;

³⁷Her great name, Favorite of the Two Goddesses: "Fresh in Years,"^c good goddess, mistress of offering;

³⁸Her great name, Golden Horus: "Divine of diadems;"^d

³⁹Her great name of King of Upper and Lower Egypt: "Makere, who liveth forever."^e

It is her real name which the god made beforehand.

VIII. SECOND PURIFICATION^f

240. After the public coronation, further ceremonies of the gods follow.

First Scene

The queen is led away by the god Kheseti. *Q . C . L .*

Inscriptions

^gThe first (day) of the first season, New Year's Day, the first of the peaceful years of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Favorite of the Two Goddesses, who makes the circuit north of the wall, the Feast of Shed^h

ⁱThe leading away to enter the "Great House" ('by') the "Pillar of his Mother,"^j of the "Great House" ('for the') purification of the "Great House."

^aThey were inspired to announce the same names which the god had already conferred upon her before (§ 230). This is to explain how the officials knew the same names already conferred by the god.

^b"*Mighty of doubles.*"

^c*W' q' t rnp' wt.*

^d*Ntr' t-k' w.*

^eThe complete titulary should contain five names of which the last is here lacking. This last fifth name was her personal name, Hatshepsut, which she had already received in childhood.

^fNaville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 63.

^gOver the queen.

ⁱOver the god.

^hCf. I, 150. Titulary of the queen.

^jA priestly title.

Second Scene

241. The god Kheseti, standing at the right, holds over the queen, who stands at the left, a vessel in the form of the sign of life.

Inscription

Over the queen, merely her name with epitheta; over the god, the following:

I have purified thee with these waters of all satisfying life, all stability, all health, all joy of heart, to celebrate very many jubilees, like Re, forever.

IX. CONCLUDING CEREMONIES^a

242. The queen is now led away by Horus, and several ceremonies follow, which are too nearly destroyed to be clear, but one of them was the "*making of the circuit north of the wall*," in accordance with the title of the queen used above.^b The coronation is now regarded as complete, for Horus says: "*Thou hast established thy dignity as king, and appeared upon the Horus-throne.*"

SOUTHERN PYLON INSCRIPTION AT KARNAK^c

243. There is a distinct tendency on the part of Hatshepsut to show especial respect to her father, Thutmose I. The evident purpose of the following inscription is to make clear that her father recognizes her right to rule as king. It represents him shortly after her accession, as praying for

^aNaville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 63, 64.

^bIn § 240, and elsewhere.

^cOn the north side of the third southern pylon, left wing, below; text: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 18; Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 113, 114; translated by de Rougé, *Mélanges d'archéologie égyptienne*, I, 46 f.; Sethe, *ibid*, I, 27, 28 (cf. also p. 1). The inscription is very mutilated, and some omissions have been necessary.

the blessing and favor of the gods upon her reign,^a and the entire document is of course, the work of the queen herself.

244. The accompanying scene shows Thutmose I standing on the right before Amon, Mut, and Khonsu, the Theban triad on the left; the inscription of twenty lines occupies the space between. Over half of it is occupied with the names, titles, and fulsome epithets of Thutmose I, and the translation omits these, beginning in the middle of l. 11, with the king's address to the three divinities.

245. ¹¹. I come to thee, lord of gods; I do obeisance^b [before] thee, in return for this that [thou hast put]^c ¹²the Black and the Red Land^d under (the dominion of) my daughter, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Makere^e (Hatshepsut), who lives forever, just as thou didst put (it) under (the dominion of) my majesty ¹³. . . Thou hast given to me the kingdom of every land in the presence of the Two Lands, exalting my beauty while I was a youth . . . [the Black Land] ¹⁴and the Red Land are under my dominion. I am satisfied with victories, thou hast placed every rebellious land under my sandals which thy serpent-diadem has bound, bearing their gifts; thou hast strengthened the fear [of me] ——— ¹⁵their limbs tremble, I have seized them in victory according to thy command; they are made my subjects; [they come to me] doing obeisance, and all countries with bowed head. Tribute ——— ¹⁶. ¹⁷. the heart of my majesty is glad because of her ¹⁸[the petition] concerning my daughter Wosretkew,^g King of Upper and Lower Egypt, of whom thou hast desired, that she be associated with [thee]^h — 'that' thou mightest

^aSethe has shown (*Untersuchungen*, I, 28) that it does not record the installation of Hatshepsut as coregent.

^bLit., "*smell the ground*."

^cSethe's emendation, *Untersuchungen*, I, 113.

^dThe black land of the valley and the red of the desert hills.

^eThe name has been changed to that of Thutmose II, but the queen's name can still be read.

^fThe conventional praise of the king; in the following lines which are very fragmentary, only the references to the queen are translated.

^gHorus-name of Hatshepsut.

^hApparently a play on her name, "*Associate of Amon*" (Khnetmet-Amon).

assign [this] land [to] her grasp. Make her prosperous as King ———
¹⁹mayest thou [grant] for me the prayer of the first time, my petitions
 concerning [my] beloved (fem.) ——— ²⁰. under her
 majesty (fem.).

THE PUNT RELIEFS^a

246. These are undoubtedly the most interesting series of reliefs in Egypt, and form almost our only early source of information for the land of Punt. They are as beautiful in execution as they are important in content. They record an important expedition of the queen thither, which was successfully concluded just before her ninth year (§ 292, l. 1).

247. The only earlier evidences of intercourse with Punt are as follows: In the Fourth Dynasty a Puntite negro appears as the slave of one of the sons of King Khufu;^b in the Fifth, King Sahure sent an expedition thither (I, 161, 8),

^aIn the Der el-Bahri temple, occupying the south half of the middle terrace (corresponding to the Birth and Youth on the north half, §§ 187 ff.). See accompanying plan (p. 105). First copied by Dümichen and published by Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 8–20, and *Fleet*, 1–3, and 18, a; then by Mariette, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 5–10. The excavations of the Egypt Exploration Fund since 1894 have for the first time uncovered all the Punt reliefs, and they have all now appeared in the superb publication of the Egypt Exploration Fund (Naville, *The Temple of Deir-el-Bahari*, Introductory Memoir, Pls. 7–10, and Vol. III, Pls. 69–86). Unfortunately, the old publications have not been collated and the portions since lost, added. It is therefore still necessary to collate Mariette and Dümichen; I have placed all copies in parallel columns as a basis for the present translation. The inscriptions and reliefs have suffered, not merely from the hand of time and modern vandalism, but the inscriptions and figures of Hatshepsut were hacked out by her political enemies after her fall, and the figure and neighboring inscriptions of Amon, wherever occurring, were later erased by Amenhotep IV. The faint traces remaining on the wall are difficult to read; hence the numerous errors in the old publications. The most useful treatments are Erman (*Life in Ancient Egypt*, 505 ff.), Maspero (*Struggle of the Nations*, 247–53, with very full citation of the older bibliography); and for Punt especially see Müller (*Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, III, 42; also *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, II, 416) and Krall (*Beiträge zur Geschichte der Aegypten und Nubien*, "Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie," Philologisch-historische Classe, Vol. XLVI, 4te Abhandlung) to which is added an excursus on Punt).

^bLepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 23; see Erman, *Aegypten*, 670.

and King Isesi sent another, which brought back a dancing dwarf (I, 351); in the Sixth, an officer of Pepi II, named Enenkhet, was killed by the Sand-dwellers on the coast, while building a ship for the Punt voyage (I, 360), and another expedition thither under the same king was led by the assistant treasurer, Thethy (I, 361); in the Eleventh Dynasty, Henu, chief treasurer of King Senekhkere-Mentuhotep III, dispatched an expedition to Punt, which he accompanied only to the coast of the Red Sea (I, 430); in the Twelfth Dynasty, an officer of Amenemhet II, named Khentkhetwer, records his safe return from Punt (I, 604-6);^a and finally there was also an expedition under Sesostri II (I, 618). None of these sources contains more than the meagerest reference to the fact of the expedition.

248. The reliefs illustrating her expedition, which Hatshepsut had carved in her beautiful Der el-Bahri temple, are therefore, as stated, the first and only full source for a study of ancient Punt and the voyage thither. The expedition, like those of Henu^b and of Khentkhetwer, may have left the Nile at Koptos, and proceeded by caravan to Wadi Gasûs on the Red Sea, where the ships may have been built.^c But as no shift of cargo is mentioned, and the same ships depicted as sailing the Red Sea are afterward shown on the Nile, it is possible that the canal through the Wadi Tumilât connecting the Nile and the Red Sea had existed from the Twelfth Dynasty, having been made by one of the Sesostrises.^d The question of the location of Punt is too large for dis-

^aA fairy-tale in a St. Petersburg papyrus of the Middle Kingdom, in possession of M. Golénischeff, narrates the adventures of a shipwrecked sailor on a voyage to Punt.

^bAs Henu returned by way of Hammamat, he must have sent his expedition from the Red Sea terminus of the Koptos-Hammamat road.

^cCf. the ship of Enenkhet (I, 360).

^dStrabo, XVII, 1, 26.

cussion here, but it was certainly in Africa, and probably was the Somali coast.

249. The successive scenes and the accompanying inscriptions tell the story of the expedition so clearly that no introductory outline is necessary.

250. Historically, it is important to note that Thutmose III appears only once in the Punt reliefs, and that in a subordinate position, so that, as far as this source is concerned, the queen is the author of the expedition, which she undertakes in accordance with an oracle of Amon (§ 284).

251. The arrangement of the reliefs on the wall is interesting; Punt is at the extreme south (left) on the end wall of the colonnade (see plan), and the fleet bound thither is placed by the artist with prows literally toward the south, while the returning fleet is correspondingly represented with stern toward Punt in the south and bows to the north. The successive scenes then proceed northward (to the right) and conclude on the north end-wall.

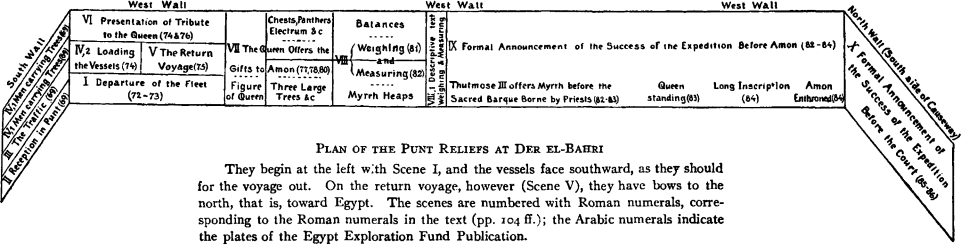
I. DEPARTURE OF THE FLEET^a

Scene

252. Five vessels, two of which are still moored, the rest already under sail. The last vessel bearing over its stern the pilot's command, "*Steer^b to port.*" A small boat lashed to a tree has above it the words: "*(An offering) for the life, prosperity, and health of her majesty (fem.), to Hathor, mistress of Punt [————] that she may bring wind;*"

^aFirst scene on the west wall, lower row; Mariette, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 6 below; Mariette, *Voyage dans la haute Egypte*, II, 63; Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 11; Dümichen, *Fleet of an Egyptian Queen*, 1; Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 72, 73.

^bLit., "*make.*"



showing that a propitiatory offering is being made ashore as they leave.^a

Inscriptions

253. ¹Sailing in the sea, ²beginning^b the goodly way toward God's-Land, journeying ³in peace to the land of Punt, by ⁴the army of the Lord of the Two Lands, according to the command^c ⁵of the Lord of Gods, Amon, lord of Thebes, presider over Karnak, ⁶in order to bring for him the marvels of ⁷every country, because he so much loves ⁸the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, [Makere (Hatshepsut)],^d ⁹for his father Amon-Re, lord of heaven, lord of earth, ¹⁰more than the other kings ¹¹who have been ¹²in this land ¹³forever.

II. RECEPTION IN PUNT^e

254. The voyage has been safely made, and the expedition has landed.

Scene^f

On the right the "*king's-messenger*" advances at the head of his soldiers. A pile of necklaces, hatchets, daggers, etc., before him, ostensibly an offering to Hathor, are for trade with the Puntites, whose chief, "*Perehu*," advances from the left to meet the Egyptians. Behind him follow his abnormally fleshy wife,^g "*Eti*," their children—two sons^h

^aCf. Erman, *Aegypten*, 675. Henu in the Eleventh Dynasty made a similar offering as he dispatched his Punt expedition (I, 432; see also III, 423).

^bLit., "*taking the head of the way*."

^cSee Oracle, § 285.

^dThe queen's name has been cut out; later Ramses II inserted his name over the old erasure; the following clause, to the word "*earth*," is also due to him; hence "*his father*" and the entire loss of connection with l. 10.

^eOn the south wall, lowest two rows; Mariette, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 5; Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 8 and 10; Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 69. As Naville has unfortunately not added the now lacking portions contained in the old publications, it is necessary here to employ them also.

^fLowest row.

^gOnly in the old publications, as this block has been stolen from the wall; see Dümichen, *Resultate*, LVII; photograph in Mariette, *Voyage dans la haute Egypte*, II, 62.

and a daughter^a—and three Puntites^a driving the “*ass which bears his wife*.” Behind these is a landscape in Punt, showing among the trees the houses of the Puntites set on poles (*Pfahlbauten*). Below the whole is a line of water, showing that the scene is near the sea or the haven in which the Egyptians have landed. The inscriptions are these:

Over the Egyptians

255. [The arrival] of the king’s-messenger in God’s-Land, together with the army which is behind him, before the chiefs of Punt; dispatched with every good thing from the court, L. P. H., for Hathor, mistress of Punt; for the sake of the life, prosperity, and health of her majesty.

Before the Puntites

256. The coming of^b the chiefs of Punt, doing obeisance, with bowed head, to receive this army of the king; they give praise to the lord of gods, Amon-Re ————.^c

Over the Puntites

257. They say, as they pray for peace: “Why have ye come thither^d unto this land, which the people^e know not? Did ye come down upon the ways of heaven, or did ye sail upon the waters, upon the sea of God’s-Land? Have ye trodden (‘the way of’)^f Re? Lo, as for the King of Egypt, is there no way to his majesty, that we may live by the breath which he gives?

Before the Leader of the Puntites

258. The chief of Punt, Perehu (*P³-r³-hw*).

^aOnly in the old publications.

^bEgyptian “by.”

^cHere evidently the name of the queen originally stood; it was then erased by Thutmose III, and in the time of Ramses II the blank was mistaken for an erasure of Amon’s name by Amenhotep IV, which name was then inserted. Traces of the old inscription are visible at the end.

^dLit., “*Why have ye reached this?*”

^eThe people of Egypt (*rmꜥ*). See the oracle, § 285, l. 10.

^fThe text has “Re” as the direct object of “trodden;” something must be supplied.

Before His Wife

His wife, Eti (ʿty).^a

Over the Ass

The ass which bears his wife.

III. THE TRAFFIC^b*Scene^c*

259. At the right is the tent of the “king’s-messenger,” who stands before it. Before him are the products of Punt, and approaching from the left is a long line of Puntites, bearing similar products; at their head, as before, the chief and his enormous wife. At the extreme left the Puntite landscape, as in II.

In the Tent

260. Pitching the tent of the king’s-messenger and his army, in the myrrh-terraces of Punt on the side^d of the sea, in order to receive the chiefs of this country. There are offered to them bread, beer, wine, meat, fruit, everything found in Egypt, according to that which was commanded in the court, L. P. H.

Before the Egyptian

261. Reception of the tribute of the chief of Punt, by the king’s-messenger.

Before the Puntites

262. The coming of^e the chief of Punt bearing tribute at the side of ^fthe sea before the king’s-[messenger]^f ———.

^aBefore the two sons who follow her: “*His son*,” before the daughter: “*His daughter*.”

^bSouth wall; references as for II.

^cSecond row from below.

^dThe Egyptian has a dual, “*on the two sides of*,” from which Dümichen (*Geschichte*, 120) would locate Punt on both sides of the Red Sea, but this dual is a common idiom, meaning no more than a singular. See § 262, where it is absurd to suppose that the chief of Punt is bringing his gifts “*at both sides of the sea*!” Dümichen’s translation “*von beiden Seiten*” is, moreover, impossible, for the text has “*upon*,” not “*von*.”

^eEgyptian “*by*.”

^fThese words extend over the Puntites; it is uncertain how much has been lost at the end.

IV. LOADING THE VESSELS^a*Scene*

263. Two vessels heavily laden with myrrh trees, sacks of myrrh, ivory, woods, apes; on shore^b and ascending the gang-planks, men carrying sacks and trees.

Over Men with Trees on Shore

264. (Look to!)^c your feet, ye people! Behold! the load is very heavy!

^dProsperity [be] with [us,] for the sake of the myrrh tree in the midst of God's-Land, for the house of Amon; there is the place [where] it shall be made to grow for Makere, in his temple, according to command.

Over the Vessels

265. ¹The loading of the ships very heavily with marvels of ²the country of Punt; all goodly fragrant woods of God's-Land, heaps of ³myrrh-resin, with fresh myrrh trees, ⁴with ebony^e and pure ivory, with green gold ⁵of Emu, (^cmw), with cinnamon wood, ⁶khesyt wood,^f with ihmud-incense, ⁷sonter-incense, eye-cosmetic, ⁸with apes, ⁹monkeys, ¹⁰dogs, ¹¹and ¹²with skins ¹³of the southern panther, ¹⁴with natives and ¹⁵their children. Never was brought ¹⁶the like of this for any king who has been since the beginning.

^aSouth wall, uppermost row; first scene on the west wall, upper row; Mariette, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 5 and 6; Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 9 and 12; *Fleet of an Egyptian Queen*, 2; Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 69 above, and 74 below.

^bAt the left, over the scene of the traffic.

^cA guess; the words are broken away, and some similar exclamation on the part of the men carrying the trees is to be expected. Note the Puntites represented as speaking Egyptian!

^dWords of a second man.

^eFragments of the Punt wall show the felling of the ebony trees, with the inscription: "*Cutting the ebony in great quantities*" (Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 70).

^fSweet wood, used in making incense.

V. THE RETURN VOYAGE^a*Scene^b*

266. Three vessels under full sail, with the cargo enumerated in § 265.

Inscriptions^c over the Vessel

Sailing, arriving in peace, journeying to Thebes^d with joy of heart, by the army of the Lord of the Two Lands, with the chiefs of this country^e behind them. They have brought that, the like of which was not brought for other kings, being marvels of Punt, because of the greatness of the fame of this ^frevered god, Amon-Re, Lord of Thebes.^f

VI. PRESENTATION OF THE TRIBUTE TO THE QUEEN BY THE CHIEFS OF PUNT, IREM, AND NEMYEW^g*Scene^h*

267. At the right the cartouches of the queen, badly defaced; approaching from the left, two lines of men with gifts, led by four lines of kneeling chiefs, being the chiefs of Punt (two lower lines), "*the chiefs of Irem*"ⁱ (upper middle line) and "*the chiefs of Nemyew*"ⁱ (*Nm^yyw*, upper line, negroes). Behind them approach Egyptians and Puntites with myrrh trees and other products of Punt.

^aMariette, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 6; *Voyage dans la haute Egypte*, II, 63; Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, 13; *Fleet of an Egyptian Queen*, 3; Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 75.

^bAt the right of the vessels loading.

^cBeginning at the right.

^dThis scene is therefore upon the Nile, not upon the Red Sea.

^ePunt.

^fRestored by Ramses II, supposing that the name of Amon had been here erased by Amenhotep IV. In reality, it was the name of Hatshepsut which had been erased.

^gMariette, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 6; Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, 14, 15; Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 74 and 76.

^hOver the loading of the ships and the return voyage.

ⁱThe location of these two countries is uncertain; Nemyew is entirely unknown, and it is a question whether Irem is one of the inland Nubian countries or on the Red Sea coast north of Punt.

Inscriptions^a

268. ¹—— [Kis]sing the earth to Wosretkew^b (Hatshepsut) by the chiefs of Punt ²—— the Nubian Troglodytes of Khenthennofer, every country — of ³—— doing obeisance with bowed head, bearing their tribute to the place where her majesty (fem.) is ⁴—— ways not trodden by others ⁵—— every country is dominion of her majesty and counted ⁶—— lord of Thebes, as tribute each year ⁷which her father Amon [appointed] for her, ^dwho hath set all the lands beneath her sandals, living forever.

Over the Chiefs of Punt^c

269. They say as they pray for peace from her majesty (fem.): "Hail to thee, king (*sic*) of Egypt, Re (fem.),^f who shines like the sun, your sovereign, mistress of heaven ———. Thy name reaches as far as the circuit of heaven, the fame of [Makere (Hatshepsut)]^g encircles the [sea]^h ———.

VII. THE QUEEN OFFERS THE GIFTS TO AMON^h*Scene*

270. The queen stands at the left; before her the products of Punt and Irem (lower row), brought back by the expedition, mingled with those of Nubia (upper row).

Before the Queen

271. The King himself, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Makere (Hatshepsut); presentationⁱ of the marvels of Punt, the treasures

^aBy the queen's cartouches.

^bThe queen's Horus-name: "*Mighty in ka's.*"

^cMore probably a short lacuna here.

^dReferring to Amon.

^eThe remains of a similar inscription are visible over the chiefs of Nemyew.

^fFeminine; cf. the similar "*female Horus*" (obelisk-base, south, l. 1, § 314; Senmut statue, § 354; etc.).

^gTraces of the cartouche in Naville, (Pl. 74); the determinative for "sea" is also probable, and suits the context admirably.

^hMariette, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 7, 8; Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 16, 17; Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 77, 78, and 80.

ⁱAn absolute infinitive used as the title of the scene, the preceding royal name being the date.

of God's-Land, together with the gifts of the countries of the South, with the impost of the wretched Kush,^a the baskets of the Negro-land, to^b Amon, lord of Thebes, presider over Karnak, for the sake of the life, prosperity, and health of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Makere (Hatshepsut), that she may live, abide, and her heart be joyful; that she may rule the Two Lands like Re, forever.

By the Trees^c

272. Thirty-one fresh myrrh trees, brought as marvels of Punt for the majesty of this god, Amon, lord of Thebes; never was seen the like since the beginning.

Under the Trees^c

Electrum; eye-cosmetic; throw-sticks of the Puntites; ebony; ivory, 'shells'¹ (*k* 3 §).

With Panther^d

A southern panther alive, captured^e for her majesty (fem.) in the [south] countries.

Miscellaneous Objects

Electrum;^f many panther-skins; 3,300 (small cattle).^g

VIII. WEIGHING AND MEASURING THE OFFERINGS^h

273. This scene is closely connected with the preceding presentation scene, of which it forms the unbroken continuation. It is accompanied by the following descriptive text:ⁱ

^aBy an evident emendation.

^cLower row.

^bConstrue with "*presentation*."

^dUpper row.

^eLit., "*brought*" (*ynyy*); it is regularly used of prisoners and apparently also of wild beasts, e. g., also the lions captured by Amenhotep III (§ 865). Two more panthers show fragments of a similar inscription.

^fWith four chests, probably made by Thutiy (§ 376, l. 31).

^gOver a gap among these offerings is the inscription recording the Asiatic campaign of Thutmose II (§ 125).

^hOn the right of the preceding scene in two rows; Mariette, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 8; Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 18, 19; Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 79, 81, 82.

ⁱAt the extreme right in five columns, behind the figure of Thutmose III offering incense (Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 82).

274. ¹The king himself, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Makere (Hatshepsut).^a Taking the measure (*hk·t*) of the electrum, laying the hand on the [—] of the heaps, first instance of doing the good things. Measuring of the fresh myrrh unto Amon, lord of Thebes, lord of heaven, the first of the harvest ²— — — of the marvels of the countries of Punt. The lord of Khmunu (Thoth) records them in writing; Sefkhet counts the numbers. Her^b majesty (fem.) ³herself, is acting with her two hands, the best of myrrh is upon all her limbs, her fragrance is divine dew, her odor is mingled with Punt, her skin is gilded^c with electrum, ⁴shining as do the stars^d in the midst of the festival-hall, before the whole land. There is rejoicing by all the people; they give praise to the lord of gods, ⁵they laud Makere (Hatshepsut) in her divine qualities, because of the greatness of the marvels which have happened for her. Never did the like happen under any gods^e who were before, since the beginning. May she be given life, like Re, forever.

Measuring Scene^f

275. Two huge heaps of myrrh are being scooped into measures by four men; a fifth, whose figure has been carefully erased, is Hatshepsut's favorite, "*the scribe and steward, Thutiy*" (§§ 369 ff.), who is keeping record of the measure for the queen; while the god Thoth at the extreme right performs a similar office for Amon.

Over the Myrrh Heaps

276. Heaps of myrrh in great quantities.

Over the Men Measuring

277. Measuring the fresh myrrh, in great quantities, for Amon, lord of Thebes; marvels of the countries of Punt, treasures of God's-Land, for the sake of the life, prosperity and health ———.^g

^aThe date.

^bRead -s for -j.

^cA bold figure referring to the yellow hue of the women of ancient Egypt.

^dYellow stars painted on a blue field form a common ceiling decoration. For comparison of the king with a star, not so common as with the sun, see I, 510 ff., l. 2.

^eThat is, "*kings*."

^fLower row (Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 79).

^gThe queen's name has been erased.

Before Thoth

278. Recording in writing, reckoning the numbers, summing up in millions, hundreds of thousands, tens of thousands, thousands and hundreds; reception of the marvels of Punt, ^afor Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, lord of heaven.^a

Weighing Scene^b

279. A huge pair of balances piled on one side with commercial gold in large rings, against weights in the form of cows on the other side, is presided over by the gods Horus and Dedun of Nubia,^c standing at the left. At the right is Sefkhêt, the goddess of letters, keeping record. Round and cow "*weights*," and quantities of "*electrum*" in bars and rings, are piled up beside the balances.

Over the Balances

280. The balances, accurate and true, of Thoth, which the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, [Make]re (Hatshepsut), made for her father, Amon, lord of Thebes, in order to weigh the silver, gold, lapis lazuli, malachite, and every splendid costly stone, for the sake of the life, prosperity, and health of her majesty (fem.) ———.^d

Under the Balances

281. Weighing the gold and electrum, — the impost of the southern countries, for Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, ———, presider over Karnak ———.^d

Before Sefkhêt

282. Recording in writing, reckoning the numbers, summing up in millions, hundreds of thousands, tens of thousands, thousands, and hundreds. Reception of the marvels of the South countries, for Amon, lord of Thebes, presider over Karnak.

^aAmon is here not properly restored by Ramses II; see end of 9.

^bUpper row (Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 81).

^cBecause the gold comes from Nubia.

^dThe name of the queen has been erased.

IX. FORMAL ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE SUCCESS OF THE EXPEDITION BEFORE AMON^a*Scene*

283. The queen stands at the extreme left, staff in hand, before Amon, enthroned at the extreme right. Behind the queen is the sacred barque of Amon borne by priests,^b before which Thutmose III^c offers "*of the best of fresh myrrh.*"

Inscription

284. This long text in vertical lines between the queen and Amon falls into two parts. The first contains the titulary and encomium of the queen (ll. 1-4), followed by the oracle of Amon (ll. 4-6), in accordance with which the expedition was made. It is here repeated, in order to enforce the statement that all that was commanded has been done (l. 6). To this favorable statement Amon replies with praise (ll. 7-9), and reverts to a description of former times when the "*myrrh-terraces*" were not visited by Egyptians, but their products were obtained only through intermediaries (ll. 10-12). The success of future expeditions is promised, and his guidance of the expedition just successfully carried out is mentioned. The inscription closes with further praise of the queen, which gradually becomes too mutilated for translation.

^aAt the extreme right; Mariette, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 10; Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 20; through some confusion in Dümichen's papers his l. 10 and l. 11 have exchanged places, and Mariette has the same mistake! It is clear, therefore, that Mariette's text is drawn from Dümichen, an astonishing number of errors having crept in during the process. From these sources Sethe constructed a skilfully emended text (Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 103, 104), which is sustained in almost all cases by the last and best text (Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 84), which is undoubtedly very nearly correct. The entire inscription has been carefully hacked away; hence the numerous errors in the old publications, a collation of which demonstrates the superiority of Naville's texts.

^bNaville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 83.

^c*Ibid.*, 82.

Titles and Encomium of Hatshepsut

285. ^{a1}Horus: Mighty in Ka's; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Fresh in Years; Golden Horus: Divine in Diadems; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Makere (Hatshepsut), — of Amon, whom he loves, who is upon his throne, for whom he has made to flourish the inheritance of the Two Lands, the kingdom of the South and North, ²to whom he hath given that which the sun encompasses, that which Keb and Nut inclose. She hath no enemies among the Southern, she hath no foes among the Northern; the heavens and every country which the god hath created, they all labor for her. ³They come to her with fearful heart, their chiefs with bowed head, their gifts upon their back. They present to her their children that there may be^b ⁴given to them the breath of life, because of the greatness of the fame of her father, Amon, who hath set all lands beneath her sandals.

The Oracle

The king himself, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Makere (Hatshepsut). The majesty of the court made supplication at the steps^c of the ⁵lord of [gods]; a command was heard from the great throne, an oracle of the god himself, that the ways to Punt should be searched out, that the highways to the Myrrh-terraces should be penetrated: ⁶"I^d will lead the army on water and on land, to bring marvels from God's-Land for this god, for the fashioner of her beauty." It was done, according to all that the majesty of this revered god commanded, according to the desire of her majesty (fem.), in order that she might be given life, stability, and satisfaction, like Re, forever.

Promises of Amon

286. ⁷Utterance of Amon-Re, lord of Thebes: "Welcome!^e my sweet daughter, my favorite, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt,

^aThe first line at the left before the queen. This first part comprises six lines.

^bRead [m] *yswt*? Compare § 804, l. 3.

^cThe steps leading up to his throne, which have been hacked away in the relief, but are shown to have existed by the lower ends of the lines of text which shorten by steps in front of the throne (Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 84).

^dThe first person in the same sentence where the god occurs in the third person is of course very strange.

^eLit., "*Come! Come! in peace.*"

Makere (Hatshepsut), who makes my beautiful monuments, who purifies the seat of the great ennead of gods for my dwelling, as a memorial of her love. ⁸Thou art the king, taking possession of the Two Lands, Khnemmet-Amon, Hatshepsut, great in oblations, pure in food-offerings. Thou satisfiest my heart at all times; I have given thee all life and satisfaction from me, all stability from me, all health from me, all joy ⁹from me, I have given to thee all lands and all countries, wherein thy heart is glad. I have long intended them for thee, and the æons shall behold them until those myriads of years ¹⁰of usefulness which I have thought to spend¹. ¹⁰I have given to thee all Punt as far as the lands of the gods of God's-Land."

Punt in Former Time

287. "No one trod the Myrrh-terraces, which the people (*rmṯ*) knew not; it was heard of from mouth to mouth ¹¹by hearsay of the ancestors —. The marvels brought thence under thy fathers, the Kings of Lower Egypt, were brought from one to another, and since the time of ¹²the ancestors of the Kings of Upper Egypt, who were of old, as a return for many payments;^a none reaching them^b except thy carriers."

Punt under the Queen

288. "But I will cause thy army to tread them,^b ¹³I have led them on water and on land, to explore^c the waters of inaccessible channels, and I have reached the Myrrh-terraces."

"It is a glorious region of God's-Land; it is indeed my place of delight. I have made it for myself, in order to^d ¹⁴divert¹ ¹⁴my heart, together with Mut, Hathor, Wereret, mistress of Punt, the mistress, 'Great in Sorcery,'^e mistress of all gods. They^f took myrrh as they wished, they loaded the vessels to their hearts' content, ¹⁵with fresh myrrh trees, every good gift of this country, Puntites whom the people (*rmṯ*) know not, Southernns of God's-Land. I conciliated them by^g love

^aMeaning that in going from hand to hand many successive prices were paid.

^bThe Myrrh-terraces.

^cThis is the word (*wb* 3) used long before of exploring unknown countries in the Old Kingdom by Harkhuf (I, 333, 334) and employed again by the queen in her speech (§ 294, l. 11).

^dRead *r* for *yr*.

^fHatshepsut's people.

^eIsis.

^gLit., "because of."

that they might give ¹⁶to thee praise, because thou art a god, because of thy fame in the countries. I know ¹⁷them¹, I am their wise lord, ¹⁸I am the begetter, Amon-Re; my daughter, who binds the lords, is the king [Makere] (Hatshepsut). I have begotten her for myself. I am thy father, who sets thy fear ¹⁹among the Nine Bows, while they come in peace to all gods. They have brought all the marvels, every beautiful thing of God's-Land, for which thy majesty^a sent them: heaps of ²⁰gum of myrrh, and enduring trees bearing fresh myrrh, united in the festival-hall, to be seen of the lord of the gods. May thy majesty cause them to grow.^b ——— my temple, ²¹in order to delight my heart among them. My name is before the gods, thy name^c is before all the living, forever. Heaven and earth are flooded with incense; odors are in the Great House. Mayest thou offer them to me, pure ²²and cleansed, in order to express the ointment for the divine limbs, to offer myrrh, to make ointment, to make festive my statue with necklaces, while I am making ²³libations for thee. My heart is glad because of seeing thee."^d

X. FORMAL ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE SUCCESS OF THE EXPEDITION TO THE COURT^e

Scene

289. The queen is enthroned at the left in a splendid kiosk, and before her are the figures of three noblemen (see § 348). All the figures have been hacked out.

^aFeminine! The *t* of the second feminine singular suffix is visible under the scourge; the *t* of "majesty" (*hn't*) should be over the scourge, as in l. 18.

^bThe verb is *s'rw'd'k* with nominal subject (*sdm'k* form, Sethe, *Verbum*, II, § 434).

^cRead: *rn't pw*. That this is the proper emendation is shown by the Semneh inscription of Thutmose III (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 52, *b*, line before goddess).

^dThe remainder, consisting of four short and two long lines, is very fragmentary and contains only the conventional promises of the gods.

^eOn the south side of the causeway which ascends through the center of the middle terrace. The date and a few random words were published by Dümichen (*Fleet of an Egyptian Queen*, 18, *a*); but the first complete text by Naville (*Recueil*, 18, Pl. III, corrections, *ibid.*, 19, 212, 213; much better, Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 85, 86.

Inscriptions

290. The texts with the noblemen are as follows:

With the First Man

Behold, it was commanded, as follows: "They shall give the court,^a L. P. H., to the hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, chief treasurer, Nehsi,^b to dispatch the army [to] Punt."

With the Two Other Men

Over both are the words: "*The king's-dignitaries, the companions of the court, L. P. H.,*" and over the man in the middle: "*Steward of Amon, Senmut,*" the well-known favorite of the queen (see §§ 345 ff.). The third man bears no individual inscription.^c All three figures have been hacked out by political enemies after the triumph of Thutmose III.

The Long Inscription^d

291. This is perhaps the most interesting inscription in the Punt series. It furnishes the date ("year 9") when the expedition had already safely returned. The queen, having publicly exhibited the results of the expedition (VIII), and having announced its success to Amon himself (IX), now holds ceremonious court, to announce in a speech from the

^aThe meaning of the phrase is not clear, but it seems as if "court" were here used for "decree of the court."

^bThis man has therefore been identified as "*the king's-messenger*" (§§ 260, 261) who commanded the Punt expedition. But this conclusion does not follow; the word "*dispatch*" (*sby*) does not mean to conduct, as we may see in the exactly parallel case of Henu (I, 427 ff.; especially § 432, ll. 13, 14), who conducted the expedition only to the sea and then dispatched (*sby*) it to Punt, returning then, not from Punt, but merely "*from the sea*." Hence we have no evidence that Nehsi did more than accompany the expedition to the sea, and the "*king's-messenger*" is probably a different man.

^cHe is supposed by Spiegelberg (*Recueil*, 22, 115-25) to be Thutiy (§§ 369 ff.).

^dIn 22 columns before the queen; it has all been more or less hacked out, the last six lines (excluding one phrase) and the upper fourth of lines 6-16 completely so.

throne to her nobles the unprecedented success of the expedition. She glorifies herself as having made a Punt for Amon in Egypt^a (ll. 14 and 16), and exhorts them to maintain in the future the increased offerings which she has established (ll. 8 and 15). This last was apparently the practical purpose of the session.

Introduction

292. ¹Year 9, occurred the sitting in the audience-hall,^b the king's-appearance with the etef-crown, upon the great throne of electrum, in the midst of the splendors of his^c palace. The grandees, the companions of the court, came to hear; a command was brought, a ²royal edict to his^c dignitaries, the divine fathers, the companions of the king, the grandees:

Queen's Speech

293. "I shine forever in your faces through that which my father hath desired.^d Truly, it was greatly my desire in doing, that I should make ³great him that begat me; and in assigning to my father, that I should make splendid for him all his offerings; that which my fathers, the ancestors knew not, I am doing as the Great One^e (did) ⁴to the Lord of Eternity; I am adding increase to that which was formerly done. I will cause it to be said to posterity: 'How beautiful is she,

^aIn the weighing and measuring scene the trees, of which there were three, appear planted in tubs; and again they appear planted in the ground, and thus a "*Punt*" was made for the god. It is possible that not only the trees, but also the terraces of the temple are a part of this "*Punt*," and that the terraced structure of the temple planted with myrrh trees thus reproduced the "*myrrh-terraces*." This could not be better described in the text than by calling it "*a Punt*." The fact that the temple is a reproduction of the small terraced temple of Mentuhotep III does not prohibit us from supposing that the queen was conscious of the resemblance above noted. The service and equipment of the temple receive some light from the mention of its High Priest, with twelve subordinate priests in four orders (see note, § 679).

^bSee I, 239, and note.

^cThese masculine pronouns simply represent the word "*king*" here, (*ḥ* *stny* and *šps'w-stny* is what is meant), and do not refer personally to the queen.

^d"I shine as king, because my father Amon willed it so."

^e"*Great One*" is feminine and means Isis, referring to that which Isis did for the deceased Osiris, "*the Lord of Eternity*."

through whom this has happened,' because I have been so very excellent to him, and the heart^a of my heart^a has been replete with that which is due to him. I am his splendor 'on high, and in the nether world'. I have entered into the qualities of the august god, he hath opened 6———. He hath recognized my excellence, that I speak a great thing 'which' I set among you; it shall shine for you upon the land of the living 7——— ye may grasp my virtues. I am the god, the beginning of being, nothing fails that goes out of my mouth, beloved 8——— that which he desired. Ye shall fulfil according to that which I have exacted. Your lifetime is the life 'that is' in my mouth^b '— —' 9——— for the future. I have given a command of my majesty that the offerings of him who begat me should be made splendid, that the ointment should be increased 10——— of prime ointment of the pure ox, in order to supply with offerings 11———."

Punt Expedition Commanded

294. "——— [a decree of] my majesty commanding to send to the Myrrh-terraces, to explore his ways 'for him,' to learn his circuit, to open his highways, according to the command of my father, Amon. 12——— for choice ointment, in order to express ointment for the divine limbs, which I owed to the lord of gods, in order to establish the laws of his house. Trees were taken up in God's-Land, and set in the ground in 13[Egypt]^c ——— for the king of the gods. They were brought^d bearing myrrh therein for expressing ointment for the divine limbs, which I owed to the lord of Gods."

Punt in Egypt

295. Said my majesty (fem.): "I will cause you to know that which is commanded me, I have hearkened to my father 14——— that which he hath — commanding me to establish for him a Punt in his

^aTwo different words in Egyptian, but the distinction between them, if any, is not clear; see the thirtieth chapter of the "Book of the Dead." One expects "for his heart."

^bMy words control your lives?

^cThe pits in which certain trees had been planted were found by the Fund excavations before the lower terrace at the inner end of the dromos. They contained earth and tree stumps which proved to be of the *Mimusops*, that is, the *Persea* (Naville, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 37, 52).

^dRead: *yn tw*.

house, to plant the trees of God's-Land beside his temple, in his garden, according as he commanded. It was done, in order to endow the offerings which I owed. ¹⁵———— I was [not] neglectful of that which he needed. Ye shall fulfil according to my regulations without transgression of that which my mouth hath given. He hath desired me as his favorite; I know all that he loveth; he is a god ¹⁶———— his desire and that which he loveth ¹⁷——^a. I have made for him a Punt in his garden, just as he commanded me, for Thebes. It is large for him, he walks abroad in it." ¹⁷————^b ²²———— Hathor, mistress of myrrh; she hath opened to thee (fem.) her two arms with resin — — — — —.

INSCRIPTION OF THE SPEOS ARTEMIDOS^c

296. In this remarkable document the energetic queen has left a record of her systematic restorations in the temples which had been desolated by the barbarities of the Hyksos, and had remained so down to her reign. There is a reference to the Punt expedition (l. 13), so that the inscription dates from some time after the ninth year. Its references to the Hyksos coincide remarkably with the account of their treatment of the temples as recorded by Manetho. The Hyksos are called "*Asiatics*" (^cmw), and their city is "*Avaris (h·t-w^c·r·t) of the Northland.*" The building of the cliff-temple of Pakht, on whose front the inscription is cut, is mentioned only incidentally with the queen's other pious works. The language is often unusual, and the whole is so badly preserved that there are necessarily many omissions in the translation.

^aLit., "*under it,*" referring to the trees.

^bLl. 17-21 are so completely hacked out that not a sign can be read.

^cCut high up on the front of the cliff-temple of Pakht, excavated at Benihasan by Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, called Speos Artemidos by the Greeks, Stabl Antar by the modern natives. The inscription was discovered and published by Golénischeff (*Recueil*, VI, 20; see also *ibid.*, III, 1-7). It is in a bad state of preservation, and the copy is evidently a hurried one.

The Queen's Power

297. ¹.....²He hath established her great name like the heavens. She hath made excellent the 'records' of her might over the Red Land of the Goddess of the Mountain^a as far as the rising ³— —¹ set his flame behind the two hill-countries.

Restoration of the Temples

298. The altars are opened, the sanctuaries ⁴are enlarged — the desire of all gods; every one is in possession of the dwelling which he has loved, his ka rests upon his throne . . . ⁵..... their colonnades⁶.....^b Every [statue] is overlaid on its body with electrum of Emu.^c Their feasts are permanent at the division of the time, ⁷the festival offering ['is made'] at its time by the 'authority' of the command of my^d maker; the regulations of the commandant are perpetuated, which he made in this ⁸— —. My divine heart searches for the sake of the future; [my] heart — that which it had not known forever, because of the command which the hidden persea tree, lord of myriads (of years), communicates.

The Queen's Piety and Power

299. ⁹I have made bright the truth which he loved, [I] know that he liveth by it (the truth);^e it is my bread, I eat of its brightness,^f I am ¹⁰a likeness from [his] limbs, one with him. He hath begotten me, to make strong his might in this land. — 'lord' — Atum ¹¹in —; Khepri doing that which Re exacted at the foundation (of the world). The lands together are under my authority, the Black and the Red are under my authority. ¹²My fame makes the great ones of the countries to bow down, while the uraeus upon my forehead —^g all lands. The

^aSee Sinuhe, I, 493, l. 15.

^bThe passage refers to rebuilding the temples.

^cWritten here 'm' mw; cf. Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 119.

^dBeginning with l. 7, the first person appears and continues to the end of the inscription, the queen being the speaker.

^eIn the sun-hymn of Sute and Hor (British Museum, 826, l. 16), Sute says to the sun-god, "I acted as an effective leader among thy monuments, performing the truth of thy heart, I know thou restest in truth."

^fAn extraordinary idea, but clearly in the text.

^gDoubtless a verb of subjuncting or the like.

land of ¹³Reshu^a and the land of Yu,^b they cannot 'hide' from my majesty; Punt is mine, and the fields of ¹⁴sycamore bearing fresh myrrh, the highways which were closed up, and the two ways. ¹⁵My soldiers smote that which was '— —' since my appearance as king.

Restoration of the Temple of Cusae

300. The temple of the Mistress of Cusae^c which had begun to fall to ruin, the ground had swallowed up its august sanctuary, so that the children played upon its house; ¹⁷the serpent,^d it caused no fear; the poor counted the '—' in the 'covering',^e ¹⁸no processions 'marched'. I adorned it, having been built anew, I overlaid its image with gold; ¹⁹in order to protect its city

Building of the Temple of Pakht

301. Pakht the great, who traverses the valleys in the midst of the eastland, ²⁰whose ways are 'storm-beaten' I made her temple with that which was due ²¹to her ennead of gods. The doors were of acacia wood, fitted with:bronze. ———^f ²²at the seasons. The priests knew this; her city '— —' ———^f ²³I made divine their temples, furnished with that which comes forth '—' ———^f . . . ²⁴. ——— the offering-table ['was wrought'] with ²⁵silver, and gold, chests of linen, every vessel that abides in the place.

Restoration of an Unknown Temple

302. ²⁶. in whose house there was no understanding; the divine fathers ²⁷. He gave readiness to the arms of the god.^h I built his great temple of limestone of Ayan, its '—' were ²⁸of alabaster of Hatnub, the doors were of copper, the '—'

^aR 3-3 w probably for R 3-3 ty; see Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 133.

^bYuw.

^cFourteenth nome of Upper Egypt, whose goddess was a local Hathor.

^dPerhaps referring to the serpent of the goddess.

^ePossibly: "The poor counted the breaches in the wall;" but this is a mere guess.

^fNearly one-half line.

^gThe paragraph deals with another divinity and his temple; it is not clear who he may be.

^hThis must refer to the queen herself.

thereon were of electrum, splendid with "Him-of-the-Two-Lofty-Feathers."^a I [honor]ed ²⁹the majesty of this god with feasts I — the feast of Thoth; I added to him [offerings] anew ³⁰. I doubled for him the offerings, an ³¹increase upon that which had been previously; as I did for the Eight, for Khnum in [all] his forms, for Heket, Renenet and ³²Meskhene together, in order to build — [Neh]emewi and Nehebkew, ³³. great in ³⁴walls, and in foundation. I equipped it; I made it festive, I gave houses to the lord ³⁵whom Amon has made to appear as king himself upon the throne of Horus.

Restoration of the Desolation of the Hyksos

303. Hear ye, all persons! ye people as many as ye are! I have done this according to the design of my ³⁶heart.^b I have restored that which was ruins, I have raised up that which was unfinished^c ³⁷since the Asiatics (^c *mw*) were in the midst of Avaris of the Northland, and the barbarians^d were in the midst of them, ³⁸overthrow-

^aLit., "the lofty of two feathers," a title of Min, a figure of whom was therefore on the door. The "shadow," which was often put on the door, has the determinative of Min's figure; hence there is no doubt that it is such a "shadow," which is meant here.

^bThis rare phrase (*m kꜣy ybꜣ*) occurs also on the statue of Senmut (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 25, i, correct *nb* to *k*), and in a clear passage over vases "of costly stone, which his majesty made according to the design (*kꜣt*) of his own heart" (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1187) among offerings of Thutmose III. See Breasted, *Proceedings of the Biblical Society of Archaeology*, May, 1901, 237.

^c*Stp-hꜣ ty-*, lit., "begun;" cf. use of *stp* in beginning a journey.

^dThe same term is applied by Thutmose III to his foes in Lebanon (II, 548). W. M. Müller (*Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1898, Heft 3, p. 7), would recognize in this term (*šmꜣ mw* or *šꜣ mw*) a class or nationality different from the Hyksos; but if the word means simply strangers (Coptic "shemmo"), as Müller thinks, it indicates no distinction at all, for the Hyksos were also "strangers." The construction of the whole context shows that it is one of those poetic passages common in such inscriptions, the parallelism is evident:

"I have restored that which was ruins,
I have raised up that which was unfinished,
Since the Asiatics were in the midst of Avaris of the Northland,
And the barbarians were in the midst of them."

"Them" is therefore parallel with the "Northland," and does not refer to the "Asiatics." That a land or a part of it should be resumed by a plural pronoun is very common in the inscriptions of Egypt.

ing that which was made, while they ruled in ignorance^a of Re. He^b did not do according to the divine command until my majesty (fem.). When I was ³⁹firm upon the throne of Re, I was ennobled until the two periods of years^c f — — I came as Hor-watit^d ⁴⁰flaming against my enemies. I removed the abomination of the great god, [I] captured the land of their sandals.^e It is a regulation of the ⁴¹fathers I have commanded that my [titulary] abide like the mountains; when the sun ⁴²shines, (its) rays are bright upon the titulary of my majesty; my Horus is high upon the standard f — 1 forever.

THE KARNAK OBELISKS^f

304. Of the queen's four obelisks at Karnak, one pair has entirely disappeared from the temple; their position is unknown, and only the summit of one is now preserved in Cairo (§ 320 and *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 30, Pl. II); of the surviving pair one still stands behind the great Nineteenth Dynasty hypostyle hall, and the summit of its fallen companion lies near by.

Standing Obelisk

The standing survivor is now the largest obelisk in Egypt, being 97½ feet high.^g The history of these two important monuments can be followed for a long period. Work upon them was begun on the first of Mechir (sixth month) in the

^a*M hm*, or it may mean "without."

^bA sudden change of number; the individual ruler of the Hyksos is meant.

^cEach sixty years long.

^dMeaning: "the only Horus," and of the feminine gender.

^eThe land which they trod.

^fInscriptions on standing obelisk: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 22-24, d; Champollion, *Monuments*, IV, 314; *Notices descriptives*, II, 133 ff.; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, I, 31 ff. Fallen obelisk: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 24, a-c; *Recueil*, X, 142; 23, 195 f.; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 136.

^gPetrie, *History of Egypt*, II, 131 (Naville's statement that they are the largest known (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 37, 52) is an error; the obelisk of Thutmose III, before the Lateran in Rome, is the highest known; see § 626).

queen's fifteenth year^a by Senmut, the queen's favorite (§§ 345 ff.). The quarry work of clearing the enormous shafts from the granite at Assuan was completed on the last of Mesore (twelfth month) of the queen's sixteenth year, seven months after beginning. Transported to Thebes on a huge barge, drawn by a large fleet of galleys (see §§ 322 ff.), they were destined for erection, not before a temple, as is customary, but in the historic hall built between his two Karnak pylons,^b by the queen's father, Thutmose I, the hall where, fifteen years before, her father had been supplanted by Thutmose III. Whether this fact influenced her in the following procedure is, of course, purely conjectural, but in order to introduce her obelisks into this hall, she broke away the southern wall, removed all the cedar columns of Thutmose I on the southern side and four on the northern, of course unroofing all but the northern quarter of the hall,^c and thus totally dismantling the place, which could no longer be employed for religious ceremonial.

305. A relief^d on a few fragmentary blocks at Karnak shows the queen presenting two obelisks to Amon of Karnak; these may be the pair with which we are now dealing. Before the queen is the following inscription:

The king himself;^e erection of two great obelisks for her (sic!) father, Amon-Re, in front of the august colonnade, wrought with exceedingly plentiful electrum. Their height pierces to heaven, illuminating the Two Lands like the sun-disk. Never was done the like since the beginning; that she might be given life.

^aBase, north side, § 318, l. 8.

^bIV and V. See § 317, ll. 7-8.

^cThutmose III restored the northern half (§§ 600-2), and Amenhotep II, the southern (§§ 803 ff.).

^dFound by Legrain, and reported by Naville at the Congress at Rome (see *Revue égyptologique*, IX, 108-10); partially published by Naville (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 37, 53) and fully by Naville and Legrain (*Annales du Musée Guimet*, XXX, Pl. XII, A).

^eThe relation of this phrase to the following is difficult.

306. On erection, the obelisks were supplied with the usual single, central column of inscription on each face. Later, side columns were added. Some time before the completion of the side-column inscriptions, the obelisks were surrounded by masonry up to the fifth scene from the top, and the inscriptions never were finished (see Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 54, 55). During the extermination of the Amon cult by Amenhotep IV, he had the name of Amon erased from them,^a and two or three generations afterward the name of the dishonored god was recut by Seti I.^b

307. The inscriptions on the shaft will be clear from the translation below; those of the base are of unusual interest. They furnish the date of the obelisks, viz., the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth year of the queen's reign. Their erection celebrates "*the first occurrence*" of the queen's jubilee, a feast marking the thirtieth anniversary of the sovereign's appointment as crown prince. This would place the queen's appointment fifteen years before her accession to the throne.

I. SHAFT INSCRIPTIONS; MIDDLE COLUMNS

South Side

308. Horus: Wosretkew, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Makere, brilliant emanation of Amon, whom he has caused to appear as king upon the throne of Horus before the splendors^c of the Great House, whom the great ennead of gods have brought up to be mistress of the circuit of the sun. They have united her with life, satisfaction, and joy of heart before the living; Son of Re, Khnemet-Amon, Hatshepsut, beloved of Amon-Re, king of gods, who is given life, like Re, forever.

^aOnly down to the surrounding masonry on the standing obelisk (see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 21 f.).

^bSide columns of the shaft inscriptions, south and west sides (§ 312).

^cThe meaning of this phrase is clear from the last scene in the Punt reliefs (§ 292, l. 1).

West Side

309. Horus: *Wosretkew*; Favorite of the Two Goddesses; Fresh in Years; Golden Horus; Divine of Diadems; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Lord of the Two Lands, *Makere*. She made (it^a) as her monument for her father Amon, lord of Thebes, erecting for him two great obelisks at the august gate (named): "*Amon-is-Great-in-Terror*,"^b wrought with very much electrum; which illuminate the Two Lands like the sun; never was the like made since the beginning. May the Son of Re, Khnemmet-Amon, Hatshepsut, be given life through him, like Re, forever.

North Side

310. Like the west side as far as *Makere*, then:

Her father Amon hath established her great name; *Makere* upon the august *Ished* tree; her annals are myriads of years, possessing life, stability, and satisfaction. Son of Re, Khnemmet-Amon, Hatshepsut, beloved of Amon-Re, king of gods— — — —. (¹When¹) she celebrated [¹for¹] him the first occurrence of the royal jubilee, in order that she may be given life forever.

East Side

311. Like the south side as far as *Makere*, then:

Beloved of Amon. Her majesty (fem.) made the name of her father established upon this monument, and abiding, when favor was shown to the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands, *Okheperkere* (*Thutmose I*), by the majesty of this god,^c when the two great obelisks were erected by her majesty (fem.) on the first occurrence;^d the lord of the gods said: "Thy father, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, gave command to erect obelisks,^e and thy majesty (fem.) will repeat^f the monuments, in order that thou mayest live forever."

^aThe obelisk.

^bThis is the gate of Pylon V.

^cThe "*favor*" shown to her father consisted in the honor paid him in that the following oracle of Amon came to the queen regarding her father.

^dOf the jubilee.

^eThese are the two obelisks before the Karnak pylon of *Thutmose I* (see §§ 86 ff.).

^fThat is, she will build obelisks as her father had done.

II. SHAFT INSCRIPTIONS; SIDE COLUMNS^a

312. These represent thirty-two oblation scenes, eight on each side of the shaft; of each eight (beginning at the top), the second and seventh represent Thutmose III, the fourth Thutmose I, and the rest the queen, all offering to Amon, with the exception that on the west and south sides Seti I has cut out the queen's name in the fifth scene and inserted the inscription: "*Son of Re, Seti-Merneptah, who restored the monument of his father Amon-Re, lord of heaven.*"^b

313. The pyramidion at the top contains a fourfold representation of Amon blessing and crowning the queen.^c

III. BASE INSCRIPTION

Titulary and Encomium of the Queen

314. ^dLive the female Horus^e daughter of Amon-Re, his favorite, ²his only one, who exists by him, the splendid part of the All-Lord, whose beauty the spirits of Heliopolis fashioned; who hath taken the land like Irsu,^f whom he hath created to wear his diadem, ³who exists like Khepri^g (*Hpry*), who shines with crowns like "Him-of-the-Horizon," the pure egg, the excellent seed, whom the two Sorceresses^h reared, whom Amon himself caused to appear ⁴upon his

^aThese are later additions.

^bThis is on the south side; the west side has: "*Renewal of the monument, which the lord of diadems, Seti-Merneptah, made.*" This is the restoration by Seti I of the name of Amon, erased by Amenhotep IV. This erasure is found only in the five upper scenes, showing that the obelisk was surrounded by masonry up to that point; cf. Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 54, 55. Cf. similar restoration by Seti I, § 878.

^cSee Sethe's plate (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 36, Pl. II).

^dSouth side.

^eHere follows the full titulary of the queen; cf. coronation inscription (§ 239).

^fA god's name, lit., "*He who made him*" (*yr-sw*), a common term for "his father." See also § 985.

^gGod of continued existence; this and the following phrase show threefold paronomasia: *hpr t hprw my hpry, h c t h c w my y h wty*.

^hA divine name, lit., "*two great in sorcery*," here referring to Isis and Nephthys; it is more often applied to Isis alone; the reference is to their similar rearing of Horus in the mythology.

throne in Hermonthis, whom he chose to protect Egypt, to 'defend' the people; the female Horus, avengeress of her father, the oldest (daughter)^a of the "Bull-of-his-Mother,"^b whom Re^c begat to make for himself excellent seed upon earth for the well-being of the people; his living portrait, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Makere (Hatshepsut), the electrum of kings.^d

Queen's Dedication

315. ⁶She made (them)^e as her monument for her father, Amon, lord of Thebes, presider over Karnak, making for him two great obelisks of enduring granite of the South,^f (their) summit[s] being of electrum of the best of every country, which are seen on both 'sides' of the river. Their rays flood the Two Lands when the sun rises between them,^g as he dawns in the horizon of heaven.

Speech of the Queen

316. ^h"I have done this from a loving heartⁱ for my father Amon; I have entered upon his 'project' of the first occurrence,^j I was wise by his excellent spirit, I did not forget anything of that which he exacted. ^kMy majesty (fem.) knoweth that he is divine. I did (it) under his command, he it was who led me; I conceived not any works without his doing^l, ²he it was who gave the directions. I slept not because of his temple, I erred not from that which he commanded, my heart was

^aSethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 46.

^bAn old title of the self-begetting sun-god, Kamephis.

^cThese are old conventional phrases; of course, Amon is the father of the queen (see §§ 187 ff.), but he has gradually been identified with Re.

^dSee a similar epithet applied to the queen in the Punt reliefs (§ 274, l. 3). The long list of epitheta is here ended, and the real matter now begins.

^eThe obelisks; this is the usual form of dedication in which the object dedicated is not represented by a pronoun, being regarded as a matter of course; cf. "fecit."

^fThe quarries at Assuan.

^gThis simply shows that the obelisks stood in a general north-and-south line.

^hThe queen herself begins to speak, and continues to l. 4, west side.

ⁱSee similar phrase in Speos Artemidos inscription (§ 303, l. 35).

^jThe first occurrence of the jubilee; or the beginning of time, the primeval plan.

^kWest side begins.

wise^a before my father, I entered ³upon^b the affairs of his heart, I did not turn my back upon the city of the All-Lord, but turned to it the face. I know that Karnak is the horizon^c on earth, ⁴the August Ascent of the beginning, the sacred eye of the All-Lord, the place of his heart, which wears his beauty,^d and encompasses those who follow him."

Origin of the Obelisks

317. The king himself, he saith, ⁵"I set (it) before the people, who shall be ¹after^e two æons,^e those whose heart shall consider^f this monument, and that which I have made for my father, ⁶those who shall speak ⁷—¹ and who shall look to the future.^g I sat in the palace, I remembered him who fashioned me, ⁷my heart led me to make for him two obelisks of electrum, whose point[s]^h mingled with heaven, in the august colonnade between ⁸the two great pylonsⁱ of the king, the mighty bull, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Okheperkere (Thutmose I), the deceased Horus. Now, my heart took — — — — — words."

Oath to Posterity

318. "O ye people, ¹who shall see my monument after years, those who shall speak of that which I have made, beware (lest) ye say, 'I know not, I know not ²why this was made, (and) a mountain fashioned entirely from gold like anything ³which happens!^k I swear^l as Re

^aLit., "my heart was the god Esye (Sy);" a divinity whose name means the "wise one."

^bSame construction as in § 316, l. 8.

^cThe word (*y* > *hw-t*) usually translated "horizon" is not yet fully understood. It indicates the abiding-place of the solar gods, a region of light or something similar.

^dThis phrase, "Bearer of his beauty" (*wis-t-njrwf*), is usually the appellation of the sacred barque, in which the image of the god was borne.

^eTwo periods of sixty years each are meant.

^fLit., "whose heart shall be behind this monument."

^gRather the opposite, the past is to be expected here.

^hThe word indicates the pyramidal top of the shaft, the pyramidion.

ⁱThese are Pylons IV and V, between the ruins of which the obelisk stands, surrounded by the fallen columns of the colonnade.

^jNorth side begins.

^kAs if it were an everyday occurrence.

^lCompare the same royal oath in the Assuan inscription of Thutmose II (§ 121, l. 10), or Megiddo campaign of Thutmose III (§ 422, l. 40).

loves me, as ³my father Amon favors me, as my nostrils are filled with satisfying life, as I wear the white crown, as I appear in the red crown, as Horus^a and Set have united for me ⁴their halves, as I rule this land like the son of Isis,^b as I have become strong like the son of Nut,^c as Re sets in the evening-barque, as he rises^d in ⁵the morning-barque, as he joins his two mothers^e in the divine barque, as heaven abides, as that which he hath made endures, as I shall be unto eternity like an 'Imperishable,'^f as I shall go down ⁶in the west like Atum,^g ^h(so surely) these two great obelisks which my majesty hath wrought with electrum for my father, Amon, in order that ⁷my name may abide, enduring in this temple forever and ever, (so surely) they are of one block of enduring granite without seam or ⁸joining 1—1. My majesty exacted workⁱ thereon from the year 15, the first of Mechir (sixth month), until^j the year 16, the last of Mesore (twelfth month) making seven months of exaction in the mountain.

History

319. ^{k1}"I did (it) for him in ¹fidelity^l of heart, ¹as¹ a king to every god. It was my desire to make them for him, gilded with electrum; I laid ²their side upon their 1—1; I thought how the people would say my mouth was excellent by reason of that which issued from it, (for) I did not turn back from that which I had said. ³Hear ye! I gave for them of the finest electrum, which I had measured by the heket¹ like sacks (of grain). My majesty appointed the numbers^m more than ⁴the entire Two Lands had (ever) seen. The ignorant like the wise knoweth it."

^aThe text has two Horus birds; the reference is explained in the note on l. 2 of the Tombos inscription of Thutmose I (§ 70, l. 2).

^bHorus.

^cOsiris.

^dLit., "*visit or approach*" (*s'w > h*). See Papyrus Prisse, 9, 7.

^eIsis and Nephthys, by a confusion and mingling of the solar and Osirian myths.

^fName of a star.

^gSun-god.

^hHere the long introduction to the oath closes and the real asseveration begins.

ⁱSee Breasted, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXII, 92.

^jMeaning it continued "*until*," etc.

^kEast side begins.

^lA grain measure (nearly 5 liters); this is literally true, for Thutiy records the measurement of electrum by the heket under his supervision, and gives the total between 13 and 14 bushels! (§ 377, l. 38).

^mThe quantity of precious metals, but cf. Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 48.

Conclusion

"Let not him who shall hear this say it is a lie which I have said, ⁵but say, 'How like her it is! 'who is¹ truthf[ul] in the sight of her father!' The god knew it in me,^a Amon, lord of Thebes; he caused that I should reign over ⁶the Black and the Red Land as a requital therefor. I have no enemy in any land, all countries are my subjects, he has made my boundary ⁷to the extremities of heaven, the circuit of the sun has labored for me, which he has given to the one who is with him^b (for) he knew that I would offer it to him. I am his daughter ⁸of a truth, who glorifies him, — that which he exacted; my '—' is with my father; life, stability, and satisfaction, upon the Horus-throne of all the living, like Re, forever.

320. The shaft of the fallen obelisk, of which only the uppermost section has survived,^c bears only fragments of the queen's titulary,^d which has been altered into that of Thutmose III. The base, however, carried an interesting inscription, of which the following fragments^e are still visible:

321. ^f ———— excellent —, beloved of his majesty.^g He hath made my kingdom, the Black Land, and the Red Lands are united under my feet. My southern boundary is as far as the lands of Punt, ²and ————; my eastern boundary is as far as the marshes of Asia, and the Asiatics are in my grasp; my western boundary is as far as the mountain of Manu, and I rule ³— — —; [my northern boundary is as far as —], and my fame is among the Sand-dwellers altogether.^h

^aViz., knew that I would erect these obelisks.

^bMeaning the queen herself.

^cA fragment has been found at Abutig (*Recueil*, X, 142; see *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 30, Pl. II).

^dLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 24, a-c; *Recueil*, X, 142; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 136.

^e*Recueil*, 23, 195 f.

^fThe amount of loss at the beginning of each line varies from one-fifth to one-eighth of the total length of the line, increasing gradually from beginning to end.

^gAmon?

^hIt looks as if the scribe had here confused the northern and eastern boundaries.

The myrrh of Punt has been brought to me 1 — — — 4 — — — all the luxurious marvels of this country were brought to my palace in one collection, which the Asiatics presented 5 — — — malachite in the country of Reshet. They have brought to me the choicest products of 1 — ^a consisting of cedar, of juniper, and of meru wood. 6 — — — all the good sweet woods of God's-Land. I brought the tribute of Tehenu, consisting of ivory and 700 tusks 1 which were there 1. 7 — — — numerous panther-skins of 5 cubits along the back and 4 cubits in his girth,^b of the southern panther; besides all the tribute of this country 8 — — —^c

RELIEFS OF TRANSPORTATION OF OBELISKS^d

322. The queen had reliefs representing the transportation and dedication of two obelisks carved on the wall of the lower colonnade; and, as in the Punt reliefs, the vessels of the transport are actually represented with bows to the north, as they should be in sailing from Assuan; while farther northward is the dedication in Thebes. The identity of these obelisks is uncertain; Wilkinson^e says that he saw the bases of two obelisks at the termination of the long avenue of sphinxes leading to the temple door, and one would think that the representation in Der el-Bahri

^aA country.

^bLit., circumference = the girth of the beast before the skin was removed?

^cThe usual wishes for the monarch's welfare follow, with all pronouns and endings in the feminine.

^dScenes and inscriptions in the Der el-Bahri temple on the west wall of the lower colonnade, in the south half; the transportation published by Naville (in *Egypt Exploration Fund Archaeological Report*, 1895-96, Pl. and pp. 6-13).

^e*Thebes and General View*, 90, published in 1831. Naville denies the existence of obelisks at Der el-Bahri; but he once unreservedly accepted their existence. (*Deir-el-Bahari, Introductory Memoir*, 10) on Wilkinson's testimony. It is difficult to suppose that so good an observer as Wilkinson mistook the pits in which trees were planted for obelisk-bases, as Naville states (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 37, 52). It is possible that they have either been broken up since Wilkinson's day, or that Naville's search has missed them. The map of the French expedition in the *Description* shows a block of granite on the very spot where the right-hand obelisk would have stood.

would concern the obelisks of that temple. But Naville's excavations on the spot failed to turn up the bases seen by Wilkinson; and the transport inscriptions speak of landing on the east side (§ 329). This last datum would indicate Karnak as the destination of the transports, and in this case it is impossible to say which of the queen's two pairs in Karnak is meant (§§ 304 ff.).^a

I. TRANSPORT

Scene^b

323. A large tow-boat with the obelisks^c lying trussed upon it, is being towed by three rows of oared barges,^d nine in a row; each row headed by a pilot-boat. The tow-boat is accompanied by an escort of three boats, in which religious ceremonies are being performed.

Inscriptions^e

324. The following is the long text in the upper row; it contains:

- a) Titulary and encomium of the queen (ll. 1-?).
- b) The command to gather material and build the vessel needed in the transport (three lines).
- c) The command to muster men and troops for the transport (four lines).
- d) The transport (ten lines).

^aIt is difficult to understand how Naville can maintain that the queen erected only two obelisks at Karnak (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 37, 52), when three obelisk-summits of hers are still in existence.

^bThe whole scene is very fragmentary, and as it was put together from squeezes, there is no doubt that some blocks are put together in questionable places.

^cOnly one can be seen, but the inscription refers to two.

^dOf these three rows of barges the lowest is still in situ (cf. Mariette, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 11, Dümichen, *Fleet of an Egyptian Queen*, IV); below this in one long row are the marines (on the right) and the offering scene (on the left), with priests and officials approaching (§§ 333-35).

^eThe texts are badly mutilated.

Titulary and Encomium of Queen

325. [Live] the Horus: Wosretkew; Favorite of the Two Goddesses; Fresh in Years; Golden Horus: Divine of Diadems; ²splendid part of [her] father, Amon-Re, lord of [heaven], who has not been far removed from the father of all gods, ³shining in brightness like "The-Horizon-God" (Y³ hwt^y); Rayet (R^c y^t)^a she illuminates ⁴like the sun, vivifying the hearts of the people, who is exalted in name (so that) it hath reached ⁵heaven. Her fame has encompassed the 'Great Circle' (Okeanos) ——— ^{b6}their tribute presented to the palace ——— ⁷chief ———^c.

Building the Tow-Boat

326. Give ye ——— | sycamores from the whole land ——— | the work of building a very great boat,^d finished ———.

Muster of Men^e and Troops

327. ——— | orders the whole army before ——— |, in order to load the two obelisks in Elephantine^f ——— | the people in Aphroditopolis and the entire Two Lands were gathered in [one] place ——— | in every way; the young men were mustered ———.

The Transport

328. ——— | sailed down-stream with gladness of heart ——— | took the 'tow-rope', rejoicing ——— | 'rejoiced' the marines and the crew ——— | — — jubilee, the Two Lands | ——— in peace.

^aFeminine of Re, the sun-god.

^bHalf a line is lost.

^cAn uncertain number of lines is now lacking, and numbering is impossible from this point. Lines are separated by |, the second half of each line being gone.

^dThe wanting end of the line is not long enough for the dimensions of the boat; but we find Ineni (§ 105) giving the size of the boat on which he moved the Karnak obelisks of Thutmose I. His boat was 206.6 feet long and 68.86 feet wide for an obelisk about 75 feet (Murray) high; hence the boat of the queen (if these are the large Karnak pair) on the same proportion would have been about 268½ feet long and 89½ feet wide. The proportion between width and length is 1 to 3. See *Egypt Exploration Fund Archaeological Report*, 1895-96, 9, 10.

^eConfer the muster of men for the el-Bersheh colossus (I, 697 ff.).

^fReferring to the embarkation of the obelisks at the granite quarries of Assuan. They were dragged on board the barges on sledges. The sledge is still under the obelisk on the barge—a fact which has been overlooked in the explanation of the reliefs (*ibid.*).

The king himself, he took the lead^a ———| Amon-Re with praise, Khnum. ———| of Amon ———| in this monument, which they have established^b ———| they have increased years at the jubilee of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt ———|

Over the Pilot-Boats^c

329. Landing in peace at "Victorious Thebes,"^d heaven is in festival, earth in rejoicing; — [they] receive joy of heart (when) they behold this monument which [Makere] has established for her father [Amon].^e

II. RECEPTION IN THEBES

Scene^f

330. On shore appear the marines and the recruits (on the right), mustered to unload the obelisks. At the opposite end (the left) is an offering scene in celebration of the arrival of the obelisks, with priests and officials approaching.

^aThis may also be "the bow-rope," but the determinative is broken off.

^bPossibly: "[Her name is established], in this monument, and fixed; which she has given to thee." Cf. east side, middle line (§ 311).

^cThe lowermost boat; the other two bore similar inscriptions, but they have now perished.

^dThebes on the east bank.

^eOver the three escort-boats in the lower right-hand corner is a fragment of text, mentioning the bow and stern cables (as in Ineni, l. 17, § 341) and "sailing from Elephantine to ———." Other fragments of interest are: over the three men in the bow of the obelisk-barge, three names: "Steward of the King's-Wife, the scribe, Tetem-Re (Tty-m-R); overseer of the granary, Minmose (Mn-ms); count of Thinis (Tny), Sitepeh (S²-tp-yh)." The last person, Sitepeh, is known on a tablet of Abydos, where he appears with the same titles; cf. Mariette, *Catalogue général d'Abydos*, 393. These names are not original, but are cut over others now illegible. The original names are very likely to have been those of Senmut, the queen's favorite, in charge of the obelisks (§§ 345 ff.), and the other two partisans of the queen, Thuti and Nehsi, who already appear in Der el-Bahri (§§ 275, 289), and have been erased in the Punt reliefs.

^fIn one long row immediately below the transport scene; published by Mariette, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 11; Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 21, and *Fleet of an Egyptian Queen*, 4, 7, 8; see also Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 104, 105, where both the texts are combined.

Inscriptions

331. They record the rejoicing of the troops mustered from the North, South, and Upper Nubia, to assist in the work of the obelisks.^a It is important to note that their acclamations also mention Thutmose III, but after the queen.

Rejoicing of Marines and Recruits

332. The rejoicing by the royal marines of the ship of the king —.^b

^cThey say, "Hark the acclamation! Heaven is in [joy, the earth] hath rejoicing. [Amon] ^dincreased the years of his daughter who maketh his monuments, upon the Horus-throne of the living, like Re, forever."^d

^eThe acclamation by the recruits of the South and North, the young men of Thebes, the youths of Khenthennofer (*Hnt-hn-n/r*), for the sake of the life, prosperity and health of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt ————,^f (and) for the sake of the life, prosperity and health of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre (Thutmose III), who giveth life; that their heart may be glad, like Re, forever."

With the Offering

333. An offering for thy ka, O lord of gods, that thou mayest make healthy ————^g at this (feast) of "Myriad-of-Years"^h of her who liveth forever.ⁱ

^aSee the mustering at Elephantine, to load the obelisks (§ 327).

^bCartouche cut out; undoubtedly that of the queen.

^cOver the troops marching toward the left.

^dThe same phrase occurs on the Berlin block (No. 1636, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 17, a; Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 21; and *Fleet of an Egyptian Queen*, IV, top row). Its inscriptions are as follows: (over the forward ship) "*Landing at 'The West' with joy of heart, the whole land is in rejoicing at this beautiful feast of this god; they acclaim, they give praise, they celebrate the king, the Lord of the Two Lands.*" The titles have been inserted in place of the queen's name. Then follows: "*Rejoicing by the marines of the ship of the king, Okhepernere (Thutmose II), 'Star-of-the-Two-Lands; they say: 'This beautiful feast of — (queen's cartouche cut out) whereon Amon appears, increasing the years of his son, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre (Thutmose III), upon the Horus-throne of the living, like Re, forever.'*" It is possible that all this belongs to the same feast, at the landing of the obelisks. The block was found on the upper terrace.

^eOver the soldiers marching toward the right.

^fCartouche of the queen cut out.

^gA name is cut out, undoubtedly that of Hatshepsut.

^hName of royal jubilee or feast.

ⁱWords of two other priests in the same place are too mutilated for translation.

Rejoicing of the Priests

334. That which the priests of Karnak say: "O king, beautiful^a of monuments —. As she is, so they are for eternity."

Rejoicing of the Court

335. The companions, the dignitaries, the officials, the soldiers of the whole land, say: "Happy is thy heart ——— thy heart; this thy desire, it has come to pass."

III. DEDICATION OF THE OBELISKS^b

336. "On the corresponding wall of the northeast side^c two obelisks are dedicated to Amunre, by the monarch who founded this building and who erected the great obelisks of Karnak; but from the following translation of the little that remains of their hieroglyphics, it is evident they differ widely from those of the great temple of Diospolis^d and will probably have stood on the pedestals of the dromos above alluded to.^e The inscription after the name of Pharaoh Amunneitgori^f continues: "— She has made (this) *her* work for *her* father Amunre, lord of the regions, (and) erected to him two fine obelisks of granite *she* did this (who is) the giver of life, like the sun."^g

^aShould be feminine to suit the context.

^bNot yet published, and probably partially lost since seen by Wilkinson. Hence I can only offer Wilkinson's remarks (*Thebes and General View*, 92).

^cThe right-hand end of the colonnade on the northeast (practically north) side of the ascent to the next terrace.

^dThe Karnak temple. So good an observer as Wilkinson is to be trusted in a remark like this; there must have been some striking difference in the inscription, distinguishing it from those of Hatshepsut's standing obelisk at Karnak; it is therefore improbable that these obelisk reliefs refer to the said Karnak pair.

^eThe obelisk-pedestals which he saw before the temple portal.

^fThis is Khnemet-Amon, Hatshepsut; Wilkinson adds the following note: "I am uncertain as to the precise reading of this name, but cannot adopt the Amen-the of M. Champollion. I suppose her to have been a queen." This was written seventy-five years ago.

^gThis old translation is without a flaw, except in the last sentence, which should be "*that she may be given life, etc.*," and even this change, with the exception of the "final" construction, was suspected by Wilkinson (p. 94, n. 1).

ROCK INSCRIPTION IN WADI MAGHARA^a

337. Above is a bas-relief in which Thutmose III worships Hathor, and Hatshepsut worships Soped; over this is the inscription: "*Year 16 under the majesty of,*" which is to be connected with the names in the relief. Below is a much-mutilated inscription of three short lines:

[Came]^b the king's[-messenger] at the head of his army, to traverse the [inaccessible^c] valley[s,] [to please^d] Horus who is in the palace, by bringing that which exists to his majesty ———, ^e living again, revered.

BUILDING INSCRIPTION OF WESTERN THEBES^f

338. Above is a relief showing Hatshepsut worshipping before Amon-Re, with Thutmose III standing behind her. An inscription of five lines below records repairs in the fortress of the necropolis by Hatshepsut. Hence the goddess of western Thebes, Khafet-hir-nebes, stands behind Thutmose.

339. ¹Live the Horus: Wosretkew; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Fresh in Years; Golden Horus: Divine of Diadems, Ruler of South and North; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Maker; ²Son of Re, of his body, his beloved Khnemet-Amon, Hatshepsut. She made (it) as her monument for her father, Amon, lord of Thebes; erecting for him ³the fortress of Khafet-hir-nebes anew as a work for eternity. Its

^aLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 28, 2; Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 122; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1491; Laborde, *Voyage de l'Arabie Pétrée*, Pl. 8, No. 4; Laval, *La Péninsule Arabique*, Pl. 2, No. 4.; Weill, *Sinai*, 152.

^bRestored from Senmut's Assuan inscription, see § 362.

^cRestored from I, 728.

^dCf. Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 122 and 51.

^eFragments, among them the determinative belonging to the lost name of the messenger.

^fStela in the Vatican (No. 130); published by Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 700, 701; Piehl, *Recueil*, II, 129; Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 110. I had also my own copy of the original, a collation of which furnished some corrections.

1—1a was 1built1 4of beautiful stone of Ayan (c nw).^b It was according to the ancient plan; never was done the like since the beginning. 5Her majesty (fem.) did this, because she loved her father Amon so much more than all gods, in order that she might be given life, like Re, forever.

BIOGRAPHY OF INENI^c

[Concluded from § 118]

IV. CAREER UNDER THUTMOSE III AND HATSHEPSUT

340. After outliving three kings, Ineni himself dies under the joint reign of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut. His account of their accession upon the death of Thutmose II unfortunately does not refer to Thutmose III by name, although there can be no doubt that he is meant by "*his son*" (l. 16). The position of Hatshepsut is described in such a way as to give the impression that she is really the ruling power, and "*his son*" merely a figurehead.

Accession of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut

341. His^d son stood in his place as king of the Two Lands, having become ruler upon the throne of the one who begat him. 17His sister the Divine Consort, Hatshepsut, settled the 1affairs^{1e} of the Two Lands by reason of her plans. Egypt was made to labor with bowed head for

^aOriginal has c hm' t, with wedge determinative of land, a rare word occurring also in similar connection in Piehl, *Inscriptions*, I, cxxix, Q B; it doubtless designates some inclosure or wall.

^bThe original shows *ynr nfr n c nw* (heretofore misread), though it is very faint and confused with the paint of a modern incorrect restoration.

^cBibliography on p. 18, note c.

^dThutmose II's son; this passage would prove that Thutmose III was the son (and not the brother) of Thutmose II, but see Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 7 ff. Cf. also Maspero, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XIV, 178, and Petrie, *History of Egypt*, II, 78, and Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 42, 43.

^eLit., "*made the land-affairs (mhr) of the Two Lands.*" This rare phrase occurs in the Annals on the eve before the battle of Megiddo: "*the affairs (mhr-w) of the chiefs were settled (yr-tw).*" (§ 429, l. 2). The "*mhr-w of the Two Lands*" is also found in Rekhmire's tomb (Newberry, Pl. VII, l. 13) applied to Thutmose III. Ramses II also "*made the mhr of the land*" (Blessing of Ptah, III, 411, l. 31).

her, the excellent seed of the god, which came forth from him. The bow-rope^a of the South, the mooring-stake of the Southerners; the excellent stern-rope^a of the Northland is she; the mistress of command, whose plans are excellent, who satisfies the Two Regions, when she speaks.

Ineni's Favor and Rewards

342. Her majesty praised me, she loved me, she recognized my worth at the court, she presented me with things, she magnified me, she filled my house with silver and gold, with all beautiful stuffs of the royal house.

Ineni's Good Character

343. I (can) not tell (it), I increased beyond everything, I will tell you, ye people; hear ye, do ye the good that I did; ¹⁹do ye likewise. I continued powerful in peace, I met no misfortune,^b my years were (passed) in gladness of heart, I showed no treachery, I did not inform against, I did no evil, I did no wrong. I was the foreman of the foremen, I did not fail; an excellent one for the heart of his lord, devoid of hesitancy, I was one who hearkened to that which his superior said. My heart was not deceitful toward the great ones in the palace. I did that which the god of the city loved. I was devoid of blasphemy toward sacred things. As for the one who 'passes' the years as a favorite, his soul shall live 'with' the All-Lord, his good name shall be in the mouth of the living, his memory and his excellence shall be forever. The revered dignitary, the overseer of the granary of Amon, the scribe, Ineni (*Y² nn(y)*), triumphant.

BIOGRAPHY OF AHMOSE-PEN-NEKHBET^c

[Concluded from § 25]

Conclusion of Summary

344. ¹⁸The Divine Consort, the Great King's-Wife, Makere (*M² c. t-k²-R^c*, Hatshepsut), triumphant, repeated honors to me. ¹⁹I

^aThese strange epithets will be quite clear to one who has seen a Nile boat, moored at bow and stern, with a fierce current holding both ropes taut. The ship is of course the state, of which the queen is the mooring-lines. Note that the vessel faces southward, the usual position in determining directions.

^bLit., "my misfortune was not;" all the following negative clauses show the same construction.

^cBibliography on p. 10, note c.

reared her eldest daughter, the Royal Daughter, Nefrure (*Njrw-R*), triumphant, while she was a ²⁰child upon the breast.^a

INSCRIPTIONS OF SENMUT

345. Senmut was the most powerful noble among the group of influential state officials who supported Hatshepsut. He was her architect in Karnak, Luxor, Der el-Bahri, and Hermonthis; and in Karnak^b and Der el-Bahri statues of him have been found. In the latter temple, also, he appears in an adoration scene on the wall of the Southern Speos,^c with the inscription: "*Giving praise to Hathor, for the sake of the life, prosperity, and health of Makere (Hatshepsut), by the steward of Amon, Senmut.*"^d This is a remarkable evidence of his power. Among his works in Karnak he erected the queen's great obelisks (§§ 304 ff.), the largest now in Egypt, and went personally to the granite quarries at Assuan to secure the two vast blocks, leaving on the rocks a record of his visit there (§§ 359 ff.).

346. He was prominent in the Punt expedition; being overseer of the storehouse of Amon, he would naturally have much to do with the products of that expedition, which were

^aThe remainder of the line, and of several lines now broken away, contained titles of Ahmose, § 25, note.

^bThe base of a black granite statue, as yet unpublished (Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, "Preliminary Report," 19).

^cBenson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 310. The building inscriptions or dedications of this temple have not survived. The fragmentary end of such an inscription was seen by Brugsch (*Recueil de monuments*, 69, 6), which is as follows: "_____ of fine white (lime)stone of Ayan; its splendid seat of the first time, which (former) kings knew not _____." Still another, where the name of Thutmose II has been inserted over that of the queen, is preserved toward the end: "_____ making for him a great temple of myriads of years (named) 'House-of-Amon-Most-Splendid;' of fine white limestone of Ayan, in his seat, etc.," Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 93.

^dDümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 34 = Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 109.

for the most part devoted to Amon. He therefore appears with Nehsi (§ 289), the commander of the expedition in the presence of the queen, praising her on the success of the enterprise.

347. He was selected by the queen to rear her daughter and heiress to the throne, the princess, Nefrure, sharing this honor with Ahmose-Pen-Nekhet (§ 344). His statue, now in Berlin, shows him with the infant princess (§§ 363 ff.).

348. Judging from the titles on the Karnak statue (§§ 349 ff.), he controlled many of the functions of the vizier himself, and all but held that office. There is no doubt that the queen's remarkable career as king in opposition to Thutmose III was in some measure due to him, and in great measure to the coterie of legitimists, of which he was the most powerful member. It is only on this supposition that we can explain the fact that both he and they were exposed to the same persecution suffered by their queen. On Senmut's Berlin statue, on his Karnak statue, in his tomb,^a on his tombstone,^b and in the Punt reliefs, his name is everywhere chiseled out. In the Punt relief his entire figure, and those of his two companions, Nehsi and Thutiy (? see § 289), likewise ardent supporters of the queen, are chiseled out. The same persistent persecution is evident in the tomb of Thutiy (§§ 369 ff.), who was hardly second in power to Senmut; in that of Senmen,^c Senmut's brother; in that of an unknown man,^c next to the tomb of Senmut; and in that of a "*chief steward*"^d of the queen at Silsileh. In all these the

^aDiscovered by Steindorff and Newberry at Thebes (Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 310).

^bNow in Berlin (No. 2066; *Ausführliches Verzeichniss des Berliner Museums*, 160); published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 25 bis a; see also Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, III.

^cSethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 128 f.

^d*Ibid.*, 84, § 11, e. His name cannot be read.

name of the owner is chiseled out, and this common persecution is quite sufficient to show that these men formed the queen's party of legitimists opposed to Thutmose III, who has therefore treated their monuments and their memory as he did hers.^a

1. INSCRIPTIONS ON THE KARNAK STATUE^b

349. This statue was presented to Senmut by Hatshepsut and Thutmose III (§ 350) as a token of honor, for the special purpose of being set up in the temple of Mut at Karnak. The inscriptions contain chiefly his many titles, and epithets of honor, showing clearly that he was little, if any, below the vizier himself in power.

Statue was Presented by Queen^c

350. ¹[Given as a favor of the king's-presence, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Makere (Hatshepsut), who is given [life, to ²the hereditary prince, count], wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, steward of Amon, Senmut, triumphant; in order to be in the temple^d of ³[I]shru; in order to receive the plenty that comes forth from before the presence of this great goddess.

⁴[Given] as a favor of the king's-presence, extending the period of life to eternity, with a goodly memory among ⁵the people after the years that shall come; to^e the prince and count, overseer of the granary of Amon, Senmut, triumphant.

^aSmall objects from Senmut's tomb, see Spiegelberg, *Recueil*, 19, 91; and Newberry, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXII, 63, 64; full list by Newberry, Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 310.

^bDiscovered by Misses Benson and Gourlay in 1896 in the Temple of Mut at Karnak (M. 852). The inscriptions are published by Benson and Gourlay in *The Temple of Mut in Asher* (London, 1899), 299-309. I had also an excellent copy made for the Berlin Lexicon by Borchardt, the corrections and additions from this copy are inserted without remark in the translation below.

^cOn the back, Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 301-3.

^dThe statue was found in this temple, and its purpose is here noted. The lacuna in Borchardt's copy is not large enough for "*Mut, mistress of*," which we would expect.

^eConstrue with "*given*."

His Duties as Architect

351. ⁶[It was]^a the chief steward, Senmut, who conducted all the works of the king: in Karnak, in Hermonthis, [in] ⁷Der el-Bahri, of Amon, in the temple of Mut, in Ishru, in southern Opet of Amon (Luxor), in [the presence] ⁸of this august god, while maintaining the monuments of the Lord of the Two Lands, enlarging, restoring — ⁹works, without deafness, (but) according to all that was commanded at the court, L. P. H. It was commanded him that [the] should be — ¹⁰because he was so excellent for the heart (of the king). It came to pass in every respect,^b as was commanded by doing according to the desire of his majesty concerning it. ¹¹His true servant, without his like;^c strong-hearted, not lax concerning the monuments of the lord of gods; wearer of the royal seal, prophet of Amon, ¹²[Se]nmut.

His Praise of Himself; His Offices

352. He says: "I was the greatest of the great in the whole land; one who heard the hearing alone in the privy council, steward of [Amon], ¹³Senmut, triumphant."

"I was the real favorite of the king, acting as one praised of his lord every day, the overseer of the cattle of Amon, Senmut."

"I was ¹⁴— of truth, not showing partiality; with whose injunctions the Lord of the Two Lands was satisfied; attached to Nekhen, prophet of Mat, Senmut."

"I was one who entered in [love], ¹⁵and came forth in favor, making glad the heart of the king every day, the companion, and master of the palace, Senmut."

"I commanded ¹⁶in the storehouse of divine offerings of Amon every tenth day; the overseer of the storehouse of Amon, Senmut."

"I conducted — ¹⁷—^d of the gods every day, for the sake of the life, prosperity, and health of the king; overseer of the [—] of Amon, Senmut."

"I was a foreman of foremen, superior of the great, ¹⁸[overseer] of all [works] of the house of silver, conductor of every handicraft, chief of the prophets of Montu in Hermonthis, Senmut."

^aRead *yn* (Sethe).

^bLit., "very, very much" (*wr wr mnḥ*).

^cLit., "without one possessed of his qualities."

^dThe first word shows traces of the sign for "feast."

"I was one ¹⁹to whom the affairs of the Two Lands were [repor]ted; that which South and North contributed was on my seal, the labor of all countries ²⁰was [under] my charge."

"I was one, whose steps were known in the palace; a real confidant of the king, his beloved: overseer of the gardens of Amon, Senmut."

Address to the Living, and Prayer

353. ²¹"O ye living upon earth, lay priests of the temple,^a who shall see my statue, which I have formed as a likeness,^b ²²that I may be remembered in the nether world; may your great goddess (Mut) praise you, because ye say: 'A royal offering, which Mut of I[shru] gives! ²³May she give the going in and out in the nether world [in] the following of the just; for the ka of Senmut,^d who repeats the utterance of the king to the "companions;" the one useful to the king, ²⁴faithful to the god, without his [blemish] before the people; steward of Amon, Senmut. May he (Amon) grant to come forth ²⁵as a living soul; to breathe the sweet north wind, to the [ka of] the steward of Amon, [Senmut]; ²⁶to receive loaves (*sn·w*) from the table of Amon, at every feast of heaven and earth, ²⁷for the ka of the citizen, mighty in his arm; who followed the king in the South, North, East, and West countries, [— — — —],^g to whom was given the gold of praise, ²⁸— Senmut. May he come forth as a living soul; may he follow the god, lord of gods; may he be presented with the two regions of Horus; may his name not perish forever; breath for the mouth, splendor for the dead; this is not a thing under which one should [be lax]."

^aThe temple of Mut, in which the statue was set up.

^bLit., "*which I have likened.*"

^cNewberry begins a new numbering here (Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 309) as the inscription proceeds at this point to the left side of the top of the base, but there is no break.

^dTitle omitted.

^eGoes to the front of the top of the base (Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 308).

^fGoes to the right side of the top of the base (Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 309).

^g"*Pure of limb between the two bows*" (?), Sethe.

^hGoes to the front and sides of the base (Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 309).

"I was a noble, to whom one hearkened; moreover, I had access to all the writings of the prophets; there was nothing which I did not know of that which had happened since the beginning.^a 「————」.

Statue was Presented by Queen and King

354. ^{b1}[Given] as a favor of the king's-presence [to] the hereditary prince, count, steward of Amon, Sen[mut], triumphant, ²steward of the female Horus: Wosretkew,^c favorite of Horus: "Shining-in-Thebes,"^d when maintaining their monuments ³forever, firm in favor with them every day.

⁴Overseer of the fields of Amon, Senmut, triumphant.

⁵Overseer of the gardens of Amon, Senmut.

⁶Overseer of the cattle of ⁷Amon, Senmut, triumphant.

⁸Chief steward of ⁹Amon, Senmut, triumphant.

¹⁰Chief steward of the king, Senmut, triumphant.

¹¹Chief of the peasant-serfs of Amon, Senmut, triumphant.

Prayers for Food-Offerings

355. ^{e1}The oblations in the South for the ka of the magnate of the South and North, Senmut. May she (Mut) give ²the food-offerings in the Northland to the ka of the greatest of the great, the noblest of the noble, ³[Se]nmut. May she (Mut) give all that comes forth from her table in Karnak, ⁴[in] the temples of the gods of the South and North, to the ka of the master of secret things in the temple, ⁵Senmut.

Prayers for Food-Offerings

356. May she (Mut) give the mortuary offering of bread, beer, oxen, geese; and to drink ⁶water at the living stream; to the ka of the

^aIn this connection it is interesting to note that on his tombstone Senmut placed an archaic text long forgotten, and no longer used in his day (*Ausführliches Verzeichniss des Berliner Museums*, 160).

^bAbove the knees and arms on the sistrum; Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 300.

^cHorus-name of Hatshepsut (read *Hr't*, not *t*?, as published).

^dHorus-name of Thutmose III (read *h'c*, not *t*, as published). This important correction is due to Sethe, who made it in Borchardt's manuscript (containing the same mistake), and it was afterward verified by Borchardt from the original.

^eLeft side of sistrum (Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 305 f.); it is evidently to be connected with one of the verbs "to give" in the other texts.

chief steward of Amon, ⁷[Se]nmut, triumphant; ⁸overseer of the cattle of ⁹Amon, Senmut; ¹⁰filling the magazines, ¹¹supplying¹ the storehouses, ¹²overseer of the storehouse of ¹³Amon, ¹⁴Senmut, ¹⁵triumphant; ¹⁶overseer of the gardens of Amon, Senmut, triumphant.

He Carries the Goddess in Processions

357. ^{a1}[Master] of all people, chief of the whole land, steward of Amon, Senmut, triumphant, ²chief [steward] of the king, Senmut; revered by the great god. When he carries Hathor, ³sovereign of Thebes, and Mut, mistress of Ishru, he causes her to appear,^b ⁴he bears her beauty, for the life, prosperity, and health of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Makere (Hatshepsut), living forever.

Prayer for Goodly Burial

358. ⁵May he (Osiris) give: goodly burial in the western highland, ⁶[as one revere]d by the great god; to the ka of the privy councilor of the right hand, Senmut; ⁷splendor in heaven, ⁸power on earth; ⁹to the ka of the overseer of the ¹temples¹ (*hwt*) ¹⁰of Neit, Senmut, ¹¹begotten of Ramose, ¹²born of ¹³Henofer (*H²-n/r*).

II. ASSUAN INSCRIPTION^c

359. Engraved on the rocks at Assuan by Senmut, to commemorate his commission by Queen Hatshepsut to cut out the two Karnak obelisks erected by her (§§ 304 ff.). He appears in relief doing reverence to the queen, with the following inscriptions:

Titles Accompanying the Queen

360. Hereditary princess, great in favor and kindness, great in love — — Re, the kingdom of heaven, who is true in the midst of the divine ennead, the King's-Daughter, the King's-Sister, the Divine Consort, the

^aRight side of the sistrum (Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 307).

^bThe idiom for "bring out in procession."

^cText: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 25 bis q; better, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, IV, 116; de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, I, 41, No. 181 bis (copied from Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, with all mistakes!); corrected by Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 82.

Great King's-Wife,^a Hatshepsut, who liveth, the beloved of Satet, mistress of Elephantine, the beloved of Khnum, lord of the Cataract.

Accompanying Senmut

361. Ascription of [honor] to the Divine Consort, Sovereign of the entire Two Lands, by the wearer of the royal seal, companion, great in love, chief steward, Senmut (*Sn-Mw·t*).

Record beneath the Two Figures^b

362. Came the hereditary prince,^c count, who [greatly] satisfies the heart of the Divine Consort, who pleases the Mistress of the Two Lands by his injunction, chief steward of the Princess, Nefrure (*Nfrw-R^c*), who liveth, Senmut, in order to 'conduct' the work of two great obelisks^d of a "Myriad-(of-Years)".^e It took place according to that which was commanded; everything was done; it took place because of the fame of her majesty (fem.).

III. INSCRIPTIONS ON THE BERLIN STATUE^f

363. This statue, like the Karnak statue, was a royal gift (§ 350, l. 2). It represents Senmut in a squatting posture, holding between his knees the daughter and heir of the queen, the infant princess Nefrure, whom he reared. The inscriptions contain a most important reference to the death of Thutmose II (§ 368, ll. 7, 8).

^aThe same titles on an alabaster vase in Alnwick Castle, Birch catalogue 176, corrected by Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 122 and 25.

^bWith corrections from M. Weidenbach's copy as given by Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 82.

^cLit., "*The coming by the hereditary prince, etc.*"

^dIt is not entirely certain that these are the two Karnak obelisks, between Pylons IV and V.

^eThe name of a feast, see above, § 333.

^fCertainly from Thebes, but probably not from his tomb; now in Berlin (No. 2296, *Ausführliches Verzeichniss des Berliner Museums*, 137-39); published by Sharpe (*Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 107) and Lepsius (*Denkmäler*, III, 25); corrections by Sethe (*Untersuchungen*, I, 111); partial translation (*ibid.*, 50, 51).

Senmut, Tutor of the Princess

364. ^aSenmut, triumphant, not found 'among the writings' of the ancestors, ^b great father-tutor of the king's-daughter, Sovereign of the Two Lands, Divine Consort, Nefrure, ^c '— —' which I did according to the thought ^d of my heart '— — —'.

Mortuary Prayer

365. ^eA royal offering, which Amon-Re and the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Makere, give; may they ^f grant the mortuary oblation of bread, beer, oxen, geese, linen, incense, ointment.

A Royal Gift

366. ²Given as a favor of the king's-presence [to] the hereditary prince, count, companion, great in love, steward of Amon, Senmut.

Mortuary Prayer

367. ³A royal offering which Osiris, lord of Abydos gives; may he grant all that cometh forth from his table every day ⁴for the ka of the hereditary prince — '—', who greatly satisfies the heart of the Lord of the Two Lands, the favorite of the Good God, the overseer of the granary of Amon, Senmut.

Senmut's Favor with King and Queen

368. ⁵He says, "I was a noble, beloved of his lord, who entered^g upon the wonderful plans of the Mistress of the Two Lands. He^h exalted me before the Two Lands, he appointed me ⁶to be chief of his

^aBeside the princess.

^bThis very ambiguous phrase has been rendered: "[whose] ancestors were not found in writing," a rendering not at all certain; possibly the word "like" has been omitted, and we should translate: "*Whose like was not found among, etc.,*" more nearly parallel to the common statement.

^cThe daughter of the queen, whom Senmut is holding between his knees.

^dSee Speos Artemidos Inscription, l. 35, § 303 and note.

^eOn the front.

^fCorrected from my own copy.

^gAn idiom meaning "*to support, be in sympathy with;*" cf. obelisk of Hatshepsut, base, south, § 316, l. 8.

^hAccording to Sethe, the masculine pronoun refers to Thutmose III. Cf. Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 50; this supposition is rendered very probable by the Karnak statue (§§ 349 ff.).

estate 'throughout' the entire land. I was the superior of superiors, the chief of 7chiefs of works. I was in this land under his command since the occurrence of the death of his ⁸predecessor.^a I was in life under the Mistress of the Two Lands, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Makere (Hatshepsut), who liveth forever."^b

INSCRIPTION OF THUTIIY^c

369. Thutiy was a loyal supporter of Queen Hatshepsut (see § 348), and hence throughout his tomb his name and that of the queen have been entirely erased. He was the successor of Ineni (§§ 340 ff.) as "*overseer of the double gold- and silver-houses*," and this brought him many monumental enterprises, for which he furnished the metals, at the same time having the construction of a large number of such monuments under his charge. He was probably the builder of the queen's ebony shrine (l. 24 and § 126 ff.); he furnished the metal-work on two great obelisks (l. 28), superintended many other monuments, and was charged with the measuring of the splendid returns in precious metal from the queen's southern expeditions, particularly the famous one to Punt (ll. 33-38). That Thutiy is strictly veracious in this statement is most strikingly shown by the scene of weighing and measuring in the Punt reliefs (§ 275), where the traces of his figure, busily engaged in taking his notes, is identifiable by means of his name and title, "*Scribe and*

^aThis probably refers to the death of Thutmose II, the predecessor of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut. See Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 50.

^bOn the feet are engraved the titles of Senmut, and the two sides contain the one hundred and sixth and fifty-fourth chapters of the "Book of the Dead."

^cStela on the façade of Thutiy's tomb, in the southern part of Drah-abu-'n-Neggah on the west shore at Thebes. First seen by Lepsius, who published two lines (*Denkmäler*, III, 27, 10); later lost and rediscovered by the Marquis of Northampton, Newberry, and Spiegelberg, in 1898; published by Spiegelberg in *Recueil*, 22, 115-25, with translation.

steward, *Thutiy*," which accompany his figure.^a Both figure and inscription have been carefully obliterated as in the tomb.

Prayer for the King and Queen

370. ¹Giving praise to Amon-[Re, king of] gods; adoring his majesty every day at his rising in the eastern heavens, for the sake of the life, prosperity, and health of King Makere (Hatshepsut), given life forever, and King Menkheperre (Thutmose III), given life, stability, satisfaction, health, like Re, forever.

Titles of Thutiy

371. ²Hereditary prince, count, overseer of the double silver-house, overseer of the double gold-house, great favorite of the Lord of the Two Lands, Thutiy.

³Hereditary prince, count, chief of prophets in Hermopolis, Thutiy.

⁴Hereditary prince, count, sealing the treasures in the king's-house, Thutiy.

⁵Hereditary prince, count, who gives instruction to^b the craftsmen how to work, Thutiy.

⁶Hereditary prince, count, who reveals [to]^c him who is skilled in work, Thutiy.

⁷[Hereditary prince, count] — — who gives regulations, Thutiy.

⁸[Hereditary prince, count], — — the head in indolence, Thutiy.

⁹Hereditary prince, count, [vigilant¹ when] commissions are commanded him, Thutiy.

¹⁰[Hereditary prince, count], executing the plans that are commanded him, Thutiy.

¹¹[Hereditary prince, count], not forgetful of that which is commanded him, Thutiy.

^aNaville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 79.

^bSpiegelberg "anleitet;" lit., "who opens the face to, etc."

^cThe parallelism clearly demands "to" (n), thus:

(l. 5) sb ˁ hr n wb ˁ w r yr t

(l. 6) wn [hr n] sš ˁ m yr w t

Spiegelberg has supplied the hr ("face") in the lacuna, but overlooks the n ("to"), necessarily common to both lines: "who opens the face to (two different words for "open," sb ˁ and wn). Compare wb ˁ-yb on Lateran obelisk (side lines, § 836).

Works in Der el-Bahri

375. ²¹"Most Splendid"^a the temple of myriads of years; its great doors fashioned of black copper,^b the inlaid figures of electrum.

²²Khikhet,^c the great seat of Amon, his horizon in the west; all its doors of real cedar, wrought with bronze.

²³the house^d of Amon, his enduring horizon of eternity; its floor wrought with gold and silver; its beauty was like the horizon of heaven.

²⁴a great shrine^e of ebony of Nubia (*T²-pd·t*); the stairs beneath it, high and wide, of pure alabaster of Hatnub.

²⁵a palace^f of the god, wrought with gold and 'silver'; it illuminated the faces (of people) with its brightness.

Works in Karnak

376. ²⁶great doors, high and wide in Karnak; wrought with copper and bronze; the inlaid figures^g of electrum.

²⁷magnificent necklaces, large amulets of the great seat, of electrum and every costly stone.

²⁸two great obelisks,^h their height was 108 cubits; wrought throughout with electrum; which filled the Two Lands with their brightness.

²⁹an august gate (named): "Terror-of-Amon,"ⁱ fashioned of copper in one sheet; its likenesses likewise.

^aName of Der el-Bahri temple.

^bThe making of metal doors may be seen in the tomb of Rekhmire, ed. Newberry, Pl. XVIII.

^cMeaning "*Shining of the horizon*" (*ḫꜥ-yꜥ ḫwt*). According to Spiegelberg, this is another name for Der el-Bahri; it is, however, strange that the doors of this temple should be mentioned twice. Possibly the "*great doors*" of l. 21 are the huge entrance doors, and those of l. 22 the inner doors.

^dPossibly some part of the Der el-Bahri temple.

^eThis is very probably the ebony shrine found in the Der el-Bahri temple (see § 126).

^fA structure not met with elsewhere in the inscriptions. Its purpose and character are unknown.

^gRead: *ḫpw*.

^hThere is no doubt that these obelisks were in Karnak, but the height given far exceeds that of Hatshepsut's surviving obelisk in Karnak. The theory that the height of the pair has been combined in one datum receives some confirmation from the discovery that the two obelisks on the barge in Hatshepsut's relief lie end to end; but the total is 10 feet less than twice the height of the Karnak obelisk.

ⁱThere is a Karnak gate called "*Amon-Great-in-Terror*" (Mariette, *Karnak*, 38, a, 8); but none is known of the above name.

¹⁰many offering-tables of Amon in Karnak, of electrum without limit; of every costly stone —.

³¹magnificent chests,^a wrought with copper and electrum; every vessel; linen; of every precious stone of the divine members.^b

³²a great seat, a shrine, built of granite; its durability is like the pillars of heaven; its work is a thing of eternity.

Measuring of the Punt Tribute, Etc.

377. ³³Behold, all the marvels and all the tribute of all countries, the best of the marvels of Punt, were offered^c to Amon, lord of Karnak [for the sake of the life, prosperity, and health of the King Makere (Hatshepsut), 'given life, stability, health.'] He (Amon) hath given the Two Lands, ³⁴(for) he knew that he (the king) would offer them to him. Now, I was the one who counted them, because I was so excellent in his heart; my praise was — with him; — — — — me more than his suite ³⁵— my 'integrity' of heart for him. He recognized me, as one doing that which is spoken, concealing my speech concerning the affairs of his palace. He appointed me to be leader of the palace, knowing that I was instructed in work. ³⁶— — — the double silver-house; every splendid costly stone in the temple of Amon in Karnak, filled with his tribute to their roof. The like has not happened since the time of the ancestors. His majesty commanded to make ³⁷—^d of electrum of the best of the highlands, in the midst of the festival-hall; measured^e by the heket for Amon in the presence of the whole land.

^aA number of such chests are shown in the Punt reliefs (Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 80).

^bThe line has been cut wrong, was filled with stucco, and cut again; the stucco has fallen out, revealing the old mistakes and producing confusion.

^cThis is the offering scene in the Punt reliefs (Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 77), in which the inscription (§ 289) agrees strikingly with this. The official offering is "*for the sake of the life, prosperity, and health of the king,*" and is usually conducted by someone else (see § 57); hence the impersonal passive here.

^dIt is possible that the word "*balance*" should be supplied here, for the inscription over the balance in the scene of the weighing in the Punt reliefs (§ 280, although it does not mention electrum particularly) would indicate that the balance had been made especially for the purpose. In Papyrus Harris (IV, 256) the balance is also of electrum. Spiegelberg conjectures "*eine grosse Haufe,*" but it is only the myrrh which appears in "*heaps*" in the Punt reliefs.

^eOne of the frequent pseudo-participles in building and similar inscriptions, referring back to nouns mentioned long before; it refers here to the tribute in l. 33.

Statement thereof: of electrum $88\frac{1}{2}$ heket,^a making: $38 - (x +)$ $57\frac{1}{2}$ deben; for the life, prosperity, and health of the king [Makere (Hatshepsut), who is given] life forever.

Conclusion

378. I received (*smw*-) loaves from that which comes forth before Amon, lord of Karnak. All these things happened in truth; no deceitful utterance [came from my mouth]. ³⁹I — them; I was vigilant, my heart was excellent for my lord; that I might rest in the highland of the blessed who are in the necropolis; that my memory might abide on earth; that my soul might live with the lord of eternity; that he^b may not be repelled ⁴⁰[by] the porters who guard the gates of the nether world; that he may come forth at the cry of the offerer^c in my tomb of the necropolis; that he may [abound] in bread; that he may overflow with beer, that he may drink at the living water of the river. ⁴¹May I go in and out like the glorious ones, who do that which their gods praise; may my name be goodly among the people who shall come^d after years; may they give to me praise at the two seasons with the praise [— —].

INSCRIPTIONS OF PUEMRE

379. One of the important architects under Hatshepsut, and later under Thutmose III, was Puemre, who has left some references to his building activity, in his tomb inscriptions and on his statue.

I. STATUE INSCRIPTION^e

Construction of Ebony Shrine

380. I inspected the erection of a great shrine of ebony, wrought with electrum, by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Makere (Hatshepsut), for her mother Mut, mistress of Ishru.

^a Eleven four-fifths bushels.

^eLit., "the one who places the things."

^bHis soul.

^dRead: *yw' ty' sn*.

^eOn a statue discovered in the temple of Mut, at Karnak; published by Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 315, 316.

Uncertain Building

381. I inspected the erection of a —^a of fine white (lime)stone of Ayan by^b

II. TOMB INSCRIPTIONS^c*Relief Scene*

382. 1. At the left sits Puemre receiving reports from six "overseers of workmen," behind whom are two obelisks (see § 624). The inscriptions are as follows:

Over Puemre

383. 2. Inspection of the great and excellent monuments, which the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Menkheperre (Thutmose III) made for his father Amon, in Karnak,^d of silver, gold, and every splendid, costly stone; by the hereditary prince, count, divine father, Puem[re].

Before the Overseers

384. 3. The approach of the officials, the chiefs of works; they say before this official, "Thy heart is glad because all the works have reached their positions for thee."

On the Obelisk^e

4.^f Thutmose (III); [he] made (it) [as] his monument for his father, Amon-Re, that he might be given life forever.

Relief Scenes^g

385. 5. Puemre stands at the left, staff and baton in hand, receiving three lines of chiefs bringing tribute, which three scribes are recording.

^aPossibly a doorway.

^bContinued as in preceding paragraph.

^cFrom his tomb at Abd el-Kurna; partially published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 39, c, and *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 243, 244. It is stated by Newberry (Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 315, note) to be a peculiarly fine tomb, and he promises its full publication, which has not yet appeared.

^dThis shows that the obelisks were erected in Karnak.

^eOnly the base of the second obelisk has survived, and its inscription is of course lost.

^fHorus-, throne-, and S²-R^c-names.

^gOn the left wall; published by Dümichen, *Die Oasen der Libyschen Wüste*, Pl. I; see also pp. 22 f.

Inscription before Puemre

6. Reception of the tribute of the 'products' of the marshes of Asia, of Watet-Hor^a and the tribute of the southern and northern oases; presentation for the king, to the temple — — — — — by the hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion ——— Puemre, triumphant.

Upper Row

386. 7. ^b— the tribute of the ends of Asia.

Middle Row

8. ^bRecording the tribute of Watet-Hor.

9. ^cThe chief of the vineyards of this god, Amon —.

Lower Row

10. ^bRecording the tribute of the oasis-region.

11. ^cThe chiefs of the southern and northern oases.

Fragment^d

387. 12. Inspection of the weighing of great heaps of myrrh ———, ^e ivory, ebony, electrum of Emu (^c *m^o w*), all sweet woods ——— ^e living captives, which his majesty brought from his victories ——— ^e Menkheperre (Thutmose III).

INSCRIPTIONS OF HAPUSENEB^f

388. Hapuseneb, vizier under Hatshepsut, was architect of a royal tomb, probably that of Hatshepsut,^g and super-

^a *W^o tt-Hr*, "way of Horus" (in Sinuhe, it is written *w^o wt Hr*, "ways of Horus," but other texts write as above; read *W^o ty t ?*). As used in Sinuhe it must be on or near the Asiatic frontier of the Delta; but as it sends tribute, it must be in Asia. There was an Egyptian governor there in the Eighteenth Dynasty. His title was *ymy-r^o ys' t m W^o tt-Hr* (Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, I, 56, statue of ^b *nbny*).

^b With the scribe.

^c With the man (lower row, men) before the scribe.

^d Accompanying a weighing scene not given by Dümichen.

^e Unknown amount lost.

^f Statue in the Louvre, published by Newberry (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXII, 31-36). I had also my own copy of the original, which added a few readings. Another statue, with unimportant inscriptions, Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 312-15. A further record of his services on a statue in Bologna has been hacked out by Hapuseneb's enemies. I was unable to secure any important data from a study of the original.

^g Against my own former opinion (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXII, 94).

vised the construction of other royal monuments. His works are recorded on his Louvre statue, but the inscriptions are in a sadly fragmentary state, and the name of Thutmose II has been inserted over that of Hatshepsut, as the feminine endings show.^a

Hapuseneb was the most powerful man in Hatshepsut's party, being not merely vizier, but also "*High Priest of Amon, and chief of the prophets of South and North*,"^b besides a number of positions which he held in the treasury. He thus united in his person all the power of the administrative government with that of the strong sacerdotal party. The formation of the priesthood of the whole land into a coherent organization, with a single individual at its head, appears here for the first time. This new and great organization was thus through Hapuseneb enlisted on the side of Hatshepsut.

Introduction

389. ¹Made as a favor of the king's presence, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt [Okheperne]re ——— (Thutmose II), beloved of Amon-Re, king of all gods.

²The majesty (fem.!) of the King Okhepernere, given life, commanded ——— sandstone and with every splendid costly stone, ³. ——— for the hereditary prince, count, ⁴great lord in the South, (*sm-*) priest of [Heliopolis], governor of the city, vizier, overseer of the tem[ples]. ⁵Lo, his majesty was in his palace [— — —] of the king's-house, ———^d [whom] ⁶her (sic!) majesty — before millions; whom she magnified among the people, because of the greatness of the excellence of — over ———.

Cliff-Tomb

⁷He saith: "The good god, King Okhepernere, praised me [—] in the temple. [He appointed me] ⁸to conduct the work upon his cliff-

^aI found the cartouches also sunken, showing the effect of cutting out the first name.

^bLouvre statue.

^cDown the front of the legs.

^dHere the name of Hapuseneb, of course, occurred, to which belong the following two relative clauses.

tomb (*hr t*), because of the great excellence of my plans. 'My' lord appointed me, — ⁹King Okhepernere, and I was made chief (*Hry*) in Karnak, in the house of Amon,^a in every '—' of Amon,^a ¹⁰of gold. 'I made' ¹¹the mortuary offerings of Amon-Re, king of gods, before his temple in Karnak, in Hermonthis ——— ¹²— — — He commanded that I should be ——— ¹³——— should be appointed at the going out of ———.

Various Works

390. ^{b14}By the majesty (fem.) of the king, the Lord of the Two Lands, Okhepernere, the living.^c Lo, I was leader (*hrp*) of the works [on] ¹⁵——— [in Kar]nak, wrought with gold; ¹⁶———chief, of silver, gold, and black copper; ¹⁷— — —^d wrought of 'copper', the great name upon it was of electrum;^e

¹⁸— [a shrine] of —^f and ebony, wrought with gold; ¹⁹— a 'chamber for' everything and that which is in its inclosure; ²⁰— many offering-tables of gold, silver, and lapis lazuli, vessels, and necklaces; ²¹the making of two doors of copper, of a single stone; the great name upon them being of electrum; ²²the erection of a temple of fine limestone of Ayan (named): "Thutmose II-is-Divine-of-Monuments;" ²³— — —^g of gold, silver, lapis lazuli, malachite, every splendid, costly stone, and every sweet wood.^h

^aAmon has been restored, and perhaps where it does not belong.

^bRight side; the arrangement of this and the following lines is the same as in the stela of Thutiy (§ 372, ll. 17 ff.; see note); l. 14 above is numbered 26 in the publication, and is to be understood before all the works enumerated, one in each of the following lines.

^cFeminine participle!

^eNot silver, as in the publication.

^dThis monument is a door.

^fA kind of wood is broken out.

^gThe last three words are lost.

^hLl. 24 and 25 are broken off, and possibly still a third line.

REIGN OF THUTMOSE III

THE ANNALS^a

391. This document, containing no less than 223 lines, is the longest and most important historical inscription in Egypt, and forms the most complete account of the military achievements of any Egyptian king. It demonstrates the injustice of the criticism that the Egyptians were incapable of giving a clear and succinct account of a military campaign, for it shows plainly that at least in this reign careful, systematic records were made and preserved in the royal archives,

^aThey occupy the inside of the walls inclosing the corridor which surrounds the granite holy of holies of the great Karnak temple of Amon. These walls were built by Thutmose III, forming a large sandstone chamber (into which the granite holy of holies was finally inserted by Phillip Arrhidæus) about 25 meters in length from east to west, and 12 meters wide. The east end was left bare. The Annals, beginning at the northeast corner, read westward along the north wall, and southward along the west wall, terminating at the door in the center of this wall. At the other side of this door terminate also the presentation scenes and inscriptions (§§ 541 ff.) which read from east to west along the south wall, and northward along the west wall to the said door. Or, as Mariette says: "... après avoir enjambé sur la paroi dans laquelle se trouve la porte d'entrée (in middle of east wall) vont se rejoindre en se terminant aux deux scènes d'adoration qui forment l'encadrement de cette porte" (in middle of west wall; scene, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 30, a. See Mariette, *Revue archéologique*, 1860², I, N. S., 30). Of the Annals walls, he further says: "Elle se décompose en trois parties qui sont les suivantes:

"1°. Un texte de 19 lignes qui se termine par: *comme le soleil à toujours*, ce qui prouve que l'inscription n'allait pas plus loin. (voy. Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 31, b; M. Lepsius n'a connu que 11 lignes; voy. aussi Birch, *The Annals of Thothmes III*, dans les *Archæologia*, Vol. XXXV, 121).

"2°. Un seconde chapitre de 110 lignes qu'une porte latérale (la porte nommée *Ra-men-Kheper Amen (ouer biou)* coupe en deux en laissant 67 lignes d'un côté (voy. Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 31, 6, b;), et 43 de l'autre côté (M. Lepsius n'en donne que 39; voy. *ibid.*, 32;).

"3°. Un troisième chapitre de 94 lignes, dont 74 occupent la moitié ouest de la paroi nord à la suite des 110 lignes précédentes, et les 20 dernières sont gravées sur la paroi à gauche de la porte d'entrée. Ces 20 lignes sont publiées dans Lepsius, *Abth.*, III, Bl. 30, a. Quant aux 74 premières lignes, elles se décomposent en 54 lignes qui sont à Paris et qui commencent le chapitre (Lepsius, *Auswahl*, taf. XII;), en 6 lignes qui suivent celles-ci et qui sont perdues, et enfin en

giving a detailed account of each invasion in language indicating the strategic operations of the army in each of its many campaigns.

392. The existence of such records is indicated in the account of the first campaign (ll. 11, 12, § 433):

Now, all that his majesty did to this city, to that wretched foe and his wretched army, was recorded each day by its (the day's) name under the title of: "— recorded upon a roll of leather^a in the temple of Amon to this day.

Elsewhere the king also speaks of "*recording for the future*" (§ 568, l. 22). We even know the official, named Thaneni, who kept these records. His tomb, on the west shore at Thebes, first noticed by Champollion, contains, among others, biographical inscriptions in which he states:^b

14 autres lignes que M. Lepsius a publiées imparfaitement (Lepsius, *Denkmäler* III, 31, a;).

Mariette then appends the following table summarizing the above:

1 ^{er} chapitre:	19 lignes	.	.	.	Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler</i> , III, 31, b
2 ^e chapitre:	110 lignes	67 lignes	.	.	Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler</i> , III, 31, 6, b
		43 lignes	.	.	Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler</i> , III, 32
		6 lignes	perdues		
3 ^e chapitre:	94 lignes	14 lignes	.	.	Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler</i> , III, 31, a
		20 lignes	.	.	Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler</i> , III, 30, a
Total:	223 lignes				

Mariette gives 233 as the total, but refers to 223 (*loc. cit.*, 32).

They are in a very bad state of preservation, the upper courses having mostly disappeared, and with them the upper parts of the vertical lines of the inscription. The translation begins at the extreme northeast corner on the north wall and proceeds to the left.

The complete text of the Annals has never been edited together; being scattered through several publications (see conspectus below) none of which is accurate except Bissing. These texts must be supplemented and corrected by fragments in Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 154-58; Young, *Hieroglyphics*, 41-44; *Description de l'Égypte*, Pl. 38 (No. 26, 27, 29); Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, Pl. 56, Nos. 5-7; de Rougé, *Revue archéologique*, N. S., II, Pl. 16; Griffith, Corrections from an early copy (about 1825) by James Burton, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, XXXIII, 125.

^aOn the use of leather, which was very common, see Birch, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1871, 104 and 117; and Pietschmann, *Leder und Holz als Schreibmaterialien bei den Aegyptern* (from *Beiträge zur Theorie und Praxis des Buch- und Bibliothekswesens*, Heft 2).

^bSee Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 487, 831, 832; Brugsch, *Thesaurus* V, 1151.

"I followed ¹²the Good God, Sovereign of Truth, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre (Thutmose III); I beheld the victories of the king which he won in every country. He brought the chiefs of Zahi as living prisoners to Egypt; he captured all their cities; he cut down their groves; no country remained — — —. I recorded the victories which he won in every land, putting (them) into writing according to the facts.

There is no doubt that we have here the author of some of the ephemerides referred to in the Annals.^a

393. The character of these ephemerides space will not permit us to discuss here, further than to note that in the account of the first, or Megiddo, campaign (§§ 408 ff.) we have a somewhat full excerpt from them, in which the strategic details, like the line of march, the dispositions in battle, etc., are given with such clearness that it is possible to draw a plan of the field of battle. Unfortunately, this fulness in excerpting is confined to the Megiddo campaign, and even toward its end the abbreviation and omission^b already begin. That the excerpts are much abbreviated is distinctly stated in the account of the seventh expedition (l. 13, § 472), with reference to the supplies furnished to the "*harbors*:"

^aA comparison of the phrases and words used by Thaneni, above, with those of the accounts in the Annals makes this certain. This is evident even in the English. It is a question whether Thaneni could have been the author of the earliest campaign records, for he is still in active service under Thutmose IV (see *Recueil*, IV, 130), so that, supposing he began with the Megiddo campaign at twenty-five years of age, he would have been over eighty years old at the accession of Thutmose IV, under whom he completed a census of the people and live-stock in all Egypt (see Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 487), which is recorded as follows: "*Mustering of the whole land before his majesty, making an inspection of everybody, knowing the soldiers, priests, royal serfs, and all the craftsmen of the whole land, all the cattle, fowl, and small cattle, by the military scribe, beloved of his lord, Thaneni.*" On his wide powers, see also the inscription in Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, 66, 2, a. On his tomb, see Bouriant, *Recueil*, XI, 156-59; Champollion, *ibid.*, I, 484-87, 831, 832; further inscriptions also by Piehl, *Inscriptions*, I, CVII, D-CVIII, E.

^bThe omission in the later campaigns, evident anyway, may be clearly seen by a comparison with the narrative of Amenemhab (§§ 574 ff.).

"They (the supplies) remain in the daily register of the palace, the statemen of them not being given in this inscription, in order not to multiply words.^a

394. The excerpting scribe, being a priest, is more interested in the booty than the strategic operations which led to its capture, because this booty was largely given to his temples; hence he pares down his extracts to the meagerest statement of the king's whereabouts, adding a tolerably full summary of the booty and tribute. Indeed, it may be said that, although the king did command that this permanent record of his campaigns should be made on the temple wall, yet the entire record which we call the Annals serves as little more than an introduction to the list of feasts and offerings (§§ 541 ff.) by which the Annals are continued. They merely explain whence came the magnificent offerings to Amon.^b It is therefore frequently impossible to distinguish between a serious campaign^c like that of Megiddo and mere expeditions for inspection.

395. The conquests recorded in the Annals involved the most serious military projects undertaken by any Egyptian king—projects so successfully carried out by Thutmose III that he is to be regarded as unquestionably the greatest military leader of ancient Egypt. Thutmose I had been able to march to the Euphrates without meeting any serious

^aThis register of daily supplies is, of course, not the ephemerides of Thaneni; but the fact of excerption is equally clear, nevertheless. This interesting statement finds a parallel in the tomb of Hui, where it is said concerning his praises: "*One mentions them (one) time (each) by its name, (for) they are too numerous to put them in writing*" (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 117 = *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 302).

^bThere is on this same wall a relief showing Thutmose III presenting to Amon a magnificent array of costly gifts in gold and silver. Many of the objects mentioned in the Annals may be seen here (Champollion, *Monuments*, IV, 316, 317; and Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1185 ff.). The whole scene is of the greatest interest (§§ 543 ff.); it also contains the two obelisks of § 624.

^cThe word regularly used (*wḏy't*) really means "*expedition*."

coalition of his foes, so far as we know. The results of his conquest had not been permanent; that is, they could not endure indefinitely without further campaigning, especially in the extreme north. This Hatshepsut had not done, although the Lebanon or a part of it was still held in the year 15. Then the kingdom and city of Kadesh, on the upper Orontes, quietly organized a formidable revolt, which united all Egypt's Asiatic enemies from Sharuhén on the south to the Euphrates on the north. It is clear also that the powerful kingdom of Mitanni assisted this general revolt with men and means. For the Mitannian king naturally feared to see the armies of the Pharaoh in Naharin at his very threshold. Early in the year 23, Thutmose III met and overthrew the allied Syrians at Megiddo, which he besieged and captured, and although he marched northward to the southern end of Lebanon, he was far from able to reach and punish Kadesh. But he established a fortress in the southern Lebanon, to prevent another southward advance by the king of Kadesh, and then returned home.

396. Of the next eighteen years the summers of sixteen were spent campaigning in Syria, making a total of seventeen campaigns. The next three campaigns (2, 3, and 4) are meagerly recorded,^b but in the year 29, on the fifth campaign, we find the king plainly making preparations for the conquest of Kadesh, by first securing the coast and getting possession of the harbors of Phœnicia. He then returned to Egypt for the first time by water, and hereafter the army is regularly transported to Syria by the fleet.

397. The next year, therefore, the king disembarked his

^aThe decree of Harmhab incidentally shows that Thutmose III was back in Egypt each year by the time of the feast of Opet (I, 58, ll. 29-31), early in October. See Breasted, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 39, 60, 61.

^bThe record of the fourth is lost.

army in some Phœnician harbor, and marched upon Kadesh, which he captured and chastised, returning then to the coast at Simyra, and going north to punish Arvad again. The foothold in north Syria necessary for an advance into the Euphrates country had now been gained, and Kadesh, the dangerous enemy who would have threatened his rear on such a march, had been subdued. The next year (31) was therefore spent in equipping the Phœnician harbors with supplies and quelling any smouldering embers of rebellion there.

398. It was not until the second year (33) after these preparations that the great king landed in Phœnicia for his march into the heart of Naharin. Already in the year 24, as a result of the great Megiddo victory, the king of Assur had sent presents, but now the Egyptians were again to plunder the Euphrates countries—a feat which had not been repeated since Thutmose I. The long and arduous march^a was successfully made, the king of Mitanni, who had, with Kadesh, been the heart and soul of the Syrian resistance, was totally defeated, Carchemish^b was reached and taken, the Euphrates was crossed, and at last Thutmose III sets up his boundary tablet, marking the northern limits of his empire, beside that of his father, Thutmose I. Before he has left the region the envoys from the king of Babylon and the king of the Hittites, having doubtless started at the news of his invasion, appear with their gifts. On his return to the coast the king arranges that the princes of Lebanon shall keep the harbors supplied with all provisions.

399. The conquest of all Syria has consumed exactly ten

^aOn the arrangements of Thutmose III's herald Intef, to provide the king with a dwelling, supplies, etc., on such marches, see the Stela of Intef (§§ 771, ll. 24-27).

^bAmenemhab, § 583.

years, but revolt has still to be reckoned with. Only a voyage of inspection along the Phœnician coast was required in the next year (34), but the revolt of the king of Mitanni called Thutmose into Naharin in the following year, and after a decisive defeat the people of Naharin were again brought under the Egyptian yoke. The records of the next two years (36 and 37) are lost, but in the year 38 we find the king punishing the princes of the southern Lebanon region, in order to protect the road north between the Lebanons. On this occasion, for the first time, he receives gifts from the prince of Cyprus, and also Arrapachitis, the later Assyrian province.

400. The punishment of the raiding Bedwin of southern Palestine forms a preliminary to the usual journey of inspection in the next year (39), and the record of the next two years (39 and 40) is too fragmentary to show more than that the tribute was paid as usual.

401. Finally, the long series of revolts in Syria culminates in a last desperate rebellion, in which Thutmose's arch-enemy, the source of most of his trouble in Syria, Kadesh, is the leader. Naharin sends allies, and Tunip likewise, so that the whole of north Syria, at least inland, is again combined against Thutmose. In the year 42 he proceeded first against Tunip, and after its subjugation besieged Kadesh, which was finally captured. Thus the nearly twenty years of Syrian campaigning was concluded, as it had begun, by the humiliation of Kadesh, which during all that time had been Egypt's thorn in the flesh. This last downfall was final; Kadesh no longer stirred revolt in Syria,^a and Thutmose III could relax his ceaseless efforts continued during seventeen campaigns.

^aWhen the campaigns of the Nineteenth Dynasty begin in northern Syria, it is Tunip, the old ally of Kadesh, that plays the leading rôle.

402. The extent of these campaigns is further indicated by two lists of conquered Asiatic cities left by Thutmose III in the great Karnak temple. Those belonging to the first campaign, preserved in triplicate,^a are 119 in number, and embrace, in general, the region from the northern limits of Palestine southward an uncertain distance into Judea (southern Judea being at that time already under Egyptian control; cf. Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 144, 154, 155), as well as Damascus and its district. Many Old Testament names have been recognized in it. It is introduced by the superscription:

List of the countries of Upper Retenu which his majesty shut up in the city of Megiddo (*My-k-ty*) the wretched, whose children his majesty brought as living prisoners to the city of Suhen-em-Opet,^b on his first victorious campaign, according to the command of his father Amon, who led him to excellent ways.

The third copy of the list (Mariette, *Karnak*, 19) has the same superscription, with the variant:

to the city of Thebes, in order to fill the storehouse^c of his father Amon, [presider over] Karnak, on his first, etc.

The second copy of the list has a different superscription:

^aThe first copy is on the west side of the Pylon VI, north end; the other two are, one on the north side and the other on the south side of the Pylon VIII, Baedeker's Karnak, or the VIIth, Mariette, *Karnak*). Text: *ibid.*, 17-20; important corrections by Golénischeff, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, XX, Pls. V and VI, and more fully by Maspero, *Recueil*, VII, 94-97. Treatments by Maspero, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, XXIX, 119-31, and Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 156-64, 144, and 154 f.; less critical Tomkins, *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, IX, 257-80 (with text).

^b*Swhn m Yp't* means "*Casile (or Prison) in Thebes.*" a place of confinement or dwelling for the foreign princes residing in Thebes as hostages. In the sixth campaign (§ 467) the purpose of thus keeping them is given.

^cIt is not infrequently distinctly stated that such disposal was made of these children; cf. Building Stela of Amenhotep III, front, ll. 6, 7 (§ 884), and Papyrus of Capture of Joppa, III, ll. 11, 12, where, after the fall of the city, Thutiy says to Thutmose III: "*Let people come, to take them as captives; fill thou the house of thy father Amon-Re, with male and female slaves.*"

All inaccessible lands of the marshes of Asia,^a which his majesty brought as living captives — — — they had never been trodden by the other kings, beside his majesty —,

a title which would indicate that some of the places belong farther north than the limits above indicated.

403. The second list^b embraced 248 names (of which many are lost) of cities in northern Syria and also perhaps as far east as the Chaboras River,^c but our geographical knowledge of this region is too meager as yet to identify any number of the places included.

404. In addition to these materials the great list of "Feasts and Offerings from the Conquests" (§§ 547 ff.), the Building Inscription of the Karnak Ptah-Temple (§§ 609 ff.), the king's obelisks (§§ 629 ff.), and his "Hymn of Victory" (§§ 655 ff.), furnish important references to the campaigns. The great portal of Pylon VII at Karnak also bore a long recital of his wars, of which only scanty fragments have survived (§§ 593 ff.).

405. The tombs of the contemporary officials in the Theban cemetery also contain very valuable supplementary material. The career of Amenemhab, the most important of these, is translated below (§§ 574 ff.). Next to these are the representations in the tomb of Rekhmire (§§ 760 ff.), which show many of the objects mentioned in the tribute lists of the Annals, besides a reference to Thutmose III's campaigns (§ 755). The tomb of Menkheperreseneb shows

^aSee also the "Hymn of Victory" (§§ 655 ff.).

^bOn the Pylon VIII at Karnak as an appendix to the third copy of the first list (Baedeker's *Karnak*; seventh in Mariette, *Karnak*; cf. B, 252, Mariette). Text: Mariette, *Karnak*, 20, 21; Tomkins, *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, IX, Pls. III, IV; the best treatment, Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 286-92; Tomkins, *ibid.*, IX, 227-54, depends too much on modern names for his identifications.

^cSee Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 287.

the tribute of Asia (§§ 772 ff.). The tomb of Puemere contains a relief showing the reception of tribute from "*the ends of Asia*" (§ 385), and that of Imnezeh^a (*Y³ m-ndh*) a similar scene of tribute from "*Retenu the wretched*." Finally, among the most interesting of these contemporaries is the court herald, Intef, who tells how he preceded Thutmose III on the march and prepared the Syrian palaces for his reception (§§ 771, ll. 24-27).

CONSPECTUS OF CAMPAIGNS

406. FIRST CAMPAIGN, YEARS 22 AND 23 (§§ 408-43, 593 ff., 616)

(Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 31, b, ll. 1-67; *ibid.*, III, 32, ll. 1-32 = Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1153-66, ll. 1-79, and 1-21; Bissing's unpublished collation.^b)

Battle of Megiddo; captured: Megiddo, Yenoam, Nuges, Herenkeru; built fort in Lebanon; tribute and booty of these.

[SECOND CAMPAIGN] YEAR 24 (§§ 444-49)

(Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 32, ll. 32-39 = Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1166-68, ll. 21-28; Bissing's unpublished collation.)

Tribute of Assur and Retenu.

[THIRD CAMPAIGN] YEAR 25 (§§ 450-52)

(Mariette, *Karnak*, Pls. 28 and 31.)

Plants of Retenu.

[FOURTH CAMPAIGN, YEARS 26-28] (§ 453)

Lost.

^a*Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, V, 356 f.

^bThis is incorporated in the Berlin Dictionary, and I owe to von Bissing my sincere thanks for permission to use it.

FIFTH CAMPAIGN, YEAR 29 (§§ 454-62)

(Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XII, ll. 1-7; Mariette, *Karnak*, 13, ll. 1-6=Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1168-70, ll. 1-7=Bissing, *Statistische Tafel*, ll. 1-7.)

Second caption; campaign in Zahi; capture of "W" "——"; sacrifice to Amon; spoil of city; capture of Arvad; list of tribute received "*on this expedition*;" sailed home.

SIXTH CAMPAIGN, YEAR 30 (§§ 463-67)

(Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XII, ll. 7-9; Mariette, *Karnak*, 13, ll. 7, 8=Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1170, 1171, ll. 7-9=Bissing, *Statistische Tafel*, ll. 7-9.)

Capture of Kadesh; tribute of Retenu; punishment of Arvad.

[SEVENTH CAMPAIGN], YEAR 31 (§§ 468-75)

(Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XII, ll. 9-17; Mariette, *Karnak*, 13, ll. 9-16=Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1171-73, ll. 9-17=Bissing, *Statistische Tafel*, ll. 9-17.)

Capture of Ullaza; tribute of Retenu; supplies for the harbors; harvest of Retenu; tribute of Genebteyew; impost of Wawat.

[EIGHTH CAMPAIGN], YEAR 33 (§§ 476-87)

(Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XII, ll. 17-29; Mariette, *Karnak*, 13, ll. 17-28=Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1173-75, ll. 17-29=Bissing, *Statistische Tafel*, ll. 17-29.)

Conquest of Naharin; battle in Naharin; the booty (capture of Carchemish); crossing of Euphrates; boundary tablets; tribute of Naharin, supplies for the harbors; tribute of Babylon; tribute of Hittites; Punt expedition; impost of Wawat.

[NINTH CAMPAIGN], YEAR 34 (§§ 488-95)

(Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XII, ll. 29-37; Mariette, *Karnak*, 13, ll. 29-35=Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1175-77, ll. 29-37=Bissing, *Statistische Tafel*, ll. 29-37.)

Surrender of Zahi towns; tribute of Retenu; supplies for the harbors; tribute of Cyprus; impost of Kush and Wawat.

TENTH CAMPAIGN, YEAR 35 (§§ 496-503)

(Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XII, ll. 37-41; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 31, a, ll. 1-3=Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1177, 1178, ll. 37-44, and l. 2=Bissing, *Statistische Tafel*, ll. 37-44.)

Revolt of Naharin; battle in Naharin, king's booty; army's booty; impost of Kush and Wawat.

[ELEVENTH CAMPAIGN, YEAR 36] (§ 504)

Lost.

[TWELFTH CAMPAIGN, YEAR 37] (§ 505)

Lost.

[THIRTEENTH CAMPAIGN, YEAR 38] (§§ 506-15)

(Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 31, a, ll. 3-10=Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1178-81, ll. 2-9.)

Capture of Nuges; booty of same; tribute of Syria; harbor supplies; tribute of Cyprus and Arrapakhitis; products of Punt; impost of Kush and Wawat.

FOURTEENTH CAMPAIGN, YEAR 39 (§§ 516-19)

(Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 31, a, ll. 10-14=Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1181-1182, ll. 9-13.)

Defeat of Shasu; Syrian tribute; harbor supplies.

[FIFTEENTH CAMPAIGN, YEAR 40] (§§ 520-23)

(Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 30, a, ll. 1-4=Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1182, ll. 1-4; photograph by Borchardt.)

Tribute of Cyprus; impost of Kush and Wawat.

[SIXTEENTH CAMPAIGN, YEAR 41] (§§ 524-27)

(Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 30, a, ll. 4-10=Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1182, 1183, ll. 4-10; photograph by Borchardt.)

Tribute of Retenu; tribute of Hittites; impost of Kush and Wawat.

[SEVENTEENTH CAMPAIGN, YEAR 42] (§§ 528-39)

(Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 30, a, ll. 10-20=Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1183-85, ll. 10-20; photograph by Borchardt.)

Campaign against Kadesh; overthrow of Erkatu, Tunip, Kadesh; booty of these; harbor supplies; tribute of unknown country; of Tinay; impost of Kush and Wawat.

I. INTRODUCTION

407. ¹Horus: "Mighty Bull, Shining in Thebes; ————.

²King of Upper and Lower Egypt, ³Lord of the the Two Lands:^a Menkheperre; Son of Re: [Thutmose (III)] ————. ^b ³His majesty commanded to cause to be recorded [his victories which his father, Amon, gave to him, upon^c] ⁴a tablet^d in the temple which his majesty made for [his father, Amon, 'setting forth each']^e ⁵expedition by its name, together with the plunder which [his majesty]^f carried away [therein. It was done according to]^f ⁶all ['the command'] which his father, Re, gave to him.

II. FIRST CAMPAIGN (YEAR 23)^g

408. This, the most important of Thutmose III's campaigns in Asia, is fortunately the most fully recorded. The

^aOmitted by Brugsch's text.

^bThe lacking portion of the conventional fivefold titulary may be found *passim*.

^cRestored from Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XII, second horizontal line (§ 455).

^dReally temple wall; more often this word (*wꜥ*) means a stela or slab of stone set up by itself.

^eThis line is unfortunately also broken away in Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XII; the restoration is probable, but conjectured.

^fRestored from Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XII, second horizontal line.

^gSeventy-nine short and 21 long vertical lines, beginning at the northeast corner of the passage. Text: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 31, b, ll. 167, and *ibid.*, III, 32, ll. 1-32=Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1153-166, ll. 1-79 and 1-21. The short lines being next the base have almost all lost a portion of the lower ends, while a large part of the long lines lacks the upper ends and frequently the lower ends, also.

occasion of the campaign was a general revolt among his father's Syrian conquests from Sharuhén to the Euphrates. Fighting had already developed in Sharuhén, which was, of course, too near the Egyptian frontier to venture to make common cause with the revolted; and hence conflict resulted there. We are taken with the king and clearly shown his operations day by day till he overthrows a coalition of practically all Syria at Megiddo, headed by the king of Kadesh. He then besieges and captures Megiddo, but from the surrender of Megiddo on, the record degenerates, as in all the other campaigns, to little more than a list of spoils. Fortunately, this latter part of the campaign is supplemented and really continued by the introduction to the list of feasts and offerings^a established on the king's return to Thebes from this campaign. The close of the campaign is there narrated, mentioning a fortress established in the Lebanon, whither the king had marched after the fall of Megiddo, capturing there the three cities at the seaward bend of the Litâny River, which we may call the Lebanon Tripolis:^b Yenoam, Nuges, and Herenkeru, commanding the thoroughfare northward between the Lebanons. All this serves merely as an introduction to the splendid feasts of victory celebrated by the king, as is distinctly stated "*on his return from the first victorious campaign.*" The date of these celebrations is preserved, and enables us for the first and only time to determine the length of an Egyptian campaign in Syria.

409. The entire calendar of the campaign, as far as can be determined, is as follows:

^a §§ 541 ff.

^b Only the spoil of these cities is enumerated in the Annals, the march thither being entirely ignored. The record of feasts and offerings only mentions them later to say that they were given to Amon.

EVENT	APPROXIMATE DISTANCE (English Miles)	EGYPTIAN CALENDAR			MODERN CALENDAR
		Year of Reign	Calen- dar Month	Day	Approximate Date
In Tharu	160	22d	8th	25th	April 19
In Gaza; Feast of Coronation ..		23d	9th	4th	" 28
Departure from Gaza		"	"	5th	" 29
In Yehem	c. 80 to 90	"	"	16th	May 10
In Aruna		"	"	19th	" 13
Departure from Aruna	c. 4 or 5	"	"	20th	" 14
Arrival before Megiddo		"	"	20th	" 14
Battle of Megiddo		"	"	21st	" 15
Beginning of siege of Megiddo...	at least 75	"	"	21st	" 15
Capture of Megiddo		"	"	?	? ?
March to Lebanon		"	?	?	? ?
Capture of Yenoam, Nuges, Herenkeru	over 900	"	?	?	? ?
Construction of fort in Lebanon..		"	?	?	? ?
Return to Thebes, not later than		"	2d	14th	Oct. 11

410. In less than 148 days, roughly five months, Thutmose III fought the Battle of Megiddo, completely invested with a wall the powerful fortress of Megiddo itself, and captured it; marched northward seventy-five miles to the Lebanon region, captured three cities, and built a fortress there; completed the return to the Delta coast and the voyage up-river to Thebes; and celebrated his first feast of victory there. The entire campaign from the departure from Tharu to the arrival in Thebes lasted a maximum of 175 days; that is, in five months and twenty-five days from the day on which he left Tharu he was celebrating his great Feast of Amon at Thebes. Fortunately, we are able to locate this period approximately in the astronomical calendar and tell in what month he went and returned.^a (See § 409,

^aFor this purpose we have first the Elephantine calendar fragment, which gives the heliacal rising of Sothis in the reign of Thutmose III as the 28th of Epiphi (Young, *Hieroglyphics*, 59 = Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, II, 363 = Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 43, e = de Morgan, *Catalogue des Monuments*, I, 121). Doubt has been cast upon this date, but I have examined the Berlin squeezes, and there is not a shadow of doubt that it belongs to the series of blocks from the reign of Thutmose III. In

last column). It is thus evident that the campaign falls exactly within the limits of the dry season in Palestine.^a

411. Beside the celebration in Thebes, the victory was celebrated and recorded in a poetic inscription by the viceroy of Kush, Nehi (§§ 412, 413), at Wadi Halfa.^b It refers to the first campaign, as follows:

412. ——— who (a god) stationed ¹⁰his majesty at the Horns of the Earth, in order to overthrow the Asiatics (*Mnt' w-Stt*). I am the Mighty Bull, Shining in Thebes, Son of Atum, beloved of Montu, ¹¹fighting for his army himself, that the Two Lands may see it; it is no lie. I came forth from the house of my father, the king of gods, Amon, who decrees me victory.

413. ¹²The king himself, he led the way of his army, mighty at its head, like a flame of fire, the king who wrought with his sword. He went forth, none ¹³like him, slaying the barbarians, smiting Retenu (*Rtnw' t, sic!*), bringing their princes as living captives, their chariots wrought ¹⁴with gold, bound to their horses. The countries of Tehenu do obeisance because of the fame of his majesty, with their tribute upon

width of column and height of corresponding signs it is identical with a block bearing the name of Thutmose III. Erman, with whom I examined it, was of the same opinion. Unfortunately, the regnal year is not given; but since my attempt to determine the season of the campaign (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 37, 127 f.) on the basis of the Sothis date, the new moon dates have been finally established by Meyer, which modify my series of dates by two days, but corroborate entirely the season as I established it (Meyer, *Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie*, 1904, *Ägyptische Chronologie*, 49 f.).

^aAlso shown by the fact that the army reaped the grain harvest about Megiddo, after having foraged upon it. From the king's Karnak building inscription (§ 608) we see that he was at home in February after the campaign of the year 24; and the Harmhab decree (III, 58) shows that Thutmose III was accustomed to be at home each year at the feast of Opet early in October after the summer's campaigning. The campaign of the year 31 also began in April (§ 469, l. 9); the Syrian campaign of Amenhotep II (§§ 780 ff.) and the Kadesh campaign of Ramses II (III, 298 ff.) also fell in the dry season (see *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 37, 129).

^bOn a pillar of the Empire temple. It is dated "year 23." I am indebted for it to a photograph, kindly loaned me by Professor Steindorff, as it is still unpublished. There is in Cairo a fragment of a stela (unpublished, no number) recording the erection of this temple by Thutmose III ("*building for him a temple of white sandstone*"), and its endowment with offerings; but only the extreme ends of eight lines are preserved. I am indebted to Schaefer for a copy of it.

their backs, ¹⁵ — as do the dogs, that there might be given to them the breath of life.

414. There is here further reference to the king's personal leading of his army through the mountains and in the Megiddo battle. Furthermore, we see that Libyans came with tribute on the king's return from the campaign. The Annals narrate the campaign as follows:

At the Frontier in Tharu

415. Year 22, fourth month of the second season (eighth month), on the twenty-fifth^a day [his majesty was in] 7Tharu (*T 2-rw*) on the first victorious expedition to [extend] ⁸the boundaries of Egypt with might

Revolt in Asia

416. ⁹Now, (at) that period^b [the Asiatics had fallen into] ¹⁰dis-agreement,¹ each man [fighting^c] against [this neighbor] ————. ¹¹Now, it happened [that the tribes] — — the people, who were there ¹²in the city of Sharuhen (*Š 2-r 2-h 2-n*); behold, from Yeraza^d (*Y-r 2-ḡ 2*) ¹³to the marshes of the earth,^d (they) had begun to revolt against his majesty.

Arrival in Gaza, Feast of Coronation

417. Year 23, first (month) of the third season (ninth month), on the fourth day,^e the day of the feast of the king's coronation, (he arrived) ¹⁴at the city, ^fthe possession of the ruler,^f Gaza^g (*G 2-ḡ 2-tw*).

^aThe day is lacking in Lepsius and Brugsch, but is preserved by Champollion's early copy (Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 154).

^bOr: "Now, at the time of these 'events, during years'," there are traces of the last two words (*m rnp wt*) at the end, before the lacuna.

^cRestored from the determinative.

^dThat is, from northwestern Judea to beyond the Euphrates.

^eMaspero (*Recueil*, II, 50, and *Struggle of the Nations*, 255 f.) has third day, but the text of Brugsch has fourth; moreover, the table of feasts on the south wall at Karnak (Mariette, *Karnak*, Pl. 14, b; Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 164) has (l. 7): "The first month of the third season, fourth day, the feast of the coronation of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre (Thutmose III)." Pylon VII (§ 594) gives the same date.

^fThis is possibly a proper name, made up of a verb (in relative form) and a noun, meaning: "Which the ruler seized" (*mh n p 2 hk 2* ?).

^gAbout 125 miles from the starting-point in nine days.

Departure from Gaza

418. [Year 23] ¹⁵first month of the third season (ninth month), on the fifth day; departure from this place in might, — — ¹⁶in power, and in triumph, to overthrow that wretched foe,^a to extend ¹⁷the boundaries of Egypt, according as his father, Amon-Re, had commanded — — that he seize.

Arrival at Yehem

419. Year 23, first month of the third season (ninth month), on the sixteenth day, (he arrived) at the city of Yehem (*Y-hm*).

Council of War

420. [His majesty] ordered ¹⁹a consultation with his valiant troops, saying as follows: "That [wretched] enemy, [the chief] ²⁰of Kadesh (*Kd-šw*), has come and entered into Megiddo (*My-k-ty*); he [is there] ²¹at this moment. He has gathered to himself the chiefs of [all] the countries [which are] ²²on the water of Egypt,^b and as far as Naharin (*N-h-ry-n*), consisting of [the countries] of ²³the Kharu (*H²-rw*), the Kode (*Kdw*), their horses, their troops, ———— ²⁴thus he speaks, 'I have arisen to [fight against his majesty] ²⁵in Megiddo (*My-k-ty*). Tell ye me ————.'^c

Advice of the Officers

421. They spoke in the presence of his majesty, "How is it, that [we] should go upon this road, ²⁷which threatens to be narrow? While they [come] ²⁸and say that the enemy is there waiting, [hold]ing the ²⁹way against a multitude. Will not horse come behind [horse^d and man behind^e] ³⁰man likewise? Shall our [advance-guard] ³¹be fighting while our [rear-guard]^f is yet standing yonder ³²in Aruna (*c²-rw-n²*) not having fought? There are yet two (other) roads: ³³one road, behold, it [will] — us, for it comes forth at ³⁴Taanach

^aThe king of Kadesh.

^bAn idiom for "*dependent upon*" or "*subject to*."

^cThe king's demand upon his officers is for information concerning the road, as the subsequent developments show.

^dSee § 424, l. 55.

^eThe end is the restoration of Maspero (*Recueil*, II, 52) suggested probably by that of Brugsch (*Egypt under the Pharaohs*, 155).

^fMaspero, *Recueil*, II, 52; the determinative of men is still preserved after "*rear-guard*."

($T^{\text{2-c2-n2-k2}}$), the other, [behold, it will [bring us upon] ³⁵the way north of Zefiti ($Dj\text{-}ty$), so that we shall come out to the north of Megiddo ($My\text{-}k\text{-}ty$). ³⁶Let our victorious lord proceed upon [the road] he desires; (but) cause us not to go by a difficult^a road."

Decision of the King

422. Then —^b ³⁸[messengers] concerning [this] design ³⁹which they had uttered, in view of what had been said [by] the majesty of the Court, L. P. H.: "I [swear], as Re loves me, as my father Amon, favors me, as my [nostrils] are rejuvenated with satisfying life, my majesty will proceed upon this road of ⁴²Aruna ($c^2\text{-}rw\text{-}n^2$). Let him who will among you, go upon those ⁴³roads ye have mentioned, and let him who will ⁴⁴among you, come in the following of my majesty. Shall they think among those ⁴⁵enemies whom Re detests: 'Does his majesty proceed upon ⁴⁶another road? He begins to be fearful of us,' so will they think."

Submission of the Officers

423. ⁴⁷They spoke before his majesty: "May thy father Amon, lord of Thebes, presider over Karnak, [grant thee life]. ⁴⁸Behold, we are the following of thy majesty in every place, whither [thy majesty] proceedeth; ⁴⁹as the servant is behind [his] master."

Departure from Yehem

424. ⁵⁰[Then his majesty] commanded the entire army [to march] ——— [upon] ⁵¹that road^c which threatened to be [narrow.^d His majesty] ⁵²swore, saying: "None shall go forth [in the way] ⁵³before my majesty, in ———." ⁵⁴He went forth at the head of his army himself, [showing [the way] ⁵⁵by his (own) footsteps;^e horse behind^f [horse], [This majesty]^g being ⁵⁶at the head of his army.

^aThe same word ($\$t^2$) is applied to the road upon which the great block for the el-Bersheh colossus (I, 696, l. 1) was brought. It means "inaccessible" or "difficult;" it is also used by Thutmose III of the celestial road of the sun (§ 141).

^bVerb lost.

^cText has an Amon wrongly restored here.

^dCf. l. 27, above.

^eLit., "steps of marching."

^fThe army here enters the mountain pass.

^gOr possibly: "[the vanguard,] being of the best of his army."

Arrival at Aruna

425. Year 23, first month of the third season (ninth month), on the nineteenth day; the watch in [safety]^a 57 in the royal tent was at the city of Aruna (C²-rw-n²).^b 58 "My majesty proceeded northward under (the protection of my) father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, [who went] 59 before me, while Harakhte [strengthened my arms]^c ——— 60 (my) father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, victorious of the sword ——— 61 over my majesty."

Battle in the Mountains

426. [The enemy] went forth ——— 62 in numerous battle array ———. 63 The southern wing was in Taa[nach] (T²-C² [-n²-k²]), 64 the northern wing was on the ground south of ———.^d 65 His majesty cried out to them before ——— 66 they fell; behold, that wretched foe^e ——— 67 ——— 68 ——— of [the city of]^f 69 Aruna (C²-rw-n²).

^aPerhaps we should supply: "life, prosperity, and health," as in Ramses II's march to Kadesh (l. 1); but above, the said phrase is used after "tent," to express the adjective "royal," and would hardly appear twice in the same phrase.

^bThree days after the arrival at Yehem, Aruna, lying in the midst of the mountains, is reached. Here they spent the night of the nineteenth and marched on the twentieth (l. 58).

^cRestored from § 430, l. 3.

^dMaspero (*Recueil*, II, 56) following Brugsch, supplies Megiddo here. This is quite possible, but only on a different supposition from that of Maspero and Brugsch, viz., that the position described here is that of the Asiatic forces, not of the Egyptians, for the latter do not arrive "south of Megiddo" until long after this (§ 428). Furthermore, it is quite impossible for the Egyptians to have had their southern wing at Taanach, while defiling through the Megiddo road. This seems to have been the view in the translation in Petrie's *History* (II, 106), but no mention is made of an encounter with the enemy in the mountains in the summary, p. 101. The passage is important, for it decisively determines (even without supplying Megiddo above) the location of Megiddo against Conder's identification with Mujedda^c. An Asiatic army which, we know, fought before Megiddo, has its southern wing at Taanach, which is known to be Tannuk of today; it must follow that Megiddo is northward from Tannuk. See Breasted, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 22, 96.

^eThere was some encounter with the enemy here in the mountains, and this moves the officers to urge calling in the straggling rear as soon as possible. This encounter has escaped all the historians except Meyer (*Geschichte*, 239); cf. Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 257; Wiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte*, 347; Petrie, *History of Egypt*, II, 101; etc.

^fThere is a loss of five lines here, before l. 69, but it is not indicated in the publications.

Danger of the Rear

427. Now, the rear of the victorious army of his majesty was at the city of ⁷⁰Aruna (^c*ʾ-rw-n*), the front was going forth to the valley of —;^a ⁷¹they filled the opening of this valley. Then [they] said in the presence of his majesty, L. P. H.: ⁷²“Behold, his majesty goeth forth with his victorious army, and it has filled ⁷³the hollow of the valley; let our victorious lord hearken to us this time^b and ⁷⁴let our lord protect for us the rear of his army and his people. ⁷⁵Let the rear of this army come forth to us behind; then shall they (also) fight against ⁷⁶these barbarians; then we shall not (need to) take thought for the rear of our ⁷⁷army.” His majesty halted outside and waited ⁷⁸there, protecting the rear of his victorious army.

Exit from the Mountains

428. Behold, when the front had reached the exit upon this road, the shadow had turned,^c and when ^dhis majesty arrived at the south of Megiddo (*My-k-ty*) on^e the bank of the brook of Kina (*Ky-n*), the seventh hour^f was turning, (measured) by the sun.

Camp in Plain of Megiddo

429. Then was set up the camp of his majesty, and command was given to the whole army, saying: “Equip yourselves! Prepare your weapons! for we^g shall advance to fight with that wretched foe in the morning.” ¹Therefore¹ the king ²rested in the royal tent, the ³affairs^{1h} of the chiefs were arranged, and the provisions of the attendants. The watch of the army went about, saying, “Steady of heart! Steady of heart! Watchful! Watchful!ⁱ Watch for life at the tent of the king.” One came to say to his majesty, “The land is well, and the infantry of the South and North likewise.”

^aProper name ending in *n*.

^bPetrie, *History of Egypt*, II, 106.

^cIt was past midday.

^dA new enumeration of twenty-eight longer lines begins here.

^eThe army here emerges in safety upon the plain in the afternoon of the twentieth, and camps unmolested that night, to go forth to battle in the morning of the twenty-first.

^fAbout one o'clock P. M.

^gThe text has the impersonal “one.”

^hSee § 341, l. 17, for the same rare phrase.

ⁱLit., “*Watchful of head*,” meaning “to be vigilant,” e. g., of the king (Amen-hotep III) on the architrave at Luxor: “*the Good God who is very vigilant (lit., watchful of head) over the house of his father, Amon*” (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 73, b; again *ibid.*, e); and often of the vigilance of a faithful official.

Battle of Megiddo

430. Year 23, first (month) of the third season (ninth month), on the twenty-first day, the day of the feast of the new moon, ¹corresponding to¹ the royal coronation, early in the morning, behold, command was given to the entire army to move — —. ³His majesty went forth in a chariot of electrum, arrayed in his weapons of war, like Horus, the Smiter, lord of power; like Montu of Thebes, while his father, Amon, strengthened his arms. The southern wing of this army of his majesty was on a hill south of the [brook of]^a Kina (*Ky-n*),^b the northern wing was at the northwest of Megiddo (*My-k-ty*),^b while his majesty was in their center, with Amon as the protection of his members, ¹—¹ the valor — ⁴of his limbs. Then his majesty prevailed against them at the head of his army, and when they saw his majesty prevailing against them they fled headlong to Megiddo (*My-k-ty*) in fear,^c abandoning their horses and their chariots of gold and silver. The people^d hauled them (up), pulling (them) by their clothing, into this city; the people of this city having closed (it) against them [and ¹flowered¹] ⁵clothing to pull them up into this city. Now, if only the army of his majesty had not given their heart to plundering the things of the enemy, they would have [captured] Megiddo (*My-k-ty*) at this moment, when the wretched foe of (*Kd-š*) Kadesh and the wretched foe of this city^e were hauled up in haste to bring them into this city.^e The fear of his majesty had entered ⁶[their hearts¹], their arms were powerless, his serpent diadem was ¹victorious¹ among them.

The Spoil

431. Then were captured their horses, their chariots of gold and silver were made spoil;^f their champions lay stretched out like fishes

^aRestored from § 428, l. 1.

^bThis shows that Thutmose has gone around Megiddo toward the west and, having his army partially on the north of the city, has intercepted the enemy's northern line of retreat; at the same time probably securing his own line of retreat along the Zefthi road (see § 421, l. 35). This position corroborates the position of the Asiatics with their southern wing at Taanach on the day before the battle (see § 426, especially note). This move must have been made by Thutmose in the afternoon or during the night before the battle.

^cLit., "with or in the faces of fear."

^dLit., "one."

^eMegiddo. The two kings of Kadesh and Megiddo are meant.

^fRead *m ys-h* *k* (Sethe, *Verbum*, II, § 700), and compare the same phrase year 31, l. 10 (§ 470).

on the ground. The victorious army of his majesty went around counting their portions. Behold, there was captured the tent of that wretched foe [in] which was [his] son — — 7 ————. ^a The whole army made jubilee, giving praise to Amon for the victory which he had granted to his son on [this day, ^bgiving praise^b] to his majesty, exalting his victories. They brought up the booty which they had taken, consisting of hands, ^c of living prisoners, of horses, chariots of gold and silver, of — — ⁸ ————. ^d

The Rebuke

432. [Then spake his majesty 'on hearing' the words of his army, saying: "Had ye captured [this city] afterward, behold, I would have given ———— ^e Re this day; because every chief of every country that has revolted is within it; and because it is the capture of a thousand cities, this capture of Megiddo (*My-k-ty*). Capture ye 'mightily, mightily' — — ⁸ 9 ————."

Siege of Megiddo

433. [His majesty commanded] the 'officers' of the troops to go — —, [assigning to] each his place. They measured this city, [surrounding it] with an inclosure, walled about with green timber of all their pleasant trees. ^h His majesty himself was upon the fortification east of this city, [inspect]ing ⁱ 10 ————. ⁱ

It was [walled about with a thick wall — — —] with its thick wall. ^k Its name was made: "Menkheperre (Thutmose III)-is-the-Surrounder-

^aAbout a quarter of l. 7 is lacking.

^bOr: "the — of his majesty were exalting, etc."

^cCut off from the slain.

^dAbout one-fourth of l. 8 is lacking.

^eThree or four words are lacking, probably: "[very many offerings to] Re this day," or something similar.

^fThe lacuna doubtless contained the exhortation to begin the siege.

^gLl. 9-19 generally lack about one-third their length at the beginning.

^hThutmose III describes the trees in his own garden of Amon, in the same way (§ 567). Possibly fruit trees are meant, as the word rendered "pleasant" (*bnr*) literally means "sweet."

ⁱAbout one-third line lacking.

^jFive or six words are lacking.

^kThe same thick wall is also referred to in the building inscription of the Ptah-temple (§ 616, l. 11) and the fragment on this campaign (§ 596, l. 7).

of-the-Asiatics." People were stationed to watch over the tent of his majesty; to whom it was said: "Steady of heart! Watch ———." ^a His majesty ¹¹[commanded, saying: "Let not ^bone among them [come forth] outside, beyond this wall, except to come out in order to ^c'knock' at the door of their fortification."]

Now, all that his majesty did to this city, to that wretched foe ^d and his wretched army, was recorded on (each) day by its (the day's) name, under the title of: "f — — — e" ¹² ———. ^f Then it was recorded upon a roll of leather in the temple of Amon this day. ^g

Surrender of Megiddo

434. Behold, the chiefs of this country came to render their portions, to do obeisance ^h to the fame of his majesty, to crave breath for their nostrils, because of the greatness of his power, because of the might of the fame of his majesty — — ¹³the country ⁱ ——— came to his fame, bearing their gifts, consisting of silver, gold, lapis lazuli, malachite; bringing clean grain, wine, large cattle, and small cattle — for the army of his majesty. ¹Each of the Kode ^j (*Kd-(w)*) among them bore the tribute southward. Behold, his majesty appointed the chiefs anew for ¹⁴ ———. ^k

^aCf. § 429, l. 2; but there is not room here to restore as there indicated. So Maspero, *Recueil*, II, 145.

^bThe lacuna is slightly longer than this.

^cProbably meaning to offer themselves as prisoners (Petric, *History of Egypt*, II, 108).

^dThe king of Kadesh.

^eThe first word without the following connection seems doubtful; it means "to sail, travel" and possibly refers to the fact that the king sailed each year to Syria in the later campaigns; hence the title may have been: "*Voyages, etc.*" The whole reminds one of the statement concluding the reign of each king in the Book of Kings (e. g., 1 Kings 15:23).

^fAlmost one-third line lacking.

^gThe royal secretary Thaneni was apparently the one who kept this record (see § 392).

^hLit., "to smell the earth."

ⁱAlmost one-third line lacking.

^jCf. l. 23, § 420. The sentence is uncertain in the original, both as to text and meaning. As the Kode are coast-people, it may possibly refer to their shipping the spoil to Egypt for the soldiers.

^kAlmost one-third line lacking.

Spoil of Megiddo

435. ———^a 340 living prisoners; 83 hands; 2,041 mares;^b 191 foals; 6 stallions; — young —; a chariot, wrought with gold, (its) 'pole' of gold, belonging to that foe;^c a beautiful chariot, wrought with gold, belonging to the chief of 's[Megiddo];^d ———^e 892 chariot[s] of his wretched army; total, 924^f (chariots); a beautiful 'suit' of bronze armor, belonging to that foe;^g a beautiful 'suit' of bronze armor, belonging to the chief of Megiddo (*M-k-ty*); ———^h 200 suits of armor, belonging to his wretched army; 502 bows; 7 poles of (*mry*) wood, wrought with silver, belonging to the tent of that foe. Behold, the army of [his majesty] took ¹⁶———ⁱ 297 —, 1,929 large cattle, 2,000 small cattle,^j 20,500 white small cattle.^k

Plunder of the Lebanon Tripolis, Megiddo, Etc.

436. List of that which was afterward taken by the king, of the household goods of that foe who was in [the city of] Yenoam (*Y-nw-^cmw*), in Nuges (*Yn-yw-g-s*), and in Herenkeru (*Hw-r-n-k^crw*),¹

^aThe determinative sign of a foreign country is the first sign at the end of the lacuna before the list.

^bThis word (*ssmw t*) I have elsewhere translated "horses" for what seem to me sufficient reasons, but in this context we have a clear distinction between mares and stallions.

^cThe king of Kadesh.

^dRestored from the list of armor following.

^eAbout one-third line lacking.

^fThere must be 30 chariots therefore, mentioned in the lacuna, which would probably be those of the officers or other chiefs.

^gThe king of Kadesh.

^hHere followed the armor of the officers, as in the case of the chariots above.

ⁱAlmost one-third line lacking.

^jSheep?

^kGoats?

¹These three cities lay close together at the southern end of Lebanon. That Thutmose III marched to Lebanon after the fall of Megiddo is shown by the fact that he built a fortress there (§ 548, l. 1) just before returning to Thebes. The three cities formed a political whole under a single ruler ("that foe"), and were given as a whole to Amon by Thutmose III (§ 557). The location of these cities in the plain of Megiddo (Petrie, *Syria and Egypt*, 14) is plainly due to overlooking the other evidence (see Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 200-3); though Petrie is undoubtedly right in denying the identity of Nuges and Nukhasse, already opposed by Müller (*ibid.*, 394). If "that foe" refers to the king of Kadesh here, as it does elsewhere throughout this inscription, we have an important indication of the extent southward of the territory of that king.

together with all the goods of those cities which submitted themselves, which were brought to ¹⁷[his majesty: 474] —; ^a 38^b lords ([*m-r ʿ-y-n ʿ*]) of theirs, 87 children of that foe and of the chiefs who were with him, 5 lords of theirs, 1,796 male and female slaves with their children, non-combatants who surrendered because of famine with that foe, 103 men; total, 2,503.^c Besides flat dishes of costly stone and gold, various vessels, ¹⁸———, ^d a large (two-handled) vase^e (*ʿ-k ʿ-n ʿ*) of the work of Kharu (*H ʿ-rw*), (— *b-*) vases, flat dishes, (*hntw-*) dishes, various drinking-vessels, 3 large kettles (*rhd t*), [8]7 knives,^f amounting to 784 deben.^g Gold in rings found in the hands of the artificers, and silver in many rings, 966 deben and 1 kidet.^h A silver statue in beaten work ¹⁹——— ⁱ the head of gold, the staff with human faces; 6 chairs^j of that foe, of ivory, ebony and carob wood, wrought with gold; 6 footstools^k belonging to them; 6 large tables of ivory and carob wood, a staff of carob wood, wrought with gold and all costly stones in the fashion of a scepter, belonging to that foe, all of it wrought with gold; ^{120a} a statue of that foe, of ebony wrought with gold, the head of which [‘was inlaid’] with lapis lazuli ———; ^m vessels of bronze, much clothing of that foe.

Harvest of the Plain of Megiddo

437. Behold, the cultivable land was divided into fields, which the inspectors of the royal house, L. P. H., calculated, in order to reap their

^aAbout one-third line lacking.

^bBrugsch, 39.

^cThe prisoners enumerated foot up to 2,029; hence 474 must have been mentioned in the lacuna at the head of l. 17. These must have included “*that foe and the chiefs who were with him*,” and probably others whom we cannot identify.

^dAbout one-third line lacking; the numeral belonging to the preceding objects is lost in this lacuna.

^eHebrew, כִּיָּר.

^fRestored from the 87 in l. 17.

^g191.1 pounds, total of gold in the preceding list of articles.

^h235.46 pounds.

ⁱAbout one-third line lacking.

^jIn Egyptian the word (*kny*) often means a kind of open sedan chair.

^k*Hdmw*, Hebrew, חֲדָמָה.

^lFrom this point on, four lines are again nearly complete.

^mAbout one-fifth of the line is lacking.

harvest. Statement of the harvest which was brought to his majesty from the fields of Megiddo (*My-k t*): 208,200(+*x*)^a fourfold heket of grain,^a besides that which was cut as forage by the army of his majesty _____.^b

FRAGMENT ON THE SIEGE OF MEGIDDO^c

438. The inscription to which this fragment belonged contained an account of the first campaign and apparently no more, so that it was doubtless recorded at the close of this campaign before the others took place. It is probably therefore, the oldest of Thutmose III's war records, and introduces an offering-list.

The Insurrection

439. ¹_____ Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, at the overthrow^d of Retenu, the wretched ²_____ anew for my father, Amon _____
³_____ the lands of the Fenkhu, who had begun to invade my boundaries.^e _____ ⁴arrayed, in¹ hatred of my majesty. They fell upon their faces ⁵_____ of Megiddo.

^aThe possible uncertainty is not more than 200 more. This makes about 112,632 imperial bushels (of 2,218.19 cubic inches). It is impossible to say how much an acre would yield at this time, but at twenty bushels to the acre, this harvest covered a territory of nearly nine square miles. (Mr. Petrie's reckoning of 150,000 bushels is based on an error in the original number of fourfold heket; he has 280,500 (*History of Egypt*, II, 112), while the text gives only 208,200, or possibly 208,400.

^bAbout one-fifth line lacking. For the continuation of the campaign, see the record of "Feasts and Offerings," §§ 541 ff.

^cSouth (?) wall in the Eighteenth Dynasty Karnak temple. It has been partially published by Brugsch (*Recueil de monuments*, I, XXVII, and again, *Thesaurus*, V, 1187), and more fully by Dümichen (*Historische Inschriften*, II, 38). I had also a photograph by Borchardt. The inscription is in vertical lines, which have been numbered backward by Dümichen and Brugsch (in Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*; *Thesaurus*, without numbers). An unknown amount is lost at the top, ll. 17-21 are entirely lost, and only a few words are preserved at the bottoms of ll. 13-16 and 22-24.

^dThis dates the offering to Amon as occurring after the defeat of Retenu, and as the following shows, on the first campaign.

^eThis is the insurrection referred to in § 416. The battle of Megiddo is then rapidly passed over, and l. 5 begins the siege of Megiddo.

Siege of Megiddo

440. Then my majesty surrounded it with a wall, made thick
 6———— they tasted not the breath of life, surrounded in front of
 their 'wall' 7———— the Asiatics of all countries came with bowed
 head, doing obeisance to the fame of my majesty. 8————.

Surrender of Megiddo

441. These Asiatics who were in the wretched Megiddo 9————
 [‘came forth’] to the fame of Menkheperre (Thutmose III), [‘given life,
 saying’]: “Give us a chance,^a that we may present to thy majesty [our]
 impost.” 10———— all that my majesty did in this land forever.

The Inhabitants Shown Mercy

442. Then my majesty commanded to give to them the breath of
 life 11———— all their goods, bearing 12————.

Further March

443. ——— led me to a goodly way 13———— inclosed in
 14———— [Tyre]^b 15———— c 16———— these 17———— d 22————
 with every fragrant wood 23———— I did this 24————. I was
 25———— victorious in all lands, shining upon the Horus-throne of
 the living — like Re, forever.

III. SECOND CAMPAIGN (YEAR 24)^c

444. This campaign seems to have been only a circuitous
 march through Palestine and southern Syria (l. 25), to re-
 ceive the submission and tribute of the dynasts. Far-off
 Assyria also, which had now heard of the great victory of
 the preceding year, sent gifts, which the scribe calls “tribute”
 (ymw) like that of Syria.

^aLit., “Give our occasion.”

^bThe line is broken just above this word; hence, although it spells Tyre (ṯꜣꜣꜣ), it may be the end of a longer word terminating in ṯꜣꜣꜣꜣ, like Sn-ṯꜣꜣꜣ (Amenemhab, l. 11, § 584). But see Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 185.

^cEnd shows determinative of foreigners.

^dLl. 17-21 are entirely lost.

^eLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 32, ll. 32-39 = Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1166-68, ll. 21-28.

445. [List of the tribute of Assur and of] the chiefs of Retenu in the year 24.^a

Tribute of Assur

446. The tribute^b of the chief of Assur (*Ys-sw-r*): genuine lapis lazuli, a large block, making 20 deben, 9 kidet; genuine lapis lazuli, 2 blocks; total, 3;^c and pieces, [making] 30 deben; total, 50 deben and 9 kidet;^d fine lapis lazuli from Babylon (*Bb-r*); vessels of Assur (*ys-sw-r*) of (*hrtl-*) stone in colors,^e — — — — “very many.”

Tribute of Retenu

447. The tribute of the chiefs of Retenu: the daughter of a chief, (with) ornaments of — gold, lapis lazuli of t[his] country;^f 30 [‘slaves’] belonging [‘to her’]; 65^g male and female slaves of his tribute; 103 horses; 5 chariots, wrought with gold, (with) [‘poles’] of gold; 5 chariots, wrought with electrum, (with) [‘poles’] of ^c *g·t*; total, 10; 45 bullocks^h (‘and’) calves; 749 bulls; 5,703 small cattle; flat dishes of goldⁱ ²³which could not be weighed; flat dishes of silver, and fragments, (making) 104 deben, 5 kidet;^j a gold [‘horn’] (*mk-r-dy-n*), inlaid with lapis lazuli; a bronze corselet (*h²-n-rw*), inlaid with gold, [‘ornamented’] —————^k many — of silver — in battle —————^k ²⁴823 (*mn-*) jars of incense; 1,718 (*mn-*) jars of honeyed wine;^l [—] ^c *g·t*^m and much two-colored

^aBrugsch (with sic!), Champollion, Lepsius, and Bissing, all have 40, in which 4 units have unquestionably been miswritten by the ancient copyist, for 2 tens — an easy error. Griffith does not give Burton’s reading. The emendation to 24 is certain from l. 25, dated year 24.

^bThese are, of course, only gifts, but the text uses the same word as in the case of the chiefs of Retenu. It is at the head of the list, for it reached him early as a result of the Megiddo victory in the preceding year.

^cThis total of “blocks” is thrust in between as a parenthesis.

^d12.40 pounds.

^eSo the texts of Champollion and Bissing.

^fOr: “of the foreigners” (*h² styw*).

^gThese 65 slaves are not among the tribute of Assur, as Müller indicates, being misled by Champollion *Notices descriptives*, 158 (Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 278).

^hSo Lepsius, Champollion, and Bissing; Brugsch, 55.

ⁱThere is possibly a lost word or even two at the end of the line (22).

^j25.47 pounds.

^lOr: “wine and honey.”

^kAbout one-third of the line.

^mTwo sorts of *c g·t*.

^c *g't*,^a ivory, carob wood, *mrw* wood,^b *psgw* wood, many 'bundles' of fire wood, all the luxuries of this country ————^c ²⁵to every place of his majesty's circuit, (where) the tent was pitched.^d

Appendix

448. YEAR 24. List of the tribute brought to the fame of his majesty in the country of Retenu.

Second Tribute of Assur

449. Tribute of the chief of Assur (*Ys-sw-r*): h[orses] ————.^e
²⁶A '—' of skin of the *M-h²-w* as the 'protection' of a chariot, of the finest^h of — wood; 190(+x) wagons ————^e ²⁷— wood, *n^hb* ⁱwood, 343 pieces; carob wood, 50 pieces; *mrw* wood, 190 pieces; *nby* and *k² nk* wood, 206 pieces; 'olive wood', ————^e ²⁸———.j

IV. THIRD CAMPAIGN (YEAR 25)^k

450. The Annals contain no account of the third campaign, which was evidently a peaceful tour of inspection. The record of its results required more room than the wall of the Annals afforded, hence it was transferred to a chamber in the rear of the temple, and recorded in a long series of reliefs representing the flora and fauna of Syria, brought

^aTwo sorts of '*g't*.'

^bSame as "*mery wood*."

^cLl. 24-28 lack considerably over half their length below.

^dThe statement undoubtedly was that the tribute was brought to the king wherever he was in his circuit.

^eOver half the line is wanting.

^f*Mswy*, perhaps the leathern front of a chariot. See also Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 278, n. 3.

^gAn unknown animal.

^hOr: "*with* heads of — wood."

ⁱSo Lepsius; Brugsch, *neheb*; unknown.

^jA few numerals and fragments of words are visible, in which "*3,000 various 'trees'*" (or objects of wood) appear.

^kReliefs and inscriptions on the walls of the first chamber north of the second (rear) sanctuary of Karnak (marked Y' on Mariette's plan, Pl. 5); published by Mariette, *Karnak*, 28-31.

back from this campaign. They are accompanied by the following inscriptions:^a

451. ^bYEAR 25, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre (Thutmose III), living, forever. Plants which his majesty found in the land of Retenu.

^cAll plants that 'grow', all flowers that are in God's-Land^d [which were found by] ²his majesty when his majesty proceeded to Upper Retenu, to subdue [fall] the countrie[s,] ³according to the command of his father, Amon, who put them beneath his sandals, from [the year 1] ⁴to myriads of years.

452. His majesty said: "I swear, as Re [loves me] ⁵as my father, Amon, favors me, all these things happened in truth —. ⁶I have not written fiction as that which really happened to my majesty; ^eI have 'engraved' the excellent [deeds] ⁷—]. My majesty hath done this from desire to put them ⁸before my father Amon, in this great temple of Amon, (as) a memorial forever and ever."

V. FOURTH CAMPAIGN

453. The account of this campaign, if any existed, is lost; it was not recorded on the wall of the Annals, and may have been put elsewhere, like the third.

^aThe only other inscription of year 25 is a stela cut on the rocks of the Sarbût el-Khadem, and dated in the "year 25." Above is a relief showing Thutmose III offering a libation to "*Hathor, mistress of malachite*;" behind the king stands the "*chief treasurer, Ray*" (*R* > *y*), who conducted the expedition hither. An inscription of eight horizontal lines contains only titular and praise of Thutmose III. Below stands Ray again with an inscription in eight vertical lines, which has almost wholly disappeared. The following may be discerned: "*He appointed him at the head of his army, to bring that which his majesty desired, of products of the lands of the gods, malachite without number, he exceeded that which was commanded him, and that which was exacted.*" A reference to "*the sea*" (*w* > *ḡ-wr*) at the end doubtless indicates the way in which the journey was made.

^bVertical line on the east wall; text, Mariette, *Karnak*, 31.

^cEight vertical lines on the north wall, left of the door; numbered from right to left; text, Mariette, *Karnak*, 28.

^dShowing that *T* > *ntr* ("God's-Land") is sometimes applied to Asia; same in inscription of Thaneni (§ 820), and in § 888.

^eText has: "*the souls of my majesty*."

VI. FIFTH CAMPAIGN (YEAR 29)^a

454. The first campaign extended no farther northward than the Tripolis of the southern Lebanon, and this was inland. The second and third campaigns were not aggressive, and apparently did not push far north; the record of the fourth campaign is lost, and it is not until the fifth, in the year 29, that we have certain information of an advance beyond the northern limits of the first campaign, and along the coast. This fifth campaign begins with a new caption, as if a new period of the wars had begun here, and it is clear that the revolt suppressed in the south in the year 23 was after six years not yet subdued in the cities of Zahi, which the king had not yet visited. The wars in the Annals are thus divided into two great groups, the first group being in the south, and the second group, beginning in the year 29, being the wars in the north.

After the capture of a city the name of which is lost (*W*²——), which was supported by troops from Tunip, contained a sanctuary of Amon, and yielded rich plunder, the king proceeded southward and captured Arvad. The rich gardens and fields, now in the season of fruitage, were plundered, and the army spent the days in rioting and feasting. The king seized some Phœnician ships, and the expedition returned by water. This had perhaps been done by earlier expeditions, but the fifth is the first in which it is certain.

^aThe text here returns to the main sanctuary, where the annals are resumed, beginning at the jog in the north wall (see Mariette, *Karnak*, Pl. 13). Only the lower ends of the lines are still in situ, the rest having been barbarously quarried out by Salt; this section is now in the Louvre. Text of Louvre section and part of lines *in situ*, Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XII, ll. 1-7; lower ends of same lines, Mariette, *Karnak*, 13, ll. 1-6; both, Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1168-70, ll. 1-7 = Bissing, *Statistische Tafel*, xxvii f., ll. 1-7.

Introduction

455. ^aHis majesty commanded to cause that the victories which his father [Amon] had given him should be recorded upon the stone wall in the temple which his majesty made anew [^ffor his father Amon, setting forth each¹ expedition]^b by its name,^c together with the plunder which his majesty brought therefrom. It was done according to [all the command which his father, Re, gave to him^d] ———.

Campaign in Zahi

456. ¹YEAR 29. Behold, [his] majesty was [in Za]hi subduing the countries revolting against him, on the fifth victorious campaign.

Capture of Unknown City

457. Behold, his majesty captured the city of Wa — (W²—)^e ———. This army offered acclamations to his majesty,^f giving praise to ²[Amon] for the victories which [he gave to] his son. They were pleasing to the heart of his majesty above everything.

Sacrifices to Amon

458. After this his majesty proceeded to the storehouse of offering[s], to give a sacrifice to Amon and to Harakhte^g consisting of oxen, calves, fowl, [^ffor the life, prosperity, and health of^h] Menkheperre (Thutmose III), who giveth life forever.

^aHorizontal line at the top; cf. same beginning in the introduction to the Megiddo campaign, § 407, l. 3 (=Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 31, b, 3 ff.).

^bExcepting the word "*expedition*," this part is also broken out in the Introduction (l. 5, § 407).

^cApparently this means by its number, for from now on the expeditions are numbered: see year 29.

^dRestored from § 407, l. 6 (=Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 31, b, l. 6).

^eYoung shows that the name ended in *t*. About five or six words are lacking.

^fAs after the battle of Megiddo.

^gBissing (*Statistische Tafel*, XV) makes the obvious comparison with the mention of the presence of the gods of Egypt in "Dunip" (*Amarna Letters*, ed. Winckler, 41, 9, 10) in the Amarna letters.

^hSeven or eight words are lacking.

Spoil of the City

459. List of the plunder taken out of this city, from ³the infantry of that foe of Tunip (*Tw-np*), the chief of this city, 1; (*T-h-r-*)^a warriors, 329; silver, 100 deben;^b gold, 100 deben;^b lapis lazuli, malachite, vessels of bronze and copper.

The Return Voyage

460. Behold, ships were taken — — — laden with everything, with slaves, male and female; copper, lead, ¹emery¹, (and) ⁴everything good. Afterward his majesty proceeded southward^c to Egypt, to his father. Amon-Re, with joy of heart.

Capture of Arvad

461. Behold, his majesty overthrew the city of Arvad (*ʿ-r ʿ-ty-wt*), with its grain, cutting down all its pleasant trees.^d Behold, there were found [the products¹] of all Zahi. Their gardens were filled with their fruit, ⁵their wines were found remaining in their presses as water flows,^e their grain on the terraces^f ¹upon —¹; it was more plentiful than the sand of the shore. The army were overwhelmed with their portions.

Tribute on This Expedition

462. List of the tribute brought to his majesty on this expedition: 51 slaves, male and female; 30 horses; 10 flat dishes of silver; ⁶incense, oil, 470 (*mn-*) jars of honey, 6,428 (*mn-*) jars of wine, copper, lead, lapis lazuli, green felspar, 616 large cattle, 3,636 small cattle, loaves, various

^aText has only "— *hr*;" I am indebted for the restoration to Erman; see also Müller (*Asien und Europa*, 360, n. 5).

^b24.37 pounds.

^cThe return of the king is here prematurely narrated. It was, of course, by water, as the preceding context shows that Phœnician ships were seized for the purpose.

^dSee § 433 (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 32, l. 20) where the same was done for Megiddo.

^eCf. Bissing, *Statistische Tafel*, 16 ff., who makes the passage too difficult; and Piehl, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1889-90, 376, whose emendation is not necessary. Precisely the same figure, with the same grammatical construction occurs in Papyrus Harris (IV, 213 and 216=7, 11 and 8, 6).

^fThe sloping fields of the mountain side.

(*njr' t-*) loaves, clean grain in kernel and ground — —. All good fruit of this country. Behold, the army of his majesty was drunk and anointed with oil every day as at a feast in Egypt.

VII. SIXTH CAMPAIGN (YEAR 30)^a

463. This year the expedition went by water and landed at Simyra,^b the most convenient port for reaching Kadesh. This city had been the leader in the great coalition of revolters, defeated at Megiddo in the first campaign seven years before. It was doubtless also constantly supporting revolt in the Phœnician coast cities, as Tunip had done in the preceding year (29), causing the king to direct his forces thither in that year. Finally in the year 30 the king succeeded in reaching the source of the disturbance, capturing and severely punishing Kadesh,^c a feat in which Amenemhab assisted. He returned to his fleet at Simyra, proceeded to Arvad and punished it as in the preceding year. On his return to Egypt he took with him the children of the native princes to be educated in friendship toward Egypt, that they might be sent back gradually to replace the old hostile generation of Syrian princes.

464. YEAR 30. Behold, his majesty was in the land of Retenu on the sixth victorious expedition^d of his majesty.

^aLepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XII, ll. 7-9, and Mariette, *Karnak*, 13, ll. 7, 8; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1170, 1171, ll. 7-9; Bissing, *Statistische Tafel*, ll. 7-9.

^bThis is not stated in the Annals, but as he returned to the coast at Simyra, and as Simyra was the port nearest Kadesh, the objective of his campaign, there can be little doubt about the place of landing.

^cAlthough it still remained the center of Syrian rebellion and revolted again in year 42 (§§ 531, 532). Amenemhab refers to both conquests (§ 585 and §§ 589 f.).

^dThe word is in this case determined with a ship indicating the manner in which the king proceeded to Syria (cf. Wiedemann, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 32, 128; also Bissing, *Statistische Tafel*, 19).

Punishment of Kadesh and Arvad

465. (He) arrived at the city of Kadesh (*Kd-šw*), overthrew it,^a cut down its groves, harvested its grain. (He) came to the land of Š—y—wt,^b arrived at the city of Simyra (*D²-my-r²*), arrived at the city of Arvad (*ʔ-r²-t-wt*), doing likewise^c to it.

Tribute

466. List of the tribute ⁸brought to the souls of his majesty by the chiefs of Retenu in this year.

Capture of Children of Chiefs

467. Behold, the children of the chiefs (and) their brothers were brought to be in strongholds in Egypt.^d Now, whosoever died among these chiefs, his majesty would cause his son to stand in his place. List of the children of chiefs brought in this year: (*x+*)^e 2^e persons; 181 slaves, male and female; 188 horses; 40 chariots, ⁹wrought with gold and silver (and) painted.

VIII. SEVENTH CAMPAIGN (YEAR 31)^f

468. The king again directs his attention to the coast cities of Phœnicia, and it is clear that he proceeds thither by water, first capturing Ullaza, a coast city in the vicinity of Simyra, when he receives the tribute and homage of the submissive Syrian kinglets. He then sailed along the coast from harbor to harbor, forcing submission, and laying up

^aThe language does not unequivocally state the capture of the city, but its capture is clearly stated by Amenemhab (§ 585, ll. 13, 14).

^bThis fragmentary name must indicate the country north of Kadesh, for, according to Amenemhab (§ 584), Thutmose went to Senzar on this Kadesh campaign.

^cAs he had done to Kadesh.

^dThey were kept in a special place of confinement or dwelling at Thebes, explained in § 402; cf. also Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 268.

^eThe first part of the number is broken out.

^fLepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XII, ll. 9-17, and Mariette, *Karnak*, 13, ll. 9-16 = Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1171-73, ll. 9-17 = Bissing, *Statistische Tafel*, ll. 9-17.

in each the necessary supplies for his garrisons and his future operations. After receiving reports on the harvest of Retenu, he returned to Egypt, where he found messengers bringing tribute from the southern tribe of the Genebteyew. The record here appends the annual taxes of the Nubian Wawat.

469. YEAR 31, first (month) of the third season, day 3. List of that which his majesty captured in this year.

Capture of Ullaza

470. Booty brought from the city of Ullaza (² *n-r²-tw*), which is upon the shore of Zeren (¹ *D¹r-n²*),^a 490 living captives; [3] ¹ *—¹*^b of the son of that foe of Tunip (¹ *T²w-n[p]*); chief of the ¹ *—¹*, who was there, 1; total, 494 persons. Twenty-six horses; 13 chariots,¹⁰ and their equipment of all the weapons of war. Verily, his majesty captured this city in a short hour, and all its property was spoil.^c

Tribute of Submissive Princes

471. Tribute of the princes of Retenu, who came to do obeisance to the [souls] of his majesty in this year: — ^dslaves, male and female; 72 — — — of this country; silver, 761 deben, 2 kidet;^e 19 chariots, wrought with silver; ¹¹the equipment of their weapons of war; 104 oxen with bullocks;^f 172 calves and cows; total, 276; 4,622 small cattle; native copper, 40 blocks; lead, ————^g 41 golden bracelets, figured with ¹ *—¹*; together with all their produce and all the fine fragrant ¹²woods of this country.

^aAs corrected by Bissing, *Statistische Tafel*, 22. It has the determinative of a body of water.

^b*Hnty*.

^cCompare a similar phrase in year 23, l. 6 (§ 431), and "Hymn of Victory," l. 9 (§ 657); the identical phrase in Ahmose-si-Ebana, l. 21 (§ 15). Cf. Sethe, *Verbum*, II, § 70.

^dNumeral lost.

^e185.5 pounds.

^fCf. Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 32, l. 33.

^gNot more than five words lacking, and about the same in l. 12.

The Harbors

472. Now, every harbor^a at which his majesty arrived was supplied with (*n/r-*) loaves and with assorted loaves, with oil, incense, wine, honey, f[ruit] — — — — abundant were they beyond everything, beyond the knowledge of his majesty's army; (it) is no fiction, ¹³they remain in the daily register^b of the palace, L. P. H., the list of them not being given in this inscription, in order not to multiply words, and in order to furnish 'their circumstances' in this place^c —————^d

Harvest of Retenu

473. The harvest of the land of Retenu was reported, consisting of much clean grain, ¹⁴grain in the kernel,^e barley, incense, green oil, wine, fruit, every pleasing thing of the country; they shall^f apportion it to the treasury, according as the impost of the — is counted ——— 33 various —, together with green 'stone', every costly stone of this country, and many stones ¹⁵of 'sparkle';^g [all the] good [things] of this country.

^aThat these are the harbors on the Phœnician coast, there is no doubt. The word is a feminine noun (*mny' wt*) from *mny*, "to land," and sometimes has a ship as determinative (Papyrus Anast., IV, 15, 4). Some of the supplies with which these *mny' wt* were equipped were ships and spars (§ 492). These cannot apply to inland stations! When we notice that it is always Lebanon chiefs who furnish the supplies, the conclusion is clear. A new meaning is thus given the words of Abdkhiba of Jerusalem: "As long as ships were upon the sea, the strong arm of the king occupied Nahrma (Naharin) and Kas" (Babylonia) (*Amarna Letters*, ed. Winckler, 182, 32 f.). This observation throws a flood of light on Thutmose III's campaigns, and shows that his military operations were later regularly conducted from some harbor as a base. He therefore employed his navy in these campaigns to a far greater extent than we had supposed, regularly transporting his army to Syria by water, and even probably conducting the above campaign by water, sailing from harbor to harbor. See note, § 483, l. 24.

^b*Hrwy't*. The word is rare, but occurs also in the Decree of Harmhab (III, 63, l. 4), indicating a writing containing laws.

^cMeaning, perhaps, that there is room on the wall only for offering the circumstances under which the spoil was taken, without enumerating the same.

^dOver one-third of the line is broken out, and this is the case with each line as far as l. 35.

^eNot ground.

^fThe tense shows that we have here the very words of the government scribe's books.

^gThe word has the fire determinative; same word in forty-second year, l. 14, § 533; and Papyrus Harris three times (not four, as given in Piehl's *Dictionnaire*, 21, 22), each time referring to costly stones. Hence Bissing's conjecture that it means a founder's mould of stone is impossible (Bissing, *Statistische Tafel*, 28).

Tribute of the Genebteyew

474. When his majesty arrived in Egypt, the messengers of the Genebteyew (*Gnb·tyw*) came bearing their tribute, consisting of myrrh, 'gum' ——— 6 —; 10 male negroes for attendants; 113 oxen ¹⁶(and) calves; 230 bulls; total, 343; besides vessels laden with ivory, ebony, skins of the panther, products ———.

Impost of Wawat

475. [List of the impost of Wawat (*W²-w²·t*)]: 5 — of Wawat; 31 oxen and calves; 61 bulls; total, 92; ¹⁷besides vessels laden with all things of this country; the harvest of Wawat, likewise.

IX. EIGHTH CAMPAIGN (YEAR 33)^a

476. In this year the king carries out the greatest campaign of his Asiatic wars, viz., the conquest of the Euphrates country. He has been long preparing for it, in the preceding campaigns, overthrowing Kadesh in the Orontes valley, subduing the coast cities, and filling them with provisions for his garrisons and his future operations. The story is unfortunately briefly told, and not always chronological. The voyage to Simyra,^b and the long march thence down the Orontes and to the Euphrates, are entirely omitted. The crowning act of the campaign, the erection of his boundary tablet east of the Euphrates, and another in the vicinity beside that of his father, Thutmose I, is immediately narrated. The operations which led to this culmination are then recorded in the meagerest words. While marching northward, plundering as he went, probably not far from the Euphrates, he meets the king of Mitanni, defeats and

^aLepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XII, ll. 17-29; Mariette, *Karnak*, 13, ll. 17-28 = Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1173-75, ll. 17-29 = Bissing, *Statistische Tafel*, ll. 17-29.

^bHe must have landed at Simyra, for, according to the fragment of Pylon VII (§ 598) he conquered Ketne on this campaign. Ketne was in the Orontes valley behind Simyra (Meyer, *Aegyptiaca*. 68; Petrie's location of it by Damascus seems to me impossible. See *Syria and Egypt*, s. v.).

drives him in flight, capturing a great booty on the battle-field. Amenemhab mentions three battles on this campaign, of which the last, that at Carchemish, is probably, the one here mentioned in the Annals. Probably Carchemish marks the northern limit of the advance in this campaign, and the two other battles mentioned by Amenemhab occurred on the march thither (§§ 581, 582). The king then crossed the Euphrates, set up his boundary tablets, and, as he marched southward to Niy on his return, he was met by the subordinate princes, who immediately submitted and brought their tribute. Even far-off Babylon sends gifts, which, of course, the king calls tribute, and also the Hittites, who here make their first appearance in history. It is now arranged that the Lebanon princes shall keep the king's harbors supplied with provisions ^a

On the king's return, an expedition of his to Punt arrives with magnificent returns from "*God's-Land*." The impost of Wawat is paid as usual.

477. YEAR 33. Behold, his majesty was in the land of Retenu; [he] arrived ———.

Boundary Tablet on the Euphrates

478. [He set up a tablet] east of this water;^b he set up another beside the tablet of his father, ¹⁸the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Okheperkere (Thutmose I).

Battle in Naharin

479. Behold, his majesty went north^c capturing the towns and laying waste the settlements of that foe^d of wretched Naharin (*N-h-ry-n* ³)

^aThis is narrated out of its place before the tribute of Babylon and the Hittites.

^bThis is the Euphrates; see also note on pursuit, ll. 18, 19.

^cSee Amenemhab, § 583, ll. 8, 9.

^dThe king of Mitanni.

—— he [pursu]ed after them an iter (*ytr*)^a of sailing; not one looked ¹⁹behind him, but (they) fled, ^bforsooth, ^blike a ¹herd of mountain goats; yea, the horses fled ———.

The Booty

480. [List of the booty taken] among the whole army, consisting of: princes, 3; ²⁰their wives, 30; men taken, 80; 606 slaves, male and female, with their children; those who surrendered (and) their wives, ——— (he) harvested their grain.

Arrival at Niy

481. His majesty arrived at the city ²¹of Niy (*Nyy*), going southward, when his majesty returned, having set up his tablet in Naharin (*N-h-ry-n*)^c, extending the boundaries of Egypt.^d ———.

Tribute of Naharin

482. [List] of the tribute brought to his majesty by the chiefs of this country: ²²513 slaves, male and female; 260 horses; gold, 45 deben, $\frac{1}{2}$ kidet;^e silver vessels of the workmanship of Zahi (*D²-hy*) ——— [chariots] with all their weapons of war; 28 oxen, ²³calves, and bullocks; 564 bulls; 5,323 small cattle; incense, 828 (*mn*-) jars; sweet oil and [green oil] ——— every pleasing [thing] of this country; all fruits in quantity.

^aIn view of the parallel passage in the Semneh stela of Amenhotep III, where the words, "*ytr of sailing*," are followed by a numeral, the word must be the linear measure, *ytr*, and not the word *ytr*, "*river*." Hence the rendering of Müller (*Asien und Europa*, 254): "er (überschritt) den Fluss des Rundfahrens (?)" must be given up. There is no statement of a crossing of the Euphrates here, but that Thutmose III really crossed this river is stated on his Constantinople obelisk (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 60, W.): "*Thutmose (III) who crossed the Great Bend of Naharin (N-h-r-n) with might and with victory at the head of his army*" (§ 631). That this crossing of the river was on this campaign is not to be doubted, and the second tablet of l. 17 was therefore set up on the "*east*" of the Euphrates. A further striking corroboration of the crossing is in the "Hymn of Victory" (§ 656, ll. 7, 8).

^bA rare New Egyptian particle, *m-dwn*; cf. Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik* (§ 94, 2).

^cAs above narrated.

^dThe remainder of the campaign must have been very brief, as it occupied only the lacuna (about one-third of the line).

^eNearly eleven pounds, troy.

The Harbors

483. Behold, ²⁴these harbors were supplied with everything according to their dues, according to their contract of each year, together with the impost of Lebanon^a (*R²-mn-n*) according to their contract of each year with the chiefs of Lebanon (*R²-mn-n*) ——— 2 unknown 'birds'; 4 wild fowl ²⁵of this country, which '—' every day.

Tribute of Babylon

484. The tribute of the chief of Shinar (*S²-n-g-r²*);^b real lapis lazuli, 4(+*x*) deben; artificial lapis lazuli, 24 deben; lapis lazuli of Babylon (*B-b-r²*) ——— of real lapis lazuli; a ram's head^c of real lapis lazuli; ²⁶15 kidet; and vessels ———.

Tribute of the Hittites

485. The tribute of Kheta (*H-t²*) the Great, in this year: 8 silver rings, making 401 deben;^d of white precious stone, a great block; (*t²-gw-*) wood ——— ['returning'] to Egypt, at his coming from ²⁷Naharin (*N-h-ry-n²*), extending the boundaries of Egypt.

Products of Punt

486. Marvels brought to his majesty in^e the land of Punt in this year: dried myrrh, 1,685 heket;^f gold ——— gold, 155 deben, 2 kidet; 134 slaves, male and female; 114 oxen, ²⁸and calves; 305 bulls; total, 419 cattle; beside vessels laden with ivory, ebony, (skins) of the panther; every good thing of [this] country ———.

^aThe harbors lying at the foot of the Lebanon along the Phœnician coast would naturally be supplied by the Lebanon princes. It is to be noted that these supplies were collected as "*impost*" (not "*tribute*"), and probably by an Egyptian officer, as was the "*impost*" of Nubia.

^bIdentified long ago by Brugsch (*Gr. Oase*, 91) with the biblical Shinar (*Šn^c r*), an identification which was overlooked in favor of Meyer's identification with Singara. Meyer (*Aegyptiaca*, 63) now sees in *S²-n-g-r²* the Sanhar of the Amarna letters (*Amarna Letters*, ed. Winckler, 25, 49), which also leads him to recognize Shinar in both, although Brugsch's identification of *S²-n-g-r²* with Shinar seems not to have been noticed.

^cText really has "*face*," but the wall paintings show complete heads in such cases.

^d97.74 pounds.

^eOr possibly "*from*" (*hr*); it is noticeable that in the year 38 (§ 513) the preposition is *m*, "*from*." Hence perhaps an expedition here; but see § 616, l. 9.

^fAbout 223½ bushels.

Impost of Wawat

487. [Impost of Wawat]: ——— 13 male [negro] slaves; total, 20;^a 44 oxen and calves; ²⁰60 bulls; total, 104; beside vessels laden with every good thing of this country; the harvest of this place likewise.

X. NINTH CAMPAIGN (YEAR 34)^b

488. The king confines himself this year to little more than a voyage of inspection to Zahi, receiving the surrender of submissive towns, and the tribute of Retenu, and Cyprus. The harbors are stocked with supplies as usual, including a fleet of foreign vessels laden with timber.

The annual impost of Kush and Wawat is recorded as usual.

489. YEAR 34. Behold, his majesty was in the land of Zahi (*D²-hy*).

Surrender of Zahi Towns

490. ——— he surrendered fully to his majesty with 'fear'. List of ³⁰the towns captured in this year: 2 towns, (and) a town which surrendered in the district of Nuges (²*n-yw-g-s*); total, 3. Captives brought to his majesty ——— taken captive 90, those who surrendered, their wives ³¹and their children ———; ^c40 horses; 15 chariots, wrought with silver and gold; golden vessels and gold in rings, 50^d deben, 8 kidet; ^d1 'silver' vessels of this country and rings, 153 deben; ^ecopper ———; ^f326 heifers; 40 white goats; 50 small goats; 70 asses; a quantity of (¹*2-gw*-) wood; ³²many¹⁸ chairs of black wood (and) carob wood; together with 6 tent-poles, wrought with bronze and set with costly stones; together with every fine wood of this country.

^aSeven other persons therefore were mentioned in the lacuna.

^bLepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XII, 29-37; Mariette, *Karnak*, 13, ll. 29-35 = Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1175-77, ll. 29-27 = Bissing, *Statistische Tafel*, ll. 29-37.

^cOnly the number is lost; von Bissing gives no lacuna.

^dAbout twelve and one-quarter pounds, troy.

^eAbout thirty-seven and three-tenths pounds.

^fThe fragment marked ll. 55-62 (in Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XII) nearly fills out completely the gap between Lepsius' text and Mariette's (see Mariette, *Karnak*, 13).

¹⁸Possibly "*many*" belongs here, which might then give "*many tree-trunks*."

Tribute of Retenu

491. Tribute of the chiefs of Retenu in this year: —^a horses; 31 (+x) [chariots,] wrought with silver and gold, and painted; 70[+3] slaves, male and female; gold, 55 deben, 8 kidet; various silver vessels³³ of the workmanship of the country, — deben, 6 kidet; gold and silver; (*mnw*-) stone; vessels of every costly stone; native copper, 80 blocks; lead, 11 blocks; colors, 100 deben; dry myrrh, 'feldspar'; green 'stone' [—] — 13 oxen and calves; 530 bulls; 84 asses; bronze —; a quantity of wood; numerous vessels of copper; incense, 693 (*mn*-) jars; ³⁴sweet oil and green oil, 2,080 (*mn*-) jars; wine, 608 (*mn*-) jars; 3^b chariots of ([†]*g-w*-) wood, carob wood, 'logs' of every wood of this country.

The Harbors Supplied

492. Behold, all the harbors of his majesty were supplied with every good thing of that 'which' [his] majesty received [in] Zahi (*D²-hy*), consisting of Keftyew ships, Byblos ships, and Sektu (*Sk-tw*) ships^c of cedar laden with poles, and masts, together ³⁵with great trees for the [—]^d of his majesty.

Tribute of Cyprus

493. Tribute of the chief of Isy (*Ysy*) in [this year]: 108 blocks of pure copper (or) 2,040 deben;^e 5(+x) blocks of lead; 1,200 'pigs'^f of lead; lapis lazuli, 110 deben; ivory, 1 tusk; 2 staves of — wood.

Impost of Kush

494. Impost of Kush the wretched: gold, 300 (+x) deben; 60 negroes;^g the son^h of the chief of Irem (*Yrm*)ⁱ — — ³⁶total, 64; oxen,

^aOnly the number is lacking.

^bThe three strokes may, of course, be the plural strokes.

^cW. M. Müller (*Asien und Europa*, 339) inserts a lacuna between the initial S of this word and the end; but a glance at the neighboring lines (Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XII; and Mariette, *Karnak*, 13), especially 56 (=32), will show that there is room for only the *sk*-sign in the lacuna. The place is unknown. See also Bissing, *Statistische Tafel*, I. 34.

^dSome construction of wood.

^f*Nws*; see Papyrus Harris, *passim*.

^eAbout 408 pounds.

^gPersons of some sort.

^hMaspero has daughter (*Struggle of the Nations*, 267; so also Petrie, *History of Egypt*, II, 118).

ⁱThree persons must have been mentioned in this lacuna; but Bissing, *Statistische Tafel*, has no lacuna.

[95; calves,] 180; total, 275; besides [vessels] laden with ivory, ebony and all products of this country; the harvest of Kush likewise.

Impost of Wawat

495. The [impost] of Wawat; gold, 254^a deben; 10 negro slaves, male and female; — oxen, and calves [besides vessels laden with] ³⁷every good thing of [this country].

XI. TENTH CAMPAIGN (YEAR 35)^b

496. It was now the second year since the invasion of Naharin, and the kings of that region had revolted. Thutmose marched thither from the Phœnician coast, defeated the rebels who had united under some prince who is called the "*foe of Naharin*." This may have been the king of Aleppo. The allies were defeated in a battle at Araina, possibly in the land of Tikhshi, as mentioned by Amenemhab (§ 587, l. 19), and Thutmose took great spoil. The tribute of the Syrian princes is not mentioned; it was doubtless paid as usual; the impost of Kush and Wawat are noted.

497. YEAR 35. Behold, his majesty was in the land of Zahi (*D²-hy*) on the tenth victorious expedition.

Revolt in Naharin

498. When his majesty arrived at the city of Araina (*ʔ-r ʔ-y ʔ-n*)^c, behold, that wretched foe [of Naharjin (*[N-h-r]y-n*)] had collected horses and people; [his] majesty — — — ³⁸of the ends^d of the earth. They were numerous — — they were about to fight with his majesty.

^aThe numeral may have contained more hundreds; as it is, it amounts to 61.91 pounds.

^bLepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XII, ll. 37-41; *Denkmäler*, III, 31, a, ll. 1-3 = Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1177-79, ll. 37-44, and l. 2 = Bissing, *Statistische Tafel*, ll. 37-44.

^cNot Aruna, as sometimes supposed; it is an unidentified city, but was perhaps situated in the land of Tikhshi, where Amenemhab (§ 587) mentions a battle.

^dLit., "*hinder parts*;" see Thutmose III's "Hymn of Victory" (§ 661, l. 20).

Battle in Naharin

499. Then his majesty advanced [to fight]^a with them; then the army of his majesty furnished an example of attack,^b in the matter^c of seizing and taking.^b Then his majesty prevailed against [these] barbarians by the souls of [his] f[ather] A[mon] ———— ³⁹of Naharin (*N-h-r-n*). They fled headlong, falling one over another, before his majesty.

Booty of the King

500. List of booty which his majesty himself brought away from these barbarians of Naharin (*N-h-ry-n*): ———— 2 [suits of] armor; bronze —^d deben —.

Booty of the Army

501. List of booty which the army of his majesty brought away from [these foreigner]s: 10 living prisoners; 180 horses; 60 chariots; ———— ⁴¹——— 13 inlaid corselets; 13 bronze [suits] of armor —; 5 bronze helmets for the head; 5 bows of Kharu (Palestine); captures made in other [countries] ———— ^{e42}———^f 226 —; a chariot, wrought with gold; 20(+x) chariots, wrought with gold and silver, ———— together with ———— ⁴³——— 21 (*mn*-) jars ————; sweet oil, 954(+x) (*mn*-) jars ———— ⁴⁴——— work of ————^g ^{h1}——— gold ———— ²[rings], bracelets, (*ybht y*-) stone, eye cosmetic — wild goats, fire wood.

Impost of Kush

502. Impost of the wretched Kush: gold, 70 deben, 1 kidet; slaves, male and female, — — — — oxen, calves, ———— [besides vessels

^aThis seems to have been omitted here. Cf. the Megiddo battle (I. 1, § 429).

^bPiehl suggests: "pendant une suspension du pillage" (*Sphinx*, II, 109).

^c*Ḥn* as in *ḥn-n-mdw't*.

^dNumeral lost.

^eThe block containing the tops of ll. 42-54 in Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XII, should be pushed to the left at least the width of three lines. This is evident from the text in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 31, a, and Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1178-84, with which we begin a new numbering of the above block.

^fAfter the transfer of above block as above noted, the tops of ll. 42-44 are of course wanting.

^gProbably several lines are wanting here.

^hNumbered according to Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 31, a.

laden] ³with ebony, ivory, all the good products of this country, together with the harvest of [Kush, likewise].^a

Impost of Wawat

503. [Impost of Wawat] ——— 34 negro slaves, male and female; 94 oxen, calves, and bulls; besides ships laden with every good thing; the harvest of Wawat, [likewise].

XII. ELEVENTH CAMPAIGN (YEAR 36)

504. Lost.

XIII. TWELFTH CAMPAIGN (YEAR 37)

505. Lost.

XIV. THIRTEENTH CAMPAIGN (YEAR 38)^b

506. The king directs his attention to the southern Lebanon region of Nuges again, where he is obliged to subjugate the local princes, who controlled the road northward between the two Lebanons at the seaward bend of the Litâny River. The regular Syrian tribute and the supplying of the harbors are mentioned, as usual; followed for the first time by the tribute of Cyprus and Arrapachitis, later known as an Assyrian province. The products of Punt are then followed by the usual impost of Kush and Wawat.

507. [YEAR 38. Behold, his majesty was in ———] ⁴on the thirteenth victorious expedition. Behold, his majesty was overthrowing ———^c [in] the district of Nuges (² *n-yw-g-s* ²).

Booty of Nuges District

508. List of booty which the army of his majesty brought away from the district of Nuges: 50 living captives; — horses; — 3 chariots; — — — with [their weapons] ⁵of war; — people who surrendered of the region of Nuges — — — —.

^aBrugsch's restoration (*Thesaurus*, 1179) to Wawat is an error, as the harvest of Wawat is mentioned in the next paragraph.

^bLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 31, a, ll. 3-10 = Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1178-81, ll. 2-9.

^cNearly one-quarter line lacking.

Syrian Tribute

509. Tribute which was brought to the fame of his majesty in this year: 328 horses; 522 slaves, male and female; 9 chariots, wrought with silver and gold; 61 painted (chariots); total, 70; a necklace of real lapis lazuli — — — — — a (two-handled ²-*k*²-*n*²-) — vase; 3 flat dishes; heads^a of goats, head of a lion, vessels of all the work of Zahi — — — — — copper, 2,821 [deben], 3½ kidet; of crude copper, 276 blocks; lead, 26 blocks; incense, 656 (*hbn t*)-jars; sweet oil and green oil, (*sf t*-) oil, 1,752 (*mn*-) jars; wine, 156 (jars);^b 12 oxen; — — — 46 asses; 5 heads of ⁷tooth ivory; tables of ivory (and) of carob wood; white (*mnw*-) stone, 68 deben — — — — bronze spears, shields, bows, — all weapons of war; sweet wood of this country, all the good product(s) of this country.

The Harbors Supplied

510. Behold, every harbor was supplied with every good thing according to their agreement of each year, in going [northward or]^c southward; the impost of Lebanon (*R*²-*mn-n*)^d ⁸likewise; the harvest of Zahi, consisting of clean grain, green oil, incense, [win]e.

Tribute of Cyprus

511. Tribute of the prince of Isy (*Ysy*): crude copper —; horses.^e

Tribute of Arrapachitis

512. Tribute of the country of Arrapachitis (²-*r*²-*r**h*)^f in this year: slaves, male and female; crude copper, 2 blocks; carob trees, 65 logs; and all sweet woods of his country.

Product of Punt

513. [Marvels] brought^g to the fame of his majesty from Punt: ⁹dried myrrh, 240 heket.

^aThe word *hnn* (written out phonetically at end of l. 6) means "head," not "face," as the graphic writing might indicate.

^bText has omitted the word.

^cRestored from l. 13, fourteenth expedition.

^dFrom which the harbors were supplied.

^eLit., "spans."

^fProbably ²-*r*²-*r*-*p*-*h* = Arrapachitis, is meant. See Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 279.

^gIn the year 33 the gifts of Punt are introduced by the words: "Marvels brought to his majesty, etc., (see § 486); hence restoration. There is no expedition this time, as the preposition is "from," not "in," as in § 486.

Impost of Kush

514. Impost of the wretched Kush: gold, 100 [+x]^a deben, 6 kidet; 36 negro slaves, male and female; 111 oxen, and calves; 185 bulls; total, 306 (sic!),^b besides vessels laden with ivory, ebony, all the good products of this country, together with the harvest of this country.

Impost of Wawat

515. Impost of Wawat: [gold], 2,844 [deben, — kidet]; 16 negro slaves, male and female; 1077 oxen and calves; besides [vessels] laden with every good product of this country.

XV. FOURTEENTH CAMPAIGN (YEAR 39)^c

516. This campaign was introduced by an excursion to punish the raiding Bedwin on the northeastern frontier of Egypt, also referred to by Amenemhab (§ 580), after which the king proceeded northward, to receive the usual Syrian tribute and ensure supplies for the harbors.

Defeat of Shasu

517. YEAR 39. Behold, his majesty was in the land of Retenu on the fourteenth victorious expedition, after [his] going [to defeat] the fallen ones of Shasu (Š²-sw).

Syrian Tribute

518. List of [the tribute of] — — — — 197 slaves, male and female; 11229 horses; 2 flat dishes of gold; together with rings (of gold), 12 deben, 1 kidet; — real lapis lazuli, 30 deben; a flat dish of silver; a (two-handled) vase (ʔ-k ʔ-n ʔ) of silver; a vessel with the head of an ox; 325 various vessels (of silver): together with silver in rings, making 1,495 deben, 1 kidet;^d a chariot ——— made [with] 12 white costly stone, white (mnw-) stone; natron, (mnw-) stone, all the various costly stones of [this] country; incense, sweet oil, green oil, (sf-t-) oil, honey 264^e [+x jars]; wine, 1,405 (mn-) jars; 84 bulls; 1,183 small cattle;^f

^aThere is room for several hundreds more.

^bThe total should be 296, the scribe has made an error of 10.

^cLepsius, *Denkmäler*, 31, a, ll. 10-14 = Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1181, 1182, ll. 9-13.

^d364.43 pounds.

^eThe hundreds may be increased indefinitely.

^fSo Lepsius; Brugsch, 1193.

bronze ———; ^a ¹³the pleasant — and the perfume of this country, together with all good products of this country.

The Harbors Supplied

519. Behold, every harbor was supplied with every good thing according to their agreement of each [year];^b in going northward [or sou]th[ward]^c — — likewise; the harvest of [Lebanon]^d ———^a [the harvest] ¹⁴of Zahi, consisting of clean grain, incense, oil, — w[ine] ———.^e

XVI. FIFTEENTH CAMPAIGN^f

520. The fragments of the wall at this place show only the tribute-list of Cyprus and the impost of Kush and Wawat.

¹[YEAR 40] ———.^g

Tribute of Cyprus

521. [Tribute of the chief] of Isy (Ysy): ivory, 2 tusks; copper, 40 bricks; lead, 1 brick.

^aNearly half a line is wanting.

^bThe scribe has omitted the word "year;" restored from l. 7, p. 210.

^cRestored from l. 7, thirteenth expedition.

^dLebanon and Zahi are regularly mentioned together in connection with the harbors.

^eAll the rest (about nine-tenths) of the line is wanting; it is the last line on the north wall, and the inscription here turns to the left, to follow the west wall (the back of Pylon VI) southward to the door. It doubtless concluded with the impost of Kush and Wawat, which could not have occupied more than the rest of this line.

^fThe Annals are now continued on the back of Pylon VI. The visitor on the spot will notice that only the lower third (or less) of these twenty vertical lines on the pylon (north of door) is preserved; hence the first date is lost, and unfortunately also all the others on this wall section. The text in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 30, a = Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1182-85. The fragment certainly contains data from three different expeditions; it must remain somewhat uncertain whether the first of the three is the conclusion of the fourteenth expedition in year 39 or part of a fifteenth in year 40. It seems probable that the long lacuna (nearly the whole l. 1, west wall) contains the conclusion of the fourteenth expedition, which must otherwise have occupied more space than either of the campaigns before or after it. Line 1 of the west wall, therefore, begins the fifteenth expedition. Müller (*Asien und Europa*, 54) sees difficulties in this arrangement, which are not apparent to me. See further notes on text.

^gContained the tribute of some unknown country, probably Retenu; the restored date is almost certain.

Impost of Kush

522. Tribute of ²———. ^a [Impost of the wretched Kush in this year: gold, 144 deben, 3 kidet; 101 negro slaves, male and female; oxen ³———. ^b

Impost of Wawat

523. [Impost of Wawat]: —— 35 calves; 54 bulls; total, 89; besides vessels laden ⁴[with ebony, ivory, and all the good products of this country^c] —— ^b

XVII. SIXTEENTH CAMPAIGN

524. The record contains only tribute-lists.

[YEAR 41. ^d Tribute of] —— 2^e rings.

Tribute of Retenu

525. List of the tribute of the chiefs of Retenu, brought to the fame of his majesty in ⁵[this year]^f —— 40[+x] blocks —— a sword of 'flint', bronze spears — ⁶———. ^b

[Tribute of — in] this [y^ea]r: ivory, 18^g tusks; carob wood, 242 logs; 184 large cattle; — small cattle ⁷——— ^b ^hincense likewise.

Tribute of the Hittites

Tribute of the chief of Kheta (*H-t*) the Great, in this year: gold — ⁸———.

^aContained the tribute of some unknown country followed by the impost of Kush, for "*tribute of*" at end of l. 1 cannot refer to Kush, for which *bk'w*, "*impost*," is always used. Kush is certain from the negroes in the list.

^bSee note f, p. 212.

^cAt least this is the usual continuation. Possibly, the tribute of some other country intervenes in the following lacuna.

^dAs the impost of Kush and Wawat usually concludes the year's list, it is evident that we should begin another year at this point, as usual, with Retenu; probably year 41.

^eSo Lepsius; Brugsch has "*second time*."

^fBrugsch's restoration, "*this land*," is not according to the parallels.

^gSo Lepsius; Brugsch, 26.

^hProbably the tribute of another country, also, is lost in the lacuna.

Impost of Kush

526. [Impost of Kush^a the wretched in this year; gold, $x+$] 94^b deben, 2 kidet; 8 negro slaves, male and female; 13 male (negroes), brought for following;^c total, 21; oxen, 9———. ^d

Impost of Wawat

527. [Impost of Wawat]:^e gold, 3,144^f deben, 3 kidet; 35 oxen and calves; 79 bulls; total, 114; besides vessels laden with ivory 10———. ^d

XVIII. SEVENTEENTH CAMPAIGN^g

528. The last campaign, which happened not later than the year 42, shows the old king, now probably over seventy years of age, suppressing a revolt of Tunip and Kadesh, who are supported by auxiliaries from Naharin. He marched from the northern coast of Syria, after capturing the coast city of Erkatu,^h directly against Tunip. Having subjugated it, he then marched up the Orontes against his old enemy, Kadesh, whose prince led the allied forces, which Thutmose III had routed at Megiddo on the first campaign, nearly twenty years before. There was a stubborn defense, but, according to the narrative of Amenemhab, the walls of the city were breached, and it was taken by storm (§ 590). From it and surrounding towns great plunder was secured, among which were the Naharin auxiliaries and their horses.

^aRestored from the character of the tribute.

^bLepsius, 83. Brugsch, 86; the photograph indicates 94 as probable.

^cAs *pedessequii*.

^eRestored after § 539.

^dSee note f, p. 212.

^f766.35 pounds.

^gLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 30, a, ll. 10-20 = Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1183-85, ll. 10-20.

^hErkatu (*ḥ-r-k 2-ḥw*) must have been on the coast somewhere between the mouth of the Orontes and the Nahr el-Kebir. As it is the same as Irkata of the *Amarna Letters* (see § 529, note), it was not far from Simyra. Thutmose may have landed at Simyra, as he had evidently often done before, and hence he marched upon the "coast road" against Erkatu.

Long tribute-lists, the harbor supplies, and the impost of Kush and Wawat conclude the Annals.

Overthrow of Erkatu

529. [YEAR 42.]^a ——— the Fenkhu ([F]n^k·w). Behold,^b his majesty was upon the coast road, in order to overthrow the city of Erkatu^c (° r-k°-tw) and the cities of ^{11d}———— Kana (K°-n°) ———; this city was overthrown, together with its districts.

Overthrow of Tunip

530. (His majesty) arrived at Tunip (Tw-n^p°), overthrew that city, harvested its grain, and cut down its groves ¹²———— the citizens of the army.

Overthrow of Cities of Kadesh District

531. Behold, (he) came in safety, arrived at the district of Kadesh (Kd-šw),^f captured the cities^g therein.

Booty of Kadesh District

532. List of the booty brought from there — ¹³————^d of the wretched Naharin (N-h-ry-n°) who were as auxiliaries among them,

^aHere a new year should begin for the same reason as in l. 4; see note. That its number should be 42 is clear from the date in the last line of this section; see note, § 540.

^bRead *yst* instead of "Amon," incorrectly restored by Harmhab.

^cThis important name is given by Lepsius as ° r-k°-n-tw, inserting an *n* before *tw*; in this he is followed by Brugsch, who evidently published (*Thesaurus*, V, 1183) an old copy of his made from Lepsius; for the original (in the photograph) shows no trace of *n* and no room for it. The signs are perfectly preserved, and the feet of the eagle in k° practically touch the head of the *w*-bird in *tw*, leaving absolutely no room for *n* in the vertical column between k° and *tw*. Neither is there any trace on the back of the eagle of *n* (horizontal). This makes the identity of our word, with Irkata of the *Amarna Letters* a certainty. See also Eduard Meyer, *Festschrift für Georg Ebers*, 69, n. 2; and compare above § 528, note.

^dSee note f, p. 212.

^eTo strike Tunip on turning inland, Erkatu must have been well to the north of Arvad, unless, of course, Thutmose's northward march is lost in the lacuna.

^fHe is therefore marching up the Orontes.

^gIncluding, of course, Kadesh itself.

together with their horses; 691 people;^a 29 hands;^b 44 horses;^c
 14—————^d

Tribute of Unknown Country

533. [List of the tribute of —] in this year: 295 slaves, male and female;^e 68 horses; 3 golden flat dishes;^f 3 silver flat dishes;^f (two-handled 𓆎-𓆎-𓆎) vases, 3;^f 'sparkling' stones,^g together with silver
 15—————^d

Tribute of Tunip?

534. [List of the tribute (or booty) of 'Tunip^h]: ———— lead, 47 bricks; lead, 1,100 deben; colors, 'emery', all beautiful costly stones of this country; bronze 'suits' of armor; weapons of war 16—————ⁱ [all the] pleasant [things] of this country.

The Harbors Supplied

535. Behold, every harbor was supplied with every good thing according to their agreement of each year; the harvest of this country 17[likewise] ————^d

Tribute of Unknown Country

536. [The tribute of —] ———— together with flat dishes, heads of bulls,^j making 341 deben, 2 kidet; genuine lapis lazuli, 1 block, making 33^k kidet, a fine (𓆎-*gw*-) wood staff, native copper 18—————.

^aSo Lepsius; Brugsch, 690; photograph, 691.

^bOf the slain, as usual.

^cSo Lepsius; Brugsch, 48; photo shows room for a much larger number.

^dSee note f, p. 212.

^eSo Lepsius; Brugsch, 195.

^fIt is possible that these are simply plurals without numerals.

^gSame word (*wḏk*) in § 473, l. 15, *q. v.* and note.

^hAbove (l. 12) some captives were taken from Tunip, but the spoil of Tunip is perhaps not yet enumerated. Among the following list the rare emery occurs, which is found in the spoil taken from the Tunip auxiliaries in the unknown city of "*Wa*—————" (year 29, § 461); hence this list may here belong to Tunip.

ⁱPossibly another nation has been introduced in the lacuna; see note f, p. 212.

^jMeaning that the bulls' heads were a decoration upon the vessels, as depicted in the reliefs.

^kLepsius, 41; Brugsch, 33; he is sustained by the photograph.

Tribute of Tinay

537. [The tribute of the chief] of Tinay (*Ty-n²-y*):^a a silver (*š²-w²-b-ty*)^b vessel of the work of Keftiyew (*Kf-tyw*), together with vessels of iron,^c 4 hands of silver, making 56 deben, 1 kidet; ———.

Impost of Kush

538. [The impost of the wretched Kush in this year]: ———
[besides vessels laden] with every good thing of this country; the harvest of the wretched Kush, likewise.

Impost of Wawat

539. The impost of Wawat^d in this year: gold, 2,374 deben,^e 1 kidet,
²⁰—————^f [the harvest of Wa]wat.

XIX. CONCLUSION

540. Behold, his majesty commanded to record the victories which he won from the year 23^g until the year 42, when this inscription was recorded upon this sanctuary;^h that he might be given life forever.

^aSo Lepsius; Brugsch, *Ty-n-my*.

^bSee Bissing, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 34, 166, who identifies this vessel with the *suibdu* (of stone) mentioned in an Amarna letter (Winckler, *Amarna Letters*, 393, l. 61).

^c*By* 2.

^eOver 578 pounds.

^dOne *wa* has been omitted in Lepsius' text.

^fSee note f, p. 212.

^gOf course, 22 or 23 is to be read, the reading is based on: (1) our knowledge of the date when the campaigns began; (2) the fact that 22 is clear and there is only room in the possible lacuna for one unit more; (3) the fact that the list of offerings from the Asiatic wars (§§ 541 ff.) also begins in the year 23. This date, as well as the terminal date "year 42" (for which both Lepsius and Brugsch give 32), has been the subject of much discussion. The following remarks of Mariette in a letter to de Rougé which have been mostly overlooked, should settle the question (*Revue archéologique*, 1860², N. S., I, 32):

"La première de ces deux dates, à la vérité, est un peu détruite; mais la planche de M. Lepsius rapporte fidèlement l'arrangement des chiffres, et vous voyez qu'il n'y a place là que pour l'an 22, ou l'an 23; Quant à la date donnée pour la dernière de ces campagnes, elle est celle de la quarante-deuxième année du règne de Thouthmès. Comme cela arrive fréquemment pour les textes gravés en relief très-mince sur le grès, l'un des chiffres *dix* a presque disparu par une sorte de dissolution spontanée de la pierre et il est évident que si M. Lepsius a fait sa publication sur un estampage, il a dû lire 32. Mais le chiffre qui tend à s'effacer est encore parfaitement clair, et c'est sans contredit l'an 42 qu'il faut voir."

These statements are confirmed by the photograph, although the space for the fourth ten (in 42) is absolutely smooth.

^h*Sh-ntr*, with masculine demonstrative.

FEASTS AND OFFERINGS FROM THE CONQUESTS^a

541. In this inscription Thutmose III records the new feasts and additional offerings which he established during the period of his splendid conquests in Asia. The record, therefore, begins with his return from the first campaign in the year 23, and continues till the year 42, when his campaigning ceased.^b In order to connect the record with the occurrence of the first campaign, it goes back to the march to Lebanon after the fall of Megiddo, refers to a fortress which he built there, and proceeds then to his return and landing at Thebes. All this leads up to the establishment of three great "Feasts of Victory," for which it furnishes the motive. After fixing the calendar of these three feasts, with the lists of oblations to be offered at their celebration, the king proceeds to the gifts which he made to Amon at the feast of his voyage to southern Opet, which are exceedingly rich and numerous, including the three cities just captured in the Lebanon, fields and gardens, slaves, precious metals and stones, and the doubling of some of the old offerings (ll. 5-14). It would seem as if this feast was the first celebrated by the king after his return from the first campaign, for it is among its gifts that the acquisitions of that campaign appear.

^aWall inscription in the Karnak temple on the back of the south half of Pylon VI (Baedeker, plan opp. p. 239). It therefore by its position (as well as by its content) shows that it is really a continuation of the Annals, which are concluded at the door on the back of the north half of the same pylon. It is in vertical lines, and as a considerable amount of the pylon is lost at the top clear across, the tops of all the lines are lacking. Published by Lepsius, (*Denkmäler*, III, 30, *b*) and Brugsch (*Recueil des monuments*, I, 43, 44; last five lines omitted). Lepsius offers a more accurate text, but not so full in indistinct places. I collated the Berlin squeeze for the important historical portion (ll. 1-6) and a photograph by Borchardt for the whole.

^bThe date of the beginning is clearly shown in several places; that of the end by the list of Asiatic and Nubian slaves, which continues "*till the recording of this tablet*," which is stated at the end of the Annals (§ 540) to be "*year 42*."

542. The other offerings due to Amon, now richly increased, are then successively enumerated (ll. 14-25), and the long inscription closes with the king's exhortation to the priests, like that to the priests of Abydos (§§ 97 ff.) to be true to their duties and to offer the mortuary oblations due him, a list of which follows.

543. A splendid array of these gifts is depicted in a wall relief^a in the corridor of the Annals. Chief among them are the two Karnak obelisks, one of which is now at Constantinople (§§ 629 ff.),^b and two pairs of flagstaves for the temple façade, of course of cedar, tipped with electrum. But the relief shows the widest range of temple furniture: chests, a varied array of exquisite vessels; altars, and temple doors; besides ornaments for the divine statue, chiefly elaborate necklaces; the whole series being of gold, silver, bronze, and costly stones, especially lapis lazuli. The vessels bear the general inscription:

Very numerous; from the yearly dues (*htr*).

544. The purpose of the gifts is indicated by such accompanying inscriptions as the following:

Over a jar:

(Of) alabaster; filled with pure ointment of the divine things.

By rich necklaces:

Ornaments of the "Appearance Festival;"^c amulets upon the divine limbs.

^aOn the south wall of the passage south of the sanctuary; published by Champollion, *Monuments*, IV, 316, 317; partially by Rosellini, *Monumenti*, Text, III, 1, plate opp. p. 125; and Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, 57; partially by Burton, *Excerpta hieroglyphica*, 29; and Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1185 ff.; and see Birch, *Archæologia*, XXXV, 155.

^bIn the relief, this obelisk bears the complete dedication, of which only the first half is preserved on the original in Constantinople. See Breasted, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 39, 55 ff., and *infra*, § 630, where the entire dedication will be found.

^cWhen the god appears in procession.

545. The source of the gifts also appears thus:

Over armlet, necklace, etc.:

(Of) gold, and much costly stone; ornaments of his majesty.

Over a vase:

(Of) costly stone, which his majesty made according to the design of his own heart.^a

546. Before these gifts, on the right, Amon sits enthroned, receiving them from Thutmose III on the left, before whom are the words:

Presentation of monuments by the king — — —, that he may be given life like Re, forever.^b

547. It is clear from this and the following document that the beginning of Thutmose III's conquests in Asia marks a sudden and profound change in the cultus of Amon, occasioned by the enormous and entirely disproportionate wealth which from now on is poured into his treasury. We see here the beginning of that power and wealth to which the most remarkable witness is the Papyrus Harris (IV, 182-412).

Fortress in Lebanon

548. "———— in the land of Retenu (*Rtnw*) as a fortress which his^c majesty built in his victories^d among the chiefs of Lebanon (*R-mn-n*), the name of which is: "Menkheperre (Thutmose III)-is-the-Binder-of-the-Barbarians."

^aThe making of these vessels is depicted in the tomb of Menkheperreseneb, accompanied by the same remark (§ 775), showing that they were really designed by Thutmose III himself, and that the fact was thought worthy of remark there as well as here. He says the same thing in § 164, l. 43.

^bThere are other such short inscriptions of a single word or more, but they are as yet inadequately published. One is of especial interest. Over an offering-table made of four *htp*-signs, precisely like the great alabaster altar recently found at Abusir, are the words: "(Of) 'shining' alabaster of *Hatnub*."

^cThe text has "*my*."

^dThese victories in the Lebanon must have been won on first the expedition after the Megiddo victory, for they are here referred to as preceding the king's return to Egypt from that expedition (l. 2). The three cities which he captured in the Lebanon are enumerated in the First Campaign, l. 16 (§ 436). Of the historians only Brugsch (*Geschichte*, 328) and Meyer (240) have noted this march to Lebanon.

Arrival in Thebes

549. Behold, he landed at Thebes,^a his father, Amon, being
 2———. My majesty established for him a "Feast of Victory"^b for the
 first time, when my majesty arrived from the first victorious expedition,^c
 overthrowing wretched Retenu (*Rṯnw*) and widening the borders of
 Egypt in the year 23,^d by the victories which he^e decreed to me, lead-
 ing — 3———.

First Feast of Victory

550. [The first "Feast of Victory" was celebrated at (the feast)
 ———^f] the first feast of Amon, in order to make it of five days' dura-
 tion.^g

Second Feast of Victory

551. The second "Feast of Victory" was celebrated at (the feast):
 "Day-of-Bringing-in-the-God,"^h the second feast of Amon, in order to
 make it of five days' duration.

Third Feast of Victory

552. The third "Feast of Victory" was celebrated at the fifth feast
 of Amon in (the temple): "Gift-of-Life,"ⁱ the day of j — 4———
 [in order to make it of 'five days'^l duration].

^aSqueeze and photograph.

^bAs the next line shows, there were three "*Feasts of Victory*," but the first is here referred to as celebrated on his arrival. On these feasts, see Breasted, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 37, 123 ff.

^c§§ 408 ff.

^dBrugsch has "22," which is, of course, an error.

^eAmon.

^fThe restoration is certain from the other feasts; only the name of the Feast of Amon, with which the first feast of victory coincided, being unknown.

^gLit., "in order to cause that it take place during (m) 5 days."

^hThis is the feast mentioned by Piankhi (IV, 836, l. 26), who gives the date as the second of Hathor, which thus determines the date of the second Feast of Victory.

ⁱThis is the name (*hnk-t-nḥ*) of the mortuary temple (Memnonium) of Thutmose III on the west shore at Thebes (cf. *Recueil*, XIX, 86-89). It stood at the northeast end of the line of temples (see Baedeker, "Necropolis of Thebes," opp. p. 254); as the earliest known reference to this building, it is particularly interesting, because it shows that already in his twenty-third year, Thutmose III's mortuary temple was complete and in use (see also Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 139).

^jThe name of the Amon Feast here followed, the order being different from that in the first two feasts.

Offerings for the Feasts of Victory

553. [My^a majesty established] a great oblation for the "Feast of Victory," which my majesty made for the first time, consisting of bread, beer, bull-calves, bulls, fowl, antelopes, gazelles, ibexes, incense, wine, fruit, white bread, offerings of everything good ⁵———.

Amon's Voyage to Luxor

554. [Year 23, second^b month] of the first season, (day) 14, when the majesty of this august god proceeded, to make his voyage^c in his southern Opet (Luxor); my majesty established for him a great oblation for this day at the entrance into Luxor, consisting of bread, bull-calves, bulls, fowl, incense, wine, ⁶———^d from the first of the victories which he (Amon) gave me, in order to fill his storehouse, [—] peasant-serfs, in order to make for him royal linen (šs), white (pk'-t-) linen, (šhr'-w-) linen, (wm'-t-) linen; — peasants performed the work of the fields, in order to make the harvest, to fill the storehouse of my father [Amon] ⁷——— to the goodly way.

Gifts of Slaves

555. Statement of the Asiatics, male and female, the negroes and negresses, which my majesty gave to my father Amon, from the year 23 until the recording of this tablet upon this sanctuary:^e 1,578 Syrians (H'-rw) ⁸———.

^aHaving enumerated the three feasts, with their dates, he now proceeds to the celebration and the oblations to be offered.

^bThe numeral is partially broken out; but it can be clearly proven to be two. See Breasted, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 37, 125 f. This date is very important, as it shows at what time Thutmose III was already in Thebes on his return from the first campaign, the length of which is thus determined. See the calendar of the campaign in § 409.

^cThis is the beautiful ceremony of the god's voyage in his sacred barge, called at Thebes "Userhetamon" (for a description of the barge made for this purpose by Ramses III, see IV, 209). It was probably on the above occasion that the officer Amenemhab officiated (see his inscription, § 809, ll. 33, 34). It was on the day of the return to Karnak from this voyage, called the "Day-of-Bringing-in-the-God," that the Second "Feast of Victory" began. It therefore continued for five days after the return, during which the Second Amon Feast also continued (see *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 37, 126).

^dThe "[spoil] from the first, etc.," was probably mentioned as part of the oblation.

^eThe concluding words of the annals are: "from the year XXI[II] until the year [X]XXXII, when this tablet was recorded upon this sanctuary;" hence the year 42 was probably also the year when the feast inscription was recorded.

Gifts of Cattle

556. ——— of the south and north: 3 loan-cows of the cattle of Zahi; 1 loan-cow of the cattle of Kush; total, 4 loan-cows; in order to draw the milk thereof into jars of electrum each day, and to cause (it) to be offered [to] my father ^a[Amon].

Gift of Three Cities

557. My majesty gave to him^a three cities in Retenu the Upper: Nuges (²*n-yw-g-s*²) was the name of one, Yenoam (*Y-nw-^c²-mw*) was the name of another, Herenkeru (*Hw-r-n-k²-rw*) was the name of another. The dues consisting of the ^bimpost of the fiscal year,^b the divine offerings, [of] my father Amon —.

Gifts of Precious Metals and Stones

558. ¹⁰——— all [‘things’] of silver, gold, lapis lazuli, malachite. My majesty presented to him gold, silver, lapis lazuli, malachite, copper, bronze, lead, colors, ‘emery,’¹ in great quantity, in order to make every monument of my father, Amon. — ¹¹———.

Gifts of Poultry

559. My majesty formed for him flocks of geese to fill the (sacred) pool, for the offerings of every day. Behold, my majesty gave to him ²^c fattened geese each day, as fixed dues forever, for my father, Amon. — ¹²——— [‘the former offering to Amon consisted’] of various loaves, 1,000.

Ancient Offerings Increased

560. My majesty commanded to multiply this offering of 1,000 various loaves after the arrival of my majesty from smiting Retenu on the first victorious expedition, in order to gain favor^d in the great house (called): “Menkheperre^e (Thutmose III)-is-Glorious-in-Monuments.” ¹³——— various —; 632 — from the daily income of every day, as an increase of that which was formerly.

^aAmon.

^bLit., “the work (impost) of the affairs of the year.”

^cBrugsch, 3; photograph, 2.

^dOf the god.

^eThis is the name of Thutmose III’s Karnak halls; see § 599, note, and IV, 754, note.

Gifts of Lands

561. I took for him numerous fields, gardens, and plowed lands, of the choicest of the South and North,^a to make fields, in order to offer him clean grain^b — 14——.

Further Offerings

562. ——— yearly; consisting of loaves, bull-calves, bulls, fowl, incense, wine, fruit, every good thing of the dues of each year. My majesty established divine offerings, in order to gain the favor of (my) father, Harakhte, when he rises ¹⁵—— my majesty [established for] him a divine offering of barley, in order to perform the ceremonies therewith, at the feast of the new moon, at the feast of the sixth day (of the month); and as a daily (income) of each day, according to that which was done in Heliopolis. Behold, my majesty found it very good to plow the barley in — — ¹⁶——.

Offerings for Obelisks

563. ——— divine offerings for four great obelisks^c which my majesty made for the first time, for my father [Amon], consisting of various loaves, and 4 (ds-) jars of beer, which were for each one of these obelisks; 25 (loaves) of bread, 1 (ds-) jar of beer.

Offerings for Statues

564. My majesty added divine offerings for the statues^d of ¹⁷—— the opening^e of this portal.

Evening Offering

565. My majesty founded for him an evening offering of bread, beer, fowl, incense, wine, loaves, white loaves, offerings of every good thing each day. My majesty added for him increase of things in ¹⁸——.

^aSinuhe's land in Palestine is described in the same words (I, 496, l. 80).

^bThe gifts connected with the Southern Opet festival continue to this point. The gifts of slaves (ll. 7, 8) are brought down to the end of the campaigns (year 42), but he goes back again after that to the return from the first campaign, mentioning the three cities in Lebanon captured on that campaign (l. 9) and mentioning the return (l. 12).

^cSee §§ 623 ff.; also Legrain, *Annales*, V, which arrived too late for use here.

^dIn l. 27 it is written phonetically. These are the statues of the older Pharaohs, preserved in the temple (see § 604).

^e*Tph·t?*

Feast of Peret-Min

566. My majesty founded an offering for the feast of the "Going-Forth-of-Min" consisting of oxen, fowl, incense, wine, loaves, everything good; 120 "heaps^a of offerings supplied with everything;" for the sake of the life, prosperity, and health of my majesty. I commanded the addition of 6 great jars (*hbn' t*) of wine ¹⁹———— [each] year as an increase of that which was formerly.

A New Garden

567. My majesty made for him a garden for the first time, planted with every pleasant tree, in order to offer vegetables therefrom for divine offerings of every day, which my majesty founded anew as increase of that which was formerly ²⁰———— with maidens^b of the whole land.

Wise Administration

568. Behold, my majesty made every monument, every law, (and) every regulation which I made, for my father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, presider over Karnak, because I so well knew his fame. I was wise in his excellence, resting in the midst of the body;^c while I knew ²¹———— that which he commanded to do, of the things which he desired should be, of all things which his ka desired that I do them for him, according as he commanded. My heart led me, my hand performed (it) for my father, who fashioned me, performing every excellent thing for my father ²²[Amon] ————. My majesty found all excellent things, while enlarging monuments, as a record for the future; by enactments,^d by purifying; by regulations, by supplying with offerings this house of my father, Amon, lord of Thebes, presider over Karnak; [when] passing by ²³———— his desire every day.

Feasts of the Seasons

569. Behold, my majesty supplied with offerings the feasts of the beginning of the seasons yearly, and of the appearance (of the god)

^aThese are the heaps so often seen in the reliefs. See I, 785 and note h.

^bLit., "beauties" (*n/r' wt*).

^cMeaning where the most secret affairs of the god were, as it is frequently said of the king, "he knows the bodies," or that which is in the bodies of men, that is, their thoughts.

^dOr possibly: "by recording for the future in documents."

therein in the midst of the house of my father, Amon, presider over Karnak, after^a my majesty found that offerings were made there, consisting of libation, incense, ²⁴———— the dues of each year.

Truth of the Record

570. I have not uttered exaggeration, in order to boast of that which I did, saying: "I have done something," although my majesty had not done it. I have not done (anything) to people, against which contradiction might be uttered. I have done this for my father ²⁵[Amon] ——— saying something which was not done; because he^b knoweth heaven, and knoweth earth, he seeth the whole earth hourly. I swear^c as Re loves me, as my father [Amon] praises me, as my nostrils are filled with satisfying life, I have done this — ²⁶————.

Instructions to Priests

571. ———^d Be ye vigilant concerning your duty, be ye not careless concerning any of your rules; be ye pure, be ye clean concerning divine things, 'take heed' concerning matters of transgression, guard your heart lest your speech '—', every man 'looking to his own steps therein'. ²⁷———— to my statues, for the 'well-being' of the monuments which I have made. Bring ye up for me that which came forth^e before, for I made festive his house; put on the garments of my statues, consisting of (§5-) linen, for I filled the mortuary oblations of (*ph t-*) linen — ²⁸———— offer ye to me of all fruit, for I consecrated a garden anew; give ye me — shoulders of beef, for I endowed the beginning of the seasons with bulls; fill ye for me the altar with milk, let incense be ²⁹———— tables of silver and gold —; give ye to my statues according as I supplied those who were before me;^f bring forth my statues on the day when your hands row,^g giving praise 'to' my father.

^aIn addition to that which he found already being offered.

^bThis must be Amon, who, says the king, sees and knows everything and would detect a lie.

^cCompare the oath on Hatshepsut's obelisk (§ 318).

^dCompare similar instructions to the priests of Abydos (§§ 97 ff.). The lists which follow are the mortuary offerings for the king, to which he exhorts the priests.

^eThe offerings.

^fThe statues of the earlier kings, set up in the temple.

^gIn the periodic voyage of the god upon the Nile or sacred lake.

He will count it for the 'well-being' of that which I have made in —^a
 30———— anew daily as an increase of that which was before: 3,305^b
 various loaves of the divine offering; 132 (*ds-*) jars of beer; of grain,
 two white loaves; 2 *nd*^c of (*h-*) herb; 2 *nd*^c of dates; — fattened
 (*ht-c-*) fowl 31———— many^d (*ht-c-*) fowl; 5 vesselfuls of incense;
 2 (*mn-*) jars of wine; 4 (*pg-*) vessels of honey; 2 (*mn-*) jars of '—'; 1
 (*h-*) jar of beer; 2 white loaves of *dk*, 15 white loaves in oblations;
 — roasts of fresh fat; 32———— 2 —; 6 ibexes; 9 gazelles; 125
 fattened (*ht-c-*) fowl; 1,100 'mated' (*ht-c-*) fowl; 258 flocks of (*šd-*)
 birds; 5,237 flocks of 'mated' birds; 1,440 (jars) of wine; incense.

Offerings for Four Obelisks

572. (For the) four obelisks: incense, 318 white loaves; — incense
 33———— 104 heket of [in]cense, making 334 *pd't* of incense; 21
 (*mn-*) jars of green incense; 5 heket of myrrh; 236 bull-cakes; 258
 dressed-geese cakes; 24 obelisk-cakes;^e 562 white-loaf cakes; 34————.

573. Restoration^f which the King of Upper and Lower Egypt,
 Zeserkheperure, Setepnere (Harmhab) made, for his father, Amon-Re,
 lord of Thebes, that he might be granted life through him like Re, forever.

BIOGRAPHY OF AMENEMHAB^g

574. This inscription is an account of the services and
 adventures of an officer named Amenemhab on the Asiatic

^aBrugsch's text stops here.

^bThese lists contain many uncertain things which require special investigation;
 the following version is merely given for the sake of completeness.

^cApparently an unknown measure of bulk (see also § 159, l. 37).

^dThere is a "two" after "fowl" which is not clear, possibly "pairs."

^eThese are cakes in the shape of the top of an obelisk; in the Berlin Kahun
 papyri occur pyramidion (*bnnb*) loaves of white bread. The other two varieties
 were doubtless also made in the shape indicated by the name.

^fThis refers to the re-insertion of Amon's name throughout the inscription by
 Harmhab, after its erasure by Amenhotep IV.

^gEngraved upon the walls of his tomb in the necropolis of Thebes, which was
 noted by Champollion (*Notices descriptives*, I, 505, Tomb 12; hence not "dis-
 covered" by Ebers, as he stated (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen
 Gesellschaft*, 30, p. 391). Ebers, however, did discover and publish the text:
 first in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1873, 3-9 (corrections by Ebers and

campaigns of Thutmose III (ll. 3-32), and his subsequent favor and service under Amenhotep II (§§ 807 ff., ll. 32-46). It forms a very important supplement to the Annals of Thutmose III, but unfortunately does not insert the dates of the campaigns nor follow a chronological order.

The old soldier seems to have narrated to some scribe, who recorded them, the more important incidents and adventures of his career as they occurred to him, without attempt at order, beyond the involuntary association of events that belong to the same campaign. This narrative he had engraved beside his own figure on the wall of his tomb, as he is represented standing in the presence of Amenhotep II, to whom this recital of his life is evidently directed.

575. Beginning with a battle in the Negeb (year 39), he proceeds to three battles in Naharin, and the capture of Senzar (year 33), followed by the capture of Kadesh (year 30). The name of the next country (———*h*²) is mutilated, and this is followed by a battle in Tikhsi (probably year 35), and the elephant hunt at Niy (year 33); while the whole series concludes, as it should, with the siege of Kadesh on the last campaign of Thutmose III in the year 42. Arranged in chronological order, Amenemhab records the following campaigns:

SIXTH CAMPAIGN, YEAR 30—

Capture of Kadesh (§ 585).

Stern, *ibid.*, 63, 64); again by Chabas, *Mélanges égyptologiques*, III, Pls. XVI-XVII (from *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, corrections by Stern, *ibid.*, 1875, 174). Again by Ebers more accurately in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 30, 391-416 and 3 plates; *ibid.*, 31, 439 ff.; very incorrectly also by Virey, "Sept tombeaux Thebains de la XVIII^e dynastie," in *Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, V, 238-40; corrections by Sjöberg, *Sphinx*, I, 18-20. See also Piehl, *Inscriptions*, I, CIX, F-CXIII, G, and Pls. CXXV, O-CXXVII, P and pp. 87-92. I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Newberry for a careful scale copy of the inscription, which adds some new readings.

EIGHTH CAMPAIGN, YEAR 33—

Capture of Senzar; three battles in Naharin (§§ 581-84, and 588), and elephant hunt at Niy (§ 588).

TENTH CAMPAIGN, YEAR 35—

Battle in Tikhsi (§ 587).

FOURTEENTH CAMPAIGN, YEAR 39—

Battle in the Negeb (§ 580).

SEVENTEENTH CAMPAIGN, YEAR 42—

Siege of Kadesh (§ 589).

Following the campaigning is a feast at Thebes, possibly that of the fourteenth of Pakhons, on Thutmose III's return from his first campaign (§ 550). The death of the old king is then narrated with the date, from which we may compute the exact length of his reign—fifty-three years, ten months, and twenty-six days.

576. This biography affords us fleeting glimpses of the arduous tasks which beset the remarkable campaigns of Thutmose III, of which the Annals offer us little or nothing. The first campaign in Naharin (year 33) brought three successive battles in which Amenemhab distinguished himself; of these the Annals mention only one, without referring to the place where it occurred.

577. These adventures of Amenemhab are, of course, typical of a host of others, which fell to the lot of the Egyptian soldier in Syria. Some of them found place in folk-tales, and one has survived in the story of the capture of Joppa by Thutiy, one of Thutmose III's generals,^a whose

^aPart of the reverse (the first three pages) of the British Museum papyrus, known as Harris 500. Text first published by Maspero, *Études égyptologiques*, I, Pls. I-III, with transliteration and notes, pp. 53-66; it had already been translated by Goodwin, *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, III, 340-48; then by Maspero, *ibid.*, I, 53-66; paraphrase based on Maspero by Petrie, *Egyptian Tales*, II. 1-7.

reality is vouched for by his tomb and other contemporaneous monuments of his.^a The manuscript of the story is about 200 years later.

578. Besides his biography, Amenemhab's tomb contained a series of scenes showing him in the exercise of certain of his functions as a deputy of the army, especially introducing the officers of the commissariat to the king to report (?) on the maintenance of the army.^b His tomb also contains other references to his career, like those inserted among his titles:

Attendant of his lord on his expeditions in the countries of the south and north, not separated from the Lord of the Two Lands on the battlefield in the hour of repelling millions of men.^c

He was evidently a favorite of Thutmose III, and may have owed his favor to his wife, who was the royal nurse, possibly of Thutmose III himself.

Introduction

579. The officer, Amenemhab; he says:

"I was the very faithful one of the sovereign, L. P. H., the wise-hearted of the King of Upper Egypt, the excellent-hearted of the King of Lower Egypt. I followed ²my lord on his expeditions in the northern and the southern country. He desired that I should be the companion of his feet, while he was ³upon the battlefield^d of his victories, while his valor fortified the heart."

^aA list of them in Maspero, *Études égyptologiques*, I, 68 f. See also Devéria, *Bibliothèque égyptologique*, IV, 35 ff. The tomb is now unknown, but must have been known to the natives early in the last century, when it was plundered.

^bThis scene is repeated in the tomb of Pehsukher, whose office was similar to that of Amenemhab (*Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, V, 289).

^c*Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, V, 245.

^dRestored from text in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1876, 100, l. 2. Piehl has preceded me in this restoration, *ibid.*, 1885, 61, where the particle *ty*, "while," introducing a nominal clause, was not yet understood (it has nothing to do with *mn*, "remain").

Battle in Negeb

580. "I fought hand to hand in the land of ⁴Negeb (*N-g-b*).^a I brought off three men, Asiatics, as living prisoners."

Battle in Naharin

581. "When his majesty came to Naharin (*N-h-r-n*)^b I brought off three men from the fight there; I set them before thy majesty as living prisoners."

Battle in Wan

582. ⁶"Again I fought hand to hand (on) that expedition in the land of 'The-Height-of-Wan' (*W-c-n*)^c on the west of Aleppo (*H²-r²-bw*). I brought off ⁷13 Asiatics as living prisoners, 13 men; 70 living asses; 13 bronze 'spears';^d the bronze was wrought with gold — 8—."

Battle of Carchemish

583. "Again I fought (on) that expedition in the land of Carchemish (*K²-ry-k²-my-c-š*).^e I brought off — 9— as living prisoners. I

^aThis is clearly the Hebrew Negeb = "south country;" the fourteenth campaign of the Annals was against the Bedwin (Shasu) of this region.

^bThe following three battles all took place on a campaign in Naharin, probably that of year 33 (§§ 476-87), as he later mentions another in Naharin, which would correspond with that of year 35.

^cIdentified by Müller (*Asien und Europa*, 259 f.), with the heights (Mons Casius) on the south shore of the seaward stretch of the Orontes by Antioch. But *šs't* ("height") does not mean "Ufer," and Mons Casius could have been much more easily identified by the scribe by mentioning the Orontes, rather than the distant Aleppo. Evidently some height not far from Aleppo is meant, for which Gebel Sim'an (2,700 feet high) answers admirably. It is but slightly north of west of Aleppo, but the Egyptian did not carry a compass, and any traveler of today would speak of it as west of Aleppo, and refer to his table of bearings for the exact direction. But there is a ruin by Dâna directly west of Aleppo, on a height of nearly 1,100 feet, which will do equally well.

^dThe rendering of Brugsch (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1873, 144): "13 Wurfspiesse von Eisen und mit Gold ausgelegt," is entirely unjustifiable. The material (*šsmn*) precedes as usual; then follows the object made of it, viz., *ynb*, which is some article of which each of the thirteen captured men carried one. Bronze helmets are mentioned in Annals (year 35, l. 41), and perhaps it is not an accident that "13 inlaid corselets and 13 bronze suits of armor" are also mentioned in the Naharin campaign of year 35, l. 41 (§ 501).

^eThis was on the northern march described in the Annals (§ 479, l. 18).

crossed over the water of Naharin (*N-h-r-n*), while they were in my hand, to a—¹⁰—; I [set] them before my lord. He rewarded me with a great reward; list thereof:^b —¹¹—.”

Battle in Senzar

584. “I beheld the royal victories of the King Menkheperre (Thutmose III), given life, in the country of Senzar (*Sn-d²-r²*),^c when he made a [great] sl[laughter] ¹²[among] them. I fought hand to hand before the king, I brought off a hand there. He gave to me the gold of honor; list thereof: —¹³— two silver rings.”

Capture of Kadesh

585. “Again I beheld his bravery, while I was among his followers. [He] captured [the city of] ¹⁴Kadesh (*Kd-šw*);^d I was not absent from the place where he was; I brought off two men,^e lords (*m-r²-y-n²*), as [living prisoners; I set them] ¹⁵before the king, the Lord of the Two Lands, Thutmose (III), living forever. He gave to me gold because of bravery, before the whole people — —; ¹⁶list thereof: of the finest gold: a lion; 2 necklaces, 2 flies,^f 4 arm rings.”

Campaign in Unknown Country

586. “I saw my lord in — — — ¹⁷— — — in all his forms in the country of the ends^g of [‘the earth’] — — — ¹⁸Ha — (*H²—*). Then I was raised to be the — — —¹ of the army, like — —.”

^aAhmose, son of Ebana, had a similar adventure, see § 11.

^bRestored from l. 16.

^cZinzar of the *Amarna Letters*, it is the modern Kal^c at Seidjar on the Orontes below Hamath; see Meyer (*Festschrift für Georg Ebers*, 71), Müller (*Asien und Europa*, 185, n. 3), and Maspero (*Struggle of the Nations*, 264). It was taken in the year 33, on the Naharin campaign.

^dThis occurred in the year 30 (see *Annals*, § 465).

^eApposition with “lords.”

^fSee Breasted, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, March, 1900, 7 f. Ebers' corrected text (in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 30, Taf. II, l. 16) has *c d*, an error for *c ff*, as in l. 21.

^gSee *Annals*, year 35, l. 38 (§ 498), and “Hymn of Victory” (§ 661, l. 20). This was probably on the march from the coast to Naharin, on the second campaign against that country.

Battle in Tikhsi

587. ¹⁹"Again I beheld his victory in the country of Tikhsi (*Ty-h-sy*) the wretched, in the city of Mero— (*Mr-yw* —). ²⁰I fought hand to hand therein before the king. I brought off Asiatics, 3 men, as living prisoners. ²¹Then my lord gave to me the gold of honor; list thereof: 2 golden necklaces, 4 arm rings, 2 flies, a lion, a female slave, and a male slave."

Elephant Hunt in Niy

588. ²²"Again [I beheld] another excellent deed which the Lord of the Two Lands did in Niy (*Nyy*). He hunted 120 elephants, for the sake of their tusks and [—]. ²³I engaged the largest which was among them, which fought against his majesty; I cut off his hand^a while he was alive ²⁴[before] his majesty, while I stood in the water between two rocks.^b Then my lord rewarded me with gold; ²⁵[he] gave — — — and 3 changes of clothing."

Siege of Kadesh

589. "The prince of Kadesh^c sent forth a mare^d ²⁶before [the army]; in order to — [them,] she entered among the army. I pursued after her ²⁷on foot, with my sword, and I ripped open her belly; I cut off her tail, I set ²⁸it before^e the king; while there was thanksgiving to god for it!^f He gave (me) joy, it filled my body, ([with]) rejoicing, he endued my limbs."

Assault on Kadesh

590. ²⁹"His majesty sent forth every valiant man of his army, in order to pierce the wall for the first time, which Kadesh had made.

^aDoubtless the trunk is meant.

^bHe was perhaps pursued by the wounded elephant, and took refuge between the rocks.

^cOn the last campaign of Thutmose III in year 42 (§ 531) and the last mentioned by Amenemhab.

^dFor the purpose of exciting the stallions of the Egyptian chariotry and thus confusing their line of battle; but Amenemhab leaps down from his chariot, and, pursuing her "*on foot*," slays her. See Borchardt, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 31, 62 f.

^eThe preposition is incomplete.

^fThe phrase occurs not infrequently, denoting the thanks of a king for the faithfulness of a servant; e. g., Amenemhet (I, 520, l. 14) The impersonal form merely indicates that it was the king who gave thanks.

I ³⁰was the one who pierced it, being the first of all the valiant; no other before me did (it). I went forth, I brought off ³¹2 men,^a (*m-r* ³²*y-n*) lords, as living prisoners. Again my lord rewarded me because of it, with ³³every good thing for satisfying the heart, of the king's-presence."

Feast at Thebes

591. "I made this capture while [I] was an officer of the navy ———
³³I was the commander of [—] [This vessel] — I was the chief of his associates ³⁴on the voyage — — — at his beautiful Feast^b of Opet, when all the land was in acclamation."

Death of Thutmose III

592. ³⁵"Lo, the king completed his lifetime of many years, splendid in valor, in [migh]t, ³⁶and in triumph; from year 1 to year 54, third month of the second season, the last day^c (of the month) under [the majesty of] ³⁷King Menkheperre (Thutmose III), triumphant. He mounted to heaven, [he] ^djoined the sun; the divine limbs mingling with him who begat him."

[Concluded §§ 807-809]

FRAGMENTS OF KARNAK PYLON VII^e

593. From the data thus far given by Legrain, it is impossible to put together all the fragments heretofore found;

^aApposition.

^bThis is perhaps the celebration of the Feast of Southern Opet on the fourteenth of Paophi, after the return from the first campaign (§ 550), which Amenemhab here relates after the campaigns exactly as the inscription of Feasts and Offerings continues the Annals.

^cThat is the thirtieth of the seventh month (Phamenoth); as he was crowned on the fourth of the ninth month (Pakhons), he lacked one month and four days of concluding his fifty-fourth year, dying on the seventeenth of March, while his fifty-fourth year would have been completed on the nineteenth of the following April (his coronation day coming over thirteen days earlier than when he was crowned fifty-four years earlier). If born before his father's accession, as seems probable, he was at least eighty-four years old at his death.

^dThis phrase is rendered by Brugsch (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1873, 134): "es ging unter die Sonnenscheibe," for which he gives excellent reasons; but in Ineni (§ 46, l. 4), the pronoun "he" is expressed, rendering B's translation impossible. See also IV, 988 E and 988 G.

^eFragments of a great granite doorway some forty feet high through the center of Pylon VII (Baedeker's plan), the northernmost of the southern pylons, were

but even from the fragments the great historical value of the monument is evident. It contained a record of Thutmose III's military career as an explanation of the sources of the costly materials used on this pylon and other good works in the Karnak temple. It begins with his coronation, passes to the reign of Thutmose II, and furnishes our most important proof of Thutmose III's coregency with Thutmose II,^a whom, as his predecessor, he officially calls his "*father*," as was customary on the monuments in referring to deceased Pharaohs. The record then proceeds to the first campaign, the battle of Megiddo, the siege of Megiddo, its capture, the prisoners, and the disposal of the prisoners and plunder in Karnak. Whether the succeeding campaigns were now taken up is uncertain. In any case, the record now included some account of the important eighth campaign, of the year 33, when Thutmose III first conquered the Euphrates country.

With some omissions of mutilated portions, necessitated by the exceedingly fragmentary character of some of the material, the fragments are as follows:

First Fragment^b

594. Year 1, first month of the third season (ninth month), the fourth day,^c occurred the coronation of the king's-son ———.

Second Fragment^d

595. ——— ¹before me into the —. There was assigned to me the sovereignty of the Two Lands upon the throne of Keb, the office

found by Legrain in September-October, 1901, and published by him in the *Annales du Service*, II, 272-79, IV, Pl. III. The inscription is in vertical lines, of which there were at least fourteen, computed by Legrain to have had a combined length (if set end to end) of 200 meters. Of all this the surviving fragments contain but a small fraction.

^aA lintel block, found by Petrie at Abydos in 1902 (*Abydos*, I, Pl. LXI, 2; LXIV, and p. 30), shows their two names together, as having been coregent during work on the Eighteenth Dynasty Abydos temple.

^bLegrain's E. 279.

^cSee *Annals*, § 417.

^dLegrain's combination of several fragments, 276, 277.

of Khepri by the side of my father, the Good God, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Okhepernere (Thutmose II), given life forever
4.

Spoil of First Campaign

596. His majesty commanded to build stone ——— 5— it with electrum. The divine shadow was the likeness of a ram, whose name was made: "Menkheperre — — Monuments." It is the favorite place of the lord of the gods. All its vessels were of electrum, gold, [every] costly stone, ——— 6[¹captured when his majesty went to] Retenu, to repel the northern countries, on his first victorious campaign, which Amon decreed to him. 7——— put in front of their wall, surrounding it with a firm rampart. My majesty besieged it^a like a terrible lion. As for him who [¹came] upon it by night, ——— 8———. Lo, my majesty carried off the wives of that vanquished one, together with [¹this] children, and the wives of the chiefs who were [there, together with their] children. My majesty placed these women ——— 9——— the name of another. Their impost was brought into the temple of my father, Amon, as the dues of Retenu — — — — these wives of the vanquished chief of Kadesh ——— 10——— of Egypt, extending the boundaries, forever. — — — My majesty made this equipment to overlay — — [a barge] of the "Beginning-of-the-River" (named): "Userhet,"^b hewn [of cedar] ——— 11. 12——— with all [products] of the northern countries, when my majesty returned from these countries.

Third Fragment^c

597. ——— their horses ——— the great chiefs of this country who came to fight ——— their — into the temple of Amon. Then my majesty commanded ——— my [father] Amon dues as yearly impost. Lo, ——— Lo, my majesty furnished an example of might,

^aMeaning, of course, Megiddo; the preceding being a reference to his siege works; compare Annals, § 433, ll. 9-11.

^bFor "*Userhetamon*." Of course, we are to read *h 3 t* instead of Legrain's *c t*; see Lateran Obelisk (§§ 838).

^cLegrain's, I, 274. According to Legrain, these sections of seven lines belong to ll. 8-14, presumably referring to his numbering of the second fragment; but they are too far separated from that fragment to be here placed in connection with it. They evidently refer to the king's prowess in some battle.

with my own sword, in the midst of ——— Bekhu (*Bḥw*).^a None stood before [me] ——— anew for my father, Amon.

Fourth Fragment^b

598. ——— of Ketne (*Kd-n*) on the eighth victorious campaign, to repel ———.^c

GREAT KARNAK BUILDING INSCRIPTION^d

599. This inscription contained the record of Thutmose III's buildings, erected after the beginning of his wars.^e In particular, it recounts the erection of one of his extensive additions to the east end of the great Karnak temple. The inscription is unfortunately badly mutilated, only the introductory lines being preserved, but we see that it recorded the erection of Thutmose III's splendid colonnaded halls and sanctuary, which form the eastern extension of the Karnak temple;^f for it was a building so extensive that an old shrine of Nun had to be removed farther eastward.

600. There was a reason, hitherto overlooked, for the erection of these eastern halls by Thutmose III, which

^aWith a foreign determinative.

^bLegrain's G, 279.

^cThere are two more lines, of which the first seems to contain some reference to making bows.

^dA large granite stela, found by Mariette in the great Karnak temple, now in Cairo; fragments of only seventeen lines are preserved; text: Mariette, *Karnak*, 12.

^eThe record of his Theban buildings before his wars is contained in the great coronation inscription (§§ 131 ff.). Of his buildings elsewhere, he has left but slight record: a fragmentary dedication at El Kab (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, IV, 37); a similar fragment at Erment (*ibid.*, IV, 1); and a record of his share in the Pasht speos at Benihasan (Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 149), which is chiefly of religious character. Further building records also in §§ 609-22; 637-43.

^fAccording to an altar found at Karnak, this building was called: "*Mennekheperre-is-Glorious-in-Monuments*" (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1879, 137). An altar with the same inscription was reported at Salonichi (*ibid.*, 1868, 78 ff.), and is possibly identical with the first. See also § 560 for the only other occurrence of the name in Thutmose III's time. This name of Thutmose III's sanctuary was still in use in the reign of Takelot II, 650 years later (IV, 753).

must be noted here. The colonnaded hall built by Thutmose I between his two pylons (IV and V) formed the entrance-hall to the Karnak temple, and at this time was the largest hall in the building, the only one sufficiently large for a procession of the god, such as that which took place there when Thutmose III was installed as king by the priests. Now, this hall had been rendered unfit for use by Hatshepsut's strange insertion of her obelisks there (§ 304); it now stood roofless, with a small group of six columns at its northern end. Of these, four were the original cedar columns of Thutmose I, which Thutmose III now renews, recording the renewal on one of them, as follows:^a

601. ¹He (Thutmose III) made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, erecting for him [4 columns] of sandstone set up^b [in] the hypostyle, as [‘a renewal of that which’] his [‘father had made’], the Good God, Lord of Offering (viz., Thutmose I), shaped of cedar.^c My majesty [‘added’]^d 4 columns^e to the two columns^e in the north side, together 6; wrought with —, established with — — ²and that which was brought because of the fame of my majesty, being impost of all countries, which my father, Amon-Re, assigned to me, shaped^f of sandstone. The height thereof was made 30 cubits,^g on both sides of the great august portal,^h — — throughout. They illuminated Karnak

^aPublished by Piehl, *Actes du 6^{me} congrès international des orientalistes tenu en 1883 à Leide, IV^{me} partie*, section 3, pp. 203-19. The text is badly broken, and unessential fragments have been omitted.

^bRead: *smn*.

^cThis reference is the first mention of wooden columns in an Egyptian temple, and shows that Thutmose I built his hall with cedar columns. (See my *New Chapter*, 31, note b).

^dPiehl.

^eThat is, the two columns of stone already inserted by Thutmose I (§ 100 and note).

^fThree passive participles agree with “4 columns,” viz., “wrought,” “established,” and “shaped.” This mention of the material is in contrast with “shaped of cedar” (l. 1), referring to the wooden predecessors of the four new stone-columns.

^gOver fifty-one feet.

^hNorthern portal; see plan, *New Chapter*, 13.

like — — — of sandstone, painted with figures of my father Amon, together with figures of my majesty, and figures of my father, the Good God (viz., Thutmose I). Behold, as for that which was found^a going to ruin among them, my majesty established it with sandstone, in order that this temple might be established — ³— like the heavens, abiding upon their four pillars, as a monument, great, excellent and useful for the lord of eternity; of granite, ivory, of sandstone, — — — silver, of the Beautiful-faced (Ptah). I swear as [Re] loves me, [as my father, Amon, favors me,^b I made it] anew in the north side, being an increase of that which my father had made.

602. Thus the north end of the hall, the end where Thutmose III had been stationed when he was proclaimed king, was repaired by him, but the south end was still without columns and roofless, and the obelisk-bases had usurped the room of eight columns, over a third of the entire colonnade. The hall could not be made fit for great ceremonies, with the obelisks preventing the replacement of over a third of the roof. Thutmose III therefore built a masonry sheathing around each of the obelisks, covering the inscriptions of Hatshepsut, and desisted^c from any further attempt to restore the hall where he had been raised to the throne. But as such a great ceremonial hypostyle was of course indispensable, he built the splendid colonnaded halls still standing at the other or east end of the temple. On his return from the second^d campaign, in the year 24, the building was begun, and on the thirtieth of Mekhir, that is, in the latter part of February, some two months before his departure for Syria on the third campaign, the brilliant

^aRead: *gmy' t*?

^bRestored from the common form of royal oath, e. g., Hatshepsut's obelisk inscription, § 318, l. 2.

^cThis is clear from the fact that his son Amenhotep II, erected the columns of the south end (§ 805).

^dNot the first campaign, as I have incorrectly stated in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 39, 61.

celebration of the foundation ceremonies took place. On his return from the third campaign, in the year 25, the building was sufficiently far advanced to record on the walls of one of its chambers, the plants and flowers which he brought from Syria^a in that year (§§ 450 f.).

603. The architraves of the building bear the following dedications:^b

^cHe made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, erecting for him an august central hypostyle^d anew, of fine white sandstone (variant, fine limestone of Ayan).

Another form of this dedication is an epitheton attached to Thutmose III's name:

Establishing the house of his father, Amon-Re, of fine white limestone of Ayan.

604. Another dedication designates the hall^e in the temple which was set apart by Thutmose III for the mortuary service of his ancestors. It is as follows:

^f. making for them a great dwelling of myriads of years, anew^g of fine limestone of Ayan, shining like the horizon of heaven, established as an eternal work. His majesty commanded to record the names of his fathers, to increase their offerings, and to fashion statues [— ^h to establish for them divine offerings anew, as increase of [what was formerly].

605. In one of the chambers to which this hall gave access, Thutmose had recorded on the walls a listⁱ of the

^aThis is the earliest extract from his annals; the extracts around the sanctuary were, of course, made after the conclusion of his campaigns.

^bLepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 31; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 159 f., 162; and Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1313.

^cPreceded by the titulary of Thutmose III.

^d*Hry' t-yb*. ^eZ in Mariette's Plan (*Karnak*, Pl. V).

^fBrugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1313; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 168; Mariette, *Karnak*, 32, *h*; titulary and usual introduction are omitted.

^gOr: "for the first time."

^h"Of their bodies?"

ⁱRemoved by Prisse to Paris, where it now is, in the Bibliothèque Nationale. This is the famous Karnak list of kings. See I, p. 197, note a.

Pharaohs, his ancestors who were worshiped in this temple, and whose statues were set up in it. It is to this list that the dedication inscription refers.

This ancestral character of the temple is also referred to in another inscription^a of Thutmose III, which designates the temple as "*a monument for his father, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Thutmose I, and a monument of his fathers, the kings of Upper and Lower Egypt.*"

The architect in charge of these great additions was the first prophet of Amon, Menkheperreseneb, who briefly recounts his connection with them in his tomb inscriptions (§§ 772 ff.).

The great building inscription on our granite stela is as follows:

The Oracle

606. 1.^b The king himself commanded to put in writing, according to the statement of the oracle,^c to execute monuments before those who are on earth —. My majesty desired to make a monument to my father, Amon-Re, in Karnak, erecting a dwelling, beautifying the horizon, adorning for him Khafet-hir-nebes, the favorite place of my father³ from the beginning, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes. I made it for him upon this block of enduring stone,^d exalting and magnifying greatly, since — — — water to the shrine^e of Nun, on arriving at his seasons.

Old Buildings Removed

607. I built it for him according to (his) desire, I satisfied him by that which I made for him (as) at first, building⁴ a shrine at the east of

^aBrugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1315.

^bThe usual titulary of Thutmose III complete.

^cThis is doubtless the same as the oracle in the Punt inscriptions (§ 285, l. 5, *nd' t-r*) commanding the expedition. So also Thutmose III is building in response to an oracle.

^dMariette states that this tablet is of "granite gris" (Mariette, *Karnak, Texte*, 47); so that *rw'd't* cannot mean "sandstone" here.

^eAs Brugsch has supposed (*Egypt under the Pharaohs*, p. 180), this temple, or shrine of Nun, was in the way of enlarging the Amon-temple. It seems, therefore, to have been taken down and rebuilt farther eastward.

this temple. Behold, my majesty found the encircling wall of mud brick, — — [I removed the wall of] mud [brick,] in order to extend ^athis temple. I cleansed it, I overthrew its ruinous (parts), and removed the inclosure, which was by its side, which went up ⁵[to] the house. I built this place where the encircling wall was, in order to erect this monument upon it — — — — Karnak. I made (it) anew,^b I fulfilled that which was prescribed, I did not appropriate the monument of another. My majesty spake this in truth for the information of ⁶every one, my great abomination is to speak lies, there is no fiction in — — — — really. I know that he is pleased therewith.^c

Foundation Ceremonies

608. My majesty ordered that the ^dfoundation ceremony^d should be prepared [at the approach of] the day of the Feast of the New Moon,^e ⁷to extend the measuring-line upon this monument. In the year 24, second month of the second season, the last day (of the month), on the day of the tenth feast of Amon in ————^f the god rested (on) his great throne. After this, I proceeded [after] (my) father, ⁸Amon; the god proceeded at his going to celebrate this his beautiful feast. The majesty of this god marveled ————;^g this god [assum]ed the station [for] the extension of the [measuring-line]. He set his majesty before him at this monument, which his majesty had exacted. ⁹The majesty of this god rejoiced in this monument ————^f [the majesty] of this god proceeded; the beautiful feast was celebrated [for] my lord. Then I went to do the extending of the measuring-line upon that which ————^h ¹⁰before him. He led ⁱ[— — —]ⁱ the first feast of extending the line. Behold, the majesty of this revered god desired to do the extending of the line himself ¹¹ ————^j [————]^k ¹² ———— all that he made.

^aBy a slight emendation of the text.

^bOr: "for the first time."

^cViz., with the truth; a common idea.

^dLit., "the line extension," as in l. 7, following.

^eSee Brugsch (*Thesaurus*, VI, 1290 f.).

^fAbout one-third line.

^gLess than one-third line.

^hOver one-half line. The remaining short ends of eight lines still have to do with this building, but offer nothing decisive by which to identify it.

ⁱPartially broken.

^jNearly two-thirds line.

^kSee Brugsch (*Thesaurus*, VI, 1291); I do not understand the passage, and his explanation does not seem to me probable.

His majesty rejoiced exceedingly when he saw the great marvels which his father [Amon] had performed for him. ¹³————^a My heart dilated at every beautiful approach to begin this monument, enduring ¹⁴————^b all the names of the great gods who are in Karnak and of the gods and goddesses ¹⁵————^a All the people made jubilee. After this ¹⁶————^c electrum, which [my majesty] made for him ¹⁷————^d

BUILDING INSCRIPTION OF THE KARNAK PTAH-TEMPLE^e

609. This inscription records how Thutmose III found the Ptah-temple, just north of the great hypostyle in Karnak, built of brick, with wooden columns and doorposts, falling to ruin. The occasion of rebuilding, or at least of new offerings, was the return from the first campaign, and the inscription contains interesting references (§ 616) to the investment and capture of Megiddo on that campaign. From the plunder thus obtained the temple was also newly and richly furnished. As this temple was one of the stopping-places of Amon, when his processions moved out from the Karnak temple, on all feast days, offerings are provided for Amon on such occasions (§§ 615, 617). At such times also the lay priesthood was to receive an offering, as well as the royal statue which was carried in procession (§ 618); and the usual daily offering was made to Ptah (§ 619), increased by certain new offerings now established for the first time

^aOver two-thirds line.

^bAbout three-fourths line.

^cAbout four-fifths line.

^dThe remainder of the tablet must have contained at least as many more lines as the above.

^eLarge granite stela 1.50 m. high, 0.74 m. wide, and 0.32 m. thick, found in the Ptah-temple at Thebes; now in Cairo, thus far without number. It was published and translated by Maspero, *Comptes rendus de l'académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, 1900, Tome I, 113-23, with facsimile plate; and again by Legrain, *Annales*, III, 107-11. I had also a copy of the original, kindly loaned me by Schaefer.

(§ 620). These were further increased on the king's return from a subsequent campaign late in September (§ 621). With offerings for Mut-Hathor (§ 622), the inscription closes.

These offerings are all "*for the sake of life, prosperity, and health*" of the Pharaoh; that is, they are the official sacrifices in his behalf, which were begun as soon as a king was crowned (cf. § 57).

610. The stela was badly defaced, when the persecution of Ikhnaton caused the chiseling out of the entire relief and every occurrence of the names of other gods. This defacement is important as showing that the persecution of Ikhnaton was not confined to Amon. The restorers of Seti I at Thebes were so accustomed to inserting the name of Amon that they have here inserted it where the titles clearly show that Ptah was original.

611. The dedication inscription on the wall of the Ptah-temple also attributes the building to Thutmose III, of whom it says:^a

[He made (it) as his monument]^b for his father, Ptah, the beautiful of face, lord of "Life of the Two Lands," presiding over the great seat; erecting for him the house of Ptah anew [of] fine white sandstone, doors of new cedar of the best of the terraces. It is more beautiful than it was before. Lo, my majesty found this house of brick — — — of the ancestors. His majesty commanded to make for him this temple of sandstone, established as an eternal work, made to flourish, an abiding monument — —, ^c which the Son of Re, Thutmose (III), makes for him.

612. Our stela inscription is surmounted by a relief,^d down the middle of which is the following record of Seti I's restoration:

^aBrugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1188 = Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 7 = Legrain, *Annales*, III, 98, 99.

^bThe restoration in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, is not correct; and that of Legrain is impossible.

^cName of Ptah erased by Ikhnaton; see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 8.

^dThis entire relief was chiseled out by Ikhnaton.

Restoration of the monument, which King Menmare (Seti I) made, in the house of his father, Ptah.

On the right, Thutmose III offers wine to Ptah. Behind the king is the divine wife (*hm t ntr*) Sityoh (*S t y h*),^a offering ointment. On the left, before the same god, Thutmose III, offering a libation of water, is followed by the same princess,^b again offering ointment.

The inscription below the relief is as follows:

Introduction

613. ¹Live Horus Thutmose III, beloved of Ptah-South-of-His-Wall, in Thebes, given life forever.

Building the New Temple

614. ²My^c majesty commands that there be built the temple of Ptah-South-of-His-Wall, in Thebes, which is a station (*w h y t*) of my father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, wherein he [—]^d on the day of "Bringing-in-the-God," and all his feasts ³during the year, when he proceeds to the treasury of the south (*tp rsy*). Lo, my majesty found this temple built of brick and wooden columns,^e and its doorway of wood, beginning to go to ruin. ⁴My majesty commands to stretch the cord upon this temple anew, erected of fine white sandstone, and the walls around it^f of brick, as a work enduring for eternity. ⁵My majesty erected for it doors of new cedar of the best of the terraces, mounted with Asiatic copper, ¹corresponding to¹ (*hft*) the house of Ptah anew, in the name of my majesty. ⁶Never was done for him the like, before my majesty.

New Equipment of the Temple

615. My majesty made him rich, and I made him greater than before. I overlaid for him his great seat with electrum of the best of

^aThe name is perhaps wrongly restored, and Maspero affirms he has seen traces of the name Merytre; but of this Schaefer saw nothing.

^bHer name is here original.

^cThe text has a Horus-hawk on the standard, used for the first person when the king speaks, in the rest of the inscription.

^dWe expect some verb like "rests" or "turns aside," but the text shows only the verb "give" and a very small lacuna.

^eOn wooden columns in a temple, see § 100.

^fThat is, the walls of the temple inclosure.

the countries. ⁷All vessels were of gold and silver, and every splendid, costly stone, clothing of fine linen, white linen, ointments of divine ingredients, to perform his pleasing ceremonies at the feasts of ⁸the beginnings of the seasons, which occur in this temple, when my majesty caused him to proceed, to assume his throne.

Offerings on Return from First Campaign

616. I filled his temple with every good thing, with oxen, geese, incense, wine, offerings of ⁹all sorts of fruit, at the return of my majesty from (*hr*) the country of Retenu (*Rtⁿw*), on the first victorious campaign, which^a my father, Amon, gave to me, when he gave to me all the allied countries of Zahi^b (*D³ -hy*), ¹⁰shut up in one city. The fear of my majesty entered their hearts, (they) fell,^c (they) slunk back; when I reached them, there was not one left ¹¹who stirred (*wtwt*) among them. I snared them in one city, I built around them with a rampart of thick wall, to —^d their nostrils of the breath of life, by the fame of ¹²my father, Amon, who guides me into a prosperous way by all his good designs, which he has wrought for my majesty. He has made great the victories of my majesty above (those of) any king who has been before.

New Offerings for Amon

617. ¹³My majesty commanded that his altar should be supplied with every good thing. My majesty commanded that offerings be added anew for my father, Amon, in Karnak, ¹⁴when he rested there: 12 ¹⁵"heaps of offerings^e supplied with everything," for the day of "Bringing-in-the-God" and every feast of Amon, being^f an increase of what was before, for the sake of the life, prosperity, and health of my majesty —^g

^aThis relative clause (*rdyn ny yt' y*) is common. Maspero's rendering, "Je fis en effet ces dons à mon père, etc.," is possible only by overlooking one of the *n*'s.

^bThis shows the wide extent of Zahi, evidently far beyond the limits of Phœnicia.

^cThe text has been restored here, and may be corrupt; "*fell*" (*hr*) may be the particle "*then, so.*"

^dSome verb like "deprive."

^eThis is a cultus term for a kind of oblation. See § 566.

^fEmend after l. 19.

^gAmon is here wrongly restored in an erasure extending over from the next line. The ancient restoration "*my majesty*" (*hn-y*) is quite right, as is shown by l. 19; Maspero (*Comptes rendus*, 1900, I, 115) corrects the restoration, and appeals to l. 19 as supporting his correction; but his quotation of l. 19 overlooks *hn*.

Offerings for the Priesthood and Royal Statue

618. Now, ¹⁵when the majesty of this august god is satisfied with his offering (*yḥ t*), let one cause a "heap of offerings, supplied with everything" to be issued to the lay priests of the temple of my father, Amon, in Karnak; ¹⁶and 6 "heaps of offerings, supplied with everything"^a and with bread of^b the "Coming Forth" (to be issued) before the statue of millions of years of my majesty, which follows to this temple, which is in the domain of the majesty of ¹⁷this august god, for the sake of this offering, ^cthe name of which is: "Menkheperre-is-Great-in-Offerings."

Offerings for Ptah

619. Now, when this statue is satisfied with this offering, there shall be issued for the temple of ¹⁸Ptah, lord of truth, South-of-His-Wall, in Thebes, according to the measure of the customary^d offering, which is in this temple.

New Offerings for Ptah

620. My majesty has moreover commanded to found divine offerings anew for my father, ^{19e}Ptah-South-of-His-Wall in Thebes, consisting of 60 various loaves, 2 jars (*ds*) of beer, — — vegetables, bread of the daily offering of every day, as an increase of that which was before, for the sake of the life, prosperity, and health of my majesty.

²⁰Now, when the god is satisfied with his offerings, let this ¹offering be placed before [this] statue of my majesty, when the lay priesthood of the temple of Ptah-South-of-His-Wall, in Thebes, go forth. My majesty [²commands]^f ²¹to have executed every contract of the court, for his father, Ptah-South-of-His-Wall, in Thebes ——— Amon in Karnak.

^aThis is interpreting the loaf as determinative of the whole group; it is possible to separate it, as Maspero does, and read "*six loaves from the bread of, etc.*"

^bOr: "*for the Coming Forth*;" in which case the parenthesis must be inserted after "*bread*," thus: ". . . . *bread (to be issued) for the Coming Forth, etc.*"

^cThis relative clause, as the gender shows, does not belong to "*offering*," but to "*temple*!" The order of words above is as in the original, which is very confused. Such royal statues are depicted in reliefs "*following*" in procession to the temple.

^dFor another example of this use of this word (*mtt*), see § 798; and the Treaty, III, § 377, l. 14.

^eThe restorer has absurdly inserted Amon here before Ptah!

^fThe restoration has probably omitted this word.

Further Addition to Ptah's Offerings

621. First (month) of the first season (first month), twenty-sixth day.^a My majesty hath founded for him: ²²a bull, —^b jars (*mnw*) of wine, 2 geese, 4 great [—], 5 measures (*dny·t*) of fruit, grain for 6 white loaves, 2 [bundles of vegetables],^c 20 (*t³ b-*) jars and 10 (*ds-*) jars of beer, 5 table fowl, ²³200 various loaves of the divine offerings from the house (*pr*) of Amon, 4 measures of incense, — cakes, 20 white loaves, ^dfor the sake of^d the life, prosperity, and health of Pharaoh, fixed as annual dues, burned in the presence of this god ²⁴every day.

Offerings for Mut-Hathor

622. My [majesty commands] to have executed every contract of the court for Mut-Hathor, mistress of Thebes, on the day of the "Altar-of-the-Feast," which takes place^e on the last day of the third month of the third season (eleventh month). ²⁵[My majesty] has [founded 'divine offerings of'] — jars of wine, 1 goose, 2 great [—], 4 measures (*dny·t*) of fruit, grain for four white loaves, 2 bundles of vegetables, 2 (*t³ b-*) jars of beer. ²⁶5 table-fowl, 25 [various loaves of the divine]^f offerings, [—] of the garden, and every plant, burned^g in the presence of this goddess, every day.

²⁷[It is] my [majesty] who does all the things to be done in this house in this good hour [exactly]¹, in which is the burning. It is my majesty who makes anew ———.

^aThis is about the twenty-third of September and was, of course, the time of the king's return with the plunder from some campaign of the preceding summer (see §§ 409 ff.).

^bThe numeral has been corrupted in the restoration.

^cTo be restored from l. 25.

^dMaspero restores: *nw* = "of;" but the context demands the usual connection, viz., "for the sake of (*hr-g³ g³*), etc.," which Schaefer read; and this is shown by the photograph to be correct.

^eMaspero has "fête de faire être;" but the phrase "cause to be" is usual for the taking place of a feast. See *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 37, 124 f., where it occurs three times, and the Elephantine appendix to the Amada stela, § 798.

^fRestored from l. 23.

^gA participle referring to the entire preceding series of offerings; the same above in l. 23.

OBELISKS

623. In celebration of the usual jubilee on the thirtieth anniversary of his being proclaimed crown prince, and on recurrences^a of the same feast, Thutmose III erected a series of at least seven^b obelisks, of which five were in Thebes and two in Heliopolis. The first of these feasts must have taken place in his thirtieth year as king, because his proclamation as crown prince was coincident with his coronation. He had no prospect of succeeding until he was crowned. These obelisks are chronologically important, and bear inscriptions, some of which possess great historical value.

I. KARNAK OBELISKS

624. If we exclude those of Hatshepsut, there are now no obelisks erected by Thutmose III remaining in Karnak; for that of Thutmose I which he appropriated was not erected by Thutmose III (see §§ 105, 86 ff.), but only inscribed by him. In the year 42, however, he had already erected in Karnak four obelisks, for which he decreed offerings (§§ 563, 572). Whether he later erected more, we cannot tell, but it can hardly be an accident that other sources also refer to four at Karnak, two being recorded by the king

^aA record of the celebration of a jubilee on the second of Pauni in year 33 is found in a tablet at el-Bersheh (Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 47; again less accurately, II, 33). The monument is now destroyed.

^b That is: Mentioned in texts at Karnak	4
(Includes Constantinople obelisk)	
Lateran obelisk	1
Heliopolis obelisks	2
Total	7

The Lateran obelisk was, of course, not completed by Thutmose III. There is a small obelisk of his at Sion house; see Birch, *History*, 102. A new obelisk of "Thotmes" (not stated which one) is mentioned in *Egypt Exploration Fund Archaeological Report*, 98, 99, 22. See Breasted, "The Obelisks of Thutmose III and His Building Season in Egypt" (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 39, 55-61). Legrain's recent discoveries at Karnak (*Annales*, V) arrived too late for use here.

himself and two mentioned in the tomb of Puemre (§§ 382 ff.) The former two are represented in a relief^a where Thutmose III is presenting to Amon a magnificent array of costly gifts in gold and silver and the like. Among these appear two obelisks each inscribed with titles, etc., of Thutmose III, followed on the one by the words:

He made (it) as his monument [for his father, Amon, lord of Thebes],^b erecting for him two great and mighty obelisks of granite; the pyramidions (being) of electrum;^c at the double façade of the temple.

As the inscription is different from that upon the obelisks in the tomb of Puemre, they must be a different pair.^d The inscriptions in the tomb of Menkheperreseneb also refer to "*many obelisks and flagstaves*"^e erected by him for Thutmose III at Thebes.

625. A scarab,^f issued in celebration of the erection of obelisks in Karnak, bears the words:

Thutmose III, whose obelisks abide in the house of Amon.

In addition to these four, for which we have chiefly inscrip-tional evidence, Thutmose III had at least one more

^aIn the corridor of the Annals in the great Karnak temple; published by Champollion, *Monuments*, IV, 316, 317; partially by Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, Text, III, 1, plate opposite p. 125; partially by Burton, *Excerpta hieroglyphica*, 29, and Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1185 ff.

^bBrugsch and Rosellini represent this as erased, but Champollion has it in full, having doubtless inserted it from similar dedications.

^cSee Ineni (§ 103, l. 8); Lepsius says of the obelisk in tomb of Puemre: "das pyramidion ist gelb gemalt," of course representing electrum (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 244). On the other obelisk the same inscription with the variant "*obelisks*" (for the dual).

^dNone of these can be the Lateran obelisk, for it was not one of a pair; but the Constantinople obelisk is one of the first pair above mentioned, for the position, of the representations and the wording of the inscriptions tally exactly (the only difference is the omission of *ḏsr-hꜣw* in the Golden Horus name in the Karnak relief). See *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 39, Tafel III, 1 and 2 (opp. p. 56), and p. 57.

^eVirey, *Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, V, 209, l. 15.

^fBerlin, No 3530, *Ausführliches Verzeichniss des Berliner Museums*, 417.

obelisk in Karnak, which has itself survived, though far from its original site, viz., the Lateran Obelisk.

II. LATERAN OBELISK^a

626. This obelisk has had an interesting history. It was intended by Thutmose III probably for the forecourt before his southern pylon (VIII) in Karnak.^b But he apparently died after it had reached its site, but before it was erected or inscribed. There it lay for thirty-five years in "*the hands of the craftsmen*" until it was piously erected and properly inscribed with Thutmose III's dedication, etc., by his grandson, Thutmose IV, who adds also his own inscription with an account of the monument's history thus far. It is herein distinctly stated that this is the first time that a single obelisk was erected.^c The next date of its history is that of its erection by Constantius in the Circus Maximus at Rome in 357 A. D. In 1587 it was discovered there broken into three pieces, and was set up on its present site in the next year by Pope Sixtus V.

The inscriptions of Thutmose III occupy the middle

^aIn the piazza of the Lateran in Rome; published in *Interpretatio Obeliscorum Urbis . . . digesta per A. M. Ungarellium*, Romæ, MDCCCXLII, Tab. I; Birch, *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, 2d ser., II, 228; de Horrack, *Revue Archéologique*, N. S., 1864, IX, 45 (incomplete); Marucchi, *Gli obelisch egiziani di Roma*, Tav. I and II.

^bThutmose III says it was set "*in the forecourt of the temple over against Karnak*;" Thutmose IV refers three times to its location: (1) when found it was lying "*on the south side of Karnak*;" (2) it was erected "*in Karnak*;" (3) it was erected "*at the upper portal of Karnak*." Taken altogether, these data show that in No. 3 the southern entrance through Pylon VIII is meant, and there the obelisk stood. There is a reference to the same portal in the inscription of Beknekhonsu (III, 567, l. 5), where it is also called the "*upper portal*." In both cases the same word (*hr*) is used for "*upper*." It is unusual in this sense, viz., referring to the river, but occurs twice in the same way in the inscription of Zoser (Sehel, ll. 16 and 30).

^cHence it was not paired with the Constantinople obelisk, as Wiedemann states (*Ägyptische Geschichte*, 365).

lines, those of Thutmose IV the side lines.^a All have suffered much from restoration by the papal architect at the last erection.

Dedication (South Side)

627.^b Thutmose (III). He made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, erecting for him a single obelisk in the forecourt (*wb*²) of the temple over against (*r-h*² *w*) Karnak, as the first beginning of erecting a single obelisk in Thebes; that he might be given life.

North Side

. (Thutmose III), son of Amon, of his body, whom Mut bore to him in Ishru, of the same limbs as he who fashioned him, Son of Re, Thutmose, Beautiful of Form, beloved of Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, given life, like Re.

East Side

628. (Thutmose III), rich in monuments in the house of Amon; making his monuments greater than that which the ancestors made, who were before; exceeding that which ever was, not resembling the likeness of anything that was made in the house of his father, Amon, that the son of Re, Thutmose, Ruler of Heliopolis, may be given life through him (*n*/).

West Side

. (Thutmose III), who praises Amon, when he rises in Karnak. He sends Amon to rest in the house, "Bearer-of-Diadems," while his (Amon's) heart is glad at the monuments of his beloved son, "Enduring in Kingship."^c Cause him to endure and to repeat for thee the celebration of this million of jubilees; Son of Re, Thutmose, Beautiful of Form, given life.

III. CONSTANTINOPLE OBELISK^d

629. This obelisk was removed by the emperor Theodosius from Egypt to Constantinople.^e It originally stood

^aThese latter will be found under his reign (§§ 830 ff.).

^bFull five-name titulary, as in §§ 143 ff.

^cSecond name of Thutmose III.

^dIn Constantinople, published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 60; Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 65. Only the upper portion is preserved.

^eWiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte*, 365.

somewhere in Karnak,^a and is shown with its fellow in a relief there, in which the king offers the pair to Amon. The exact location of these obelisks, or of the pair erected by Puemre, is doubtless indicated by an inscription on a fragment of a sphinx found near Thutmose III's southern pylon (VII) at Karnak, which reads: "*He presented two obelisks of stone, one on each side of it*" (*Annales*, IV, 9), evidently meaning the door of the pylon. The inscriptions on the Constantinople obelisk^b are as follows:

Dedication (South Side)

630.^c(Thutmose III); he made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes; erecting ^d[for him very great obelisks of red granite, the pyramidions of electrum; that he may be given life, like Re, forever].

North Side

. (Thutmose III), whom Atum reared as a child, in the arms of Neit, Divine Mother, to be king; who has taken all lands, the extent of time; lord of jubilees (*hb-sd*) ———.

East Side

631. (Thutmose III), lord of victory, binder of every land, who makes his boundary as far as the Horns of the Earth, the marshes as far as Naharin (*N-h-r-n*) ———.

West Side

. (Thutmose III), who crossed the "Great Bend" of Naharin (*N-h-r-n*)^e with might and with victory at the head of his army, making a great slaughter [among them] ———.

^aSee § 624 and note.

^bPetrie (*History of Egypt*, II, 131 ff.) has shown that this obelisk must have been very high. He would for this reason identify it with the great obelisks of Thutiy's inscription (§ 376), but those obelisks belonged to Hatshepsut, and, as we have seen, the Constantinople obelisk is certainly one of those shown in the Karnak relief (§ 624 and note).

^cFull titulary except last fifth name.

^dThe Karnak relief (§ 543) furnishes the lost conclusion of this dedication.

^eThis is the campaign of the thirty-third year. See §§ 477 ff.

IV. LONDON OBELISK^a

632. This obelisk, with its fellow, now in New York, stood in the temple of Heliopolis. Removed to Alexandria, they were erected before the temple of the Cæsars there, in 13-12 B. C.,^b by the Roman^c (?) architect Pontius, while Barbarus was prefect. The London obelisk, which had fallen early in the fourteenth century, was removed^d thither in 1877 and landed in England in January, 1878. It is 68½ feet high (Petrie, *History of Egypt*, II, 127).

633. Its inscriptions^e are not of great historical importance; the dedication is as follows:

..... Thutmose (III); he made (it) as his monument for his father, Harakhte, erecting for him two great obelisks; with pyramidion of electrum, at the fourth^f occurrence of the jubilee (*hb-sd*), because he so much loved his father.¹ May the Son of Re, Thutmose (III), be [given life] through him (*nf*).

^aStands on the Thames embankment in London; published in *Description, Antiquités*, V, 32, 33 (partially and badly); Champollion, *Monuments*, IV, 445, 446; Burton, *Excerpta hieroglyphica*, 51; phototype, Gorringe, *Egyptian Obelisks*; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 11, 30 (dedication only); King, *Cleopatra's Needle* (London, 1886).

^bThe current date, 22 B. C., is an error, to be corrected from the revised text of Merriam (*The Greek and Latin Inscriptions on the Obelisk-Crab*, by A. C. Merriam, New York, 1883) on the bronze crabs which were inserted under the obelisks at their re-erection. Those under the fallen London obelisk had, of course, disappeared; on a claw found under the other (New York) obelisk, and now in the Metropolitan Museum (New York), both the Greek and Latin versions are preserved. Merriam's copy reads:

L IH KAIΞAPΞ
BARBAPOΞ ANEΘHKE
APXITEKTONOYNTOΞ
TTONTIOY

A[N]NO XVIII CAESARIS
BARBARUS PRAEF
AEGYPTI POSUIT
ARCHITCTANTE PONTIO

(Ligatures and missing portions of broken letters I have not indicated).

^cIf he be the same as the "Pontios" of the fountain in the garden of Mæcenas (Merriam, *Obelisk-Crab*, 47), he was an Athenian.

^dSee Gorringe.

^eThe middle lines are by Thutmose III; the side lines by Ramses II.

^fOn the Thames embankment, in 1901, I could see only three strokes of the numeral; nor (with an opera-glass) could I discern room for a fourth; but Brugsch read it when it was prostrate (*Thesaurus*, V, 1130) as four.

V. NEW YORK OBELISK^a

634. It was removed to New York^b with admirable skill and success by Lieutenant-Commander Gorringe,^c landing in July, 1880. Unfortunately, the dedication inscription^d is illegible, and the others contain only the conventional praise of the king. They are as follows:

East Side

635. Horus: Mighty Bull, Shining in Thebes; Favorite of the Two Goddesses; Enduring in Kingship like Re in Heaven; ^eBorn of Atum, Lord of Heliopolis, Son of his body, whom Thoth fashioned;^e whom they fashioned in the Great House in the beauty of their limbs, knowing that he would exercise a kingship enduring forever, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre (Thutmose III), beloved of Atum, the great god, and the divine ennead; given life, stability, and satisfaction, like Re, forever.

North Side

636. Horus: 'Taking' the white crown; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre; Golden Horus: satisfied in smiting the rulers of the countries 'approaching' him, according as his father, Re, has decreed for him victory^f against every land, and might of the sword by his arms, in order to widen the boundaries of Egypt; Son of Re, Thutmose (III) — —.

^aCentral Park, New York. See introduction to London Obelisk; published in *Description, Antiquités*, V, 32, 33 (incomplete); Champollion, *Monuments*, IV, 444; Burton, *Excerpta hieroglyphica*, 52; Gorringe, *Egyptian Obelisks*; Moldenke, *The New York Obelisk* (New York, 1891).

^bFor its earlier history, see § 632.

^cSee his excellent account of the achievement in *Egyptian Obelisks*, by H. Gorringe (New York, 1882). It contains useful descriptions of the transport of the London, Paris, and other obelisks.

^dThe inscriptions of Thutmose III occupy the middle lines; the side lines are by Ramses II, as in London.

^eThis is all in one cartouche, and the words *ms* and Thoth, appearing together below, are perhaps intended to be joined as "Thutmose," although they belong to the two separate lines, "*Born fashioned*," above.

^fSee Lateran Obelisk, north side, right line (§ 831).

MEDINET HABU BUILDING INSCRIPTIONS^a

637. The small Eighteenth Dynasty temple of Medinet Habu, on the west shore at Thebes, is so shut in by the larger buildings later erected around it that it is little noticed by the modern visitor. It was begun by Thutmose I. Although Hatshepsut certainly had a share in it, the dedication inscriptions attribute its erection to Thutmose III, but refer to an earlier temple on the spot, meaning the work of Thutmose I. They are as follows:

638. ^b. He made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re,^c king of gods, making for him a great temple upon the [—] district of the West of Thutmose III (called): "Splendid-is-the-Seat-of-Amon;"^d of fine white sandstone; that he might therefore be given life, forever.

639. He made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon, lord of Thebes, presider over "Splendor-of-the-West," erecting for him a splendid adytum of fine white sandstone, (in¹) his accustomed place of the first beginning. My majesty established it anew, that he might therefore be given life forever.

640. ^e. erecting for him his splendid seat of the first beginning, establishing it as an eternal work, his majesty having found it beginning to fall to ruin; that he might be given life like Re, forever.

641. ^f. making for him "Splendor-of-the-West," to shelter its lord and these lords of the district of Thamut (*T³ -mw t*)

^aSee Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1304-6.

^bThe following three texts are from Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 38, *c*, and *d*. I have omitted in all the full fivefold titulary of Thutmose III.

^cChiseled out and restored.

^dOr: "*Amon-is-Splendid-in-Throne*" (as to his throne), *Ymn-ḡsr-ys-t*. It is abbreviated as *ḡsr-ys-t*, and probably also as *Ymn-ḡsr* on a set of foundation deposit tools (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1298, 1299). Another name of the temple or district is "*Splendor-of-the-West*."

^eTitulary and introduction are omitted. On this form see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 156, as Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 38, *d*, is wrongly reconstructed.

^fRougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 130, and Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, xxxvi; titulary and introduction omitted as above. The other two are also from the same sources.

He made "Chamber-of-the-Cemetery" for his fathers, the lords of the splendid region.

He made "Possessed-of-Eternity" for his father Ptah-Tatenen of "Lord-of-Life".^a

HELIOPOLIS BUILDING INSCRIPTIONS

642. A round-topped stela^b bears in the upper two-thirds a relief showing Thutmose III, offering an oblation to Harakhte. Below the relief is the following inscription:

Year 47, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Menkheperre; Son of Re: Thutmose (III), [living] forever.

His majesty commanded to encircle this temple with a thick wall of stone-work, for his father Re-Harakhte forever, when he cleansed Heliopolis, the house of Re — — — — —.^c

643. A doorpost^d in Cairo bears a dedication of Thutmose III, as follows:

He made (it) as his monument for his father Atum, lord of Heliopolis, making for him a doorway of benut (*bnw' t*) stone, (called): "Pure-are-the-Offerings-of-Menkheperre-Beloved-of-the-Gods-of-Heliopolis."

NUBIAN WARS

644. The records of Thutmose III's conquests in Nubia are very meager; although he had evidently been early active there, as is shown by his building of the Semneh temple (§§ 167 ff.), yet the first mention of a Nubian campaign is in his fiftieth year, when in passing through the canal at the first cataract he was obliged to clear it of stones, as recorded in his inscription, cut there at the time (§§ 649 ff.).

^aTwo others add: "for the father of his fathers, all the gods of the splendid region;" and "for his father, Amon-Re."

^bStela found by Lepsius at Heliopolis; limestone, 96 cm. high, now in Berlin, No. 1634. Published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 29, b; I had also my own photograph of the original, and the copy for the Berlin dictionary.

^cOne line, and perhaps more, lacking.

^dSharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 34.

645. Besides this, the king commemorated his victories in Nubia by having engraved upon the front of each tower of one of his pylons^a at Karnak a list^b of seventeen names of towns and districts captured there. Over one list is a relief,^c now in a very fragmentary state, representing the king sacrificing his Nubian foes before Amon. The scene is accompanied by the words:

———— 'bringing¹ the living prisoners to Egypt, all their herds being led to Egypt. He has filled the storehouse of his father, the lord of gods with — — — of the chiefs 'whom' he has 'conquered'. The kings have not done it (before) in this land. His name shall abide forever and ever.

Over the other list was a similar inscription, now too fragmentary for translation.

646. A further and much fuller list was placed by the king in duplicate, one on each of the two towers of the sixth Karnak pylon, a list which contains no less than 115^d names of the towns and districts of the Nubian regions conquered.^e One of these lists was surmounted by a relief showing the Nubian god Dedun leading and presenting to Thutmose III the towns, etc., enumerated in the list. Over both the lists is the following inscription:

List of these south^f countries, the Nubian Troglodytes of Khenthennofer, whom his majesty overthrew, making a great^g slaughter among them, (whose) number is unknown, and carrying away all their subjects as living captives to Thebes, in order to fill the storehouse of his father,

^aBouriant does not indicate clearly which pylon is meant, but says it is in front of the sanctuary.

^bDaressy, *Recueil*, XI, 154, 155.

^cSouth of door.

^dMariette's 116 is an error.

^eMariette, *Karnak*, 22, 23; Maspero, *Recueil*, VII, 99, 100; Golénischeff, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1882, 145-48, and Taf. VI; Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 37; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1544-53.

^fThe duplicate has "south and north!" but as the two lists are duplicates, and the Nubian god Dedun presents them to the king, "north" is certainly an error.

^g"Great" is from the duplicate.

Amon-Re, lord of Thebes. Lo, all lands are the subjects of his majesty, according as his father, Amon, has commanded.

647. Finally, on his southern pylon (VII) at Karnak, the king recorded a table of nearly, and possibly more than, 400 names of towns, districts, countries, etc., conquered in Nubia.^a It was accompanied by the same inscription as that over the lists on Pylon VI. The geography of Nubia is too little known to determine the limits of the territory included in these lists, and it is uncertain how far up the Nile Thutmose III's conquests extended. As his son Amenhotep II reached the extreme southern limit at Napata, it is probable that Thutmose III's wars at least prepared the way thither, if they did not include Napata.

648. A short inscription^b in the tomb of Ineni refers to captives and spoil from Nubia:

— among the negroes, given from chiefs and living captives, [—] for divine offerings of Amon, when Kush, the wretched, was overthrown; together with the tribute of all countries, which his majesty gave to the temple of Amon as yearly dues, for the sake of the life, prosperity, and health of King Thutmose III.^c

The above document is corroborated by a record of such offerings placed by the king in the Karnak temple (§§ 541 ff.).

I. CANAL INSCRIPTION^d

649. On this expedition into Nubia, the king found the old Middle Kingdom canal of Sesostriis III (I, 642 ff.)

^aMariette, *Karnak*, 24-26; Maspero, *Recueil*, VII, 97-99; Golénischeff, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1882, 145-48, and Taf. VI; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1544-53 (where material from this list is combined with others, especially the 115 names of Pylon VI).

^bPiehl, *Inscriptions*, I, 129, Q-130, and p. 105.

^cPiehl's copy has *Hpr-k 2-R^c*, which would be Sesostriis I; but *mn* of *Mn-hpr-k 2-R^c* has certainly fallen out, as offerings "*for the sake of the life, etc.*," were made only for living kings.

^dCut on the rock of the island of Sehel, at the first cataract. It was discovered by Mr. E. C. Wilbour in 1889, and published in *Recueil*, XIII, 202 f.; again, inaccurately, in de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 85, No. 18.

stopped up, although it had been cleared by his father, Thutmose I (§§ 74 ff.). He ordered it cleared, and was able to sail through without trouble on his return. He put up a record of the clearance, beside that of his father and in the identical language;^a he also made the fishermen of Elephantine responsible for the yearly clearance of the passage in the future.

650. Year 50, first (month) of the third season (ninth month), day 22, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre (Thutmose III), given life.

His majesty commanded to dig this canal, after he had found it^b stopped up with stones, (so that) no ship sailed upon it. He sailed down-stream upon it, his heart glad, having slain his enemies.

The name of this canal is: "Opening-of-This-Way-in-the-Beauty^c-of-Menkheperre-Living-Forever." The fishermen of Elephantine shall clear this canal each year.

II. INSCRIPTIONS OF NEHI, VICEROY OF KUSH

651. Nehi held the office of "*King's-son*," or viceroy of Kush, in the second half of the reign of Thutmose III (see § 61), beginning not later than the year 23, when he erected Thutmose III's record of victory at Wadi Halfa (§§ 411 ff.). He was evidently in charge of the alterations in the Semneh temple, later undertaken by Thutmose III. A mutilated inscription^d of his in this temple speaks of "*bringing stone in restoring the monument — of eternity —*"

^aThis probably indicates that we are not to understand literally the identical statements made by his father as to his actually sailing on the canal. Thutmose III was now an old man of eighty years at least, and it is impossible that he should have accompanied the expedition himself.

^bLit., "*after his finding* (infinitive) *it*."

^cIt is, of course, the same as the Middle Kingdom canal, but is given a new name by each king.

^dOutside, south wall, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 47, a, below, at the right of the door; the "*governor of the south countries*," whose name is lost on the left of the door, belongs to the Ramsessid period, as he is adoring Ramses III.

— — [Governor of the] south [countries], Nehi (Nhy).” Another record^a of his on the latest portion of the building, the northern addition,^b is too fragmentary for translation.

652. The grotto at Ellesiyeh^c dates from the fifty-second year^d of Thutmose III, and contains the following inscription^e of Nehi:

Bringing^f the tribute of the south countries, consisting of gold, ivory, and ebony, [by] the hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, satisfying the heart of the king at the Horns of the Earth,^g having access to the king, pleasant to the divine limbs; companion, approaching the mighty sovereign, vigilant for the lord of the palace, king's-son, governor of the south countries, Nehi.

He saith: “I am a servant useful to his lord, filling his house with gold, giving tribute to —, consisting of the impost of the south countries; [whose] praise comes forth in the presence of his lord;^h the king's-son, governor of the south countries, Nehi.”ⁱ

Another inscription^j of Nehi, containing only his name and titles, is on the island of Sai, one hundred miles above Semneh.

III. OFFERINGS FROM THE SOUTH COUNTRIES^k

653. A relief shows Amon enthroned, and receiving from Thutmose III, who stands before him, a great array of offer-

^aLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 56, a.

^bSee Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 21 f.

^cLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 45, e.

^dSee Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 23, n. 1.

^eLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 46, c = Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 80.

^fThe inscription of course accompanied a representation of the Nubians bringing the tribute before Nehi.

^gSee Index.

^hRead: nb'f.

ⁱThis inscription has been understood by Wiedemann as belonging to the tomb of Nehi; for he refers (*Aegyptische Geschichte*, 362) to this inscription to prove the statement that the Tomb of Nehi was at Silsileh (confusion with Ellesiyeh?). The tomb of Nehi is unknown, as far as I have been able to find.

^jLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 59, b.

^kA relief with inscription in one of the rear rooms in Thutmose III's portion of the Karnak temple; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 165 f.

ings, including cattle, fowl, flowers, bread, all sorts of fruit, together with metal libation-vessels, necklaces, amulets, and pendants. The whole is accompanied by the following inscription:

654. Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre; he made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, [making] for him divine possessions, presenting to him all divine offerings, and very great feasts, which his majesty made for the first time as an increase of that which was before: giving an oblation of vessels of very plentiful 'fullness'; necklaces, amulets, and pendants of real^a electrum, brought to his majesty from the south countries as their yearly impost; that he may live forever.

HYMN OF VICTORY^b

655. At the top, occupying over one-fourth of the stela, are two scenes of worship, in each of which Thutmose III, accompanied by the goddess of the Theban necropolis, Khaftet-hir-nebes (*ḥft t-hr-nbs*^c), offers to Amon, with the usual superscriptions.^c

The hymn itself in twenty-five lines occupying the remainder of the stela, is the best specimen of its class, and was later partly copied by scribes of Seti I for the wall of the great Karnak temple^d in which this tablet was set up. The hymn is of sufficient historical importance to be included here; although due allowance must be made for its rhetorical style, it is a very helpful supplement to the Annals.

^aText has *m*, "new."

^bA black granite tablet 180 cm. in height, discovered by Mariette in a chamber northwest of the main sanctuary room of Karnak, now in Cairo. Text: Rougé, from a copy by Devéria, *Revue archéologique*, N. S., IV, 1861², opposite p. 196; Mariette, *Album photographique*, Pl. 32; Mariette, *Karnak*, Pl. 11. Mariette's text is very incorrect and must be compared with the photograph.

^cThe whole of both scenes was hammered out by Amenhotep IV, and has then been restored.

^dCopied by Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 96, republished by Maspero, *Du genre épistolaire*, 90, and Guieysse, *Recueil*, XI, 64, 65. See III, 117.

656. ¹Utterance of Amon-Re, lord of Thebes:
 Thou comest to me, thou exultest, seeing my beauty,
 O my son, my avenger, Menkheperre, living forever.
 I shine for love of thee,
 My heart ²is glad at thy beautiful comings into my temple;
 (My) two hands furnish thy limbs with protection and life.
 How pleasing is thy pleasantness toward my body.^a
 I have established ³thee in my dwelling,
 I have worked a marvel for thee;
 I have given to thee might and victory against all countries,
 I have set thy fame (even) the fear of thee in all lands.
 Thy terror as far as the ⁴four pillars of heaven;
 I have magnified the dread of thee in all bodies,
 I have put the roaring of thy majesty among the Nine Bows.
 The chiefs of all countries are gathered in thy grasp,
⁵I myself have stretched out my two hands,
 I have bound them for thee.
 I have bound together the Nubian Troglodytes by tens of thousands
 and thousands,
 The Northerners by hundreds of thousands as captives.
⁶I have felled thine enemies beneath thy sandals,
 Thou hast smitten the ⁷hordes¹ of rebels according as I commanded
 thee.
 The earth in its length and breadth, Westerners and Easterners are
 subject^b to thee,
⁷Thou tramplest all countries, thy heart glad;
 None presents himself^c before thy majesty,
 While I am thy leader, so that thou mayest reach them.
 Thou hast crossed the water of the Great Bend^d of ⁸Naharin (*N-h-r-n*)
 with victory, with might.

^aReferring to the king's adornment of the divine image as prescribed by the ritual.

^bLit., "*are under the place of thy face*," an idiom for "*subject*."

^cExactly the same phrase is found in Seti I's Syrian campaign (*Recueil*, XI, 59), III, 86; it is explained by the Tombos tablet, ll. 11, 12, § 73.

^dEuphrates. On the obelisk of Thutmose III in Constantinople the same phrase is applied to him: "*who crossed the Great Bend of Naharin (N-h-r-n) with might and with victory*" (§ 631). This statement is therefore not merely poetic hyperbole, and coincides with the Annals, §§ 477 ff.

657. I have decreed for thee that they hear thy roarings and enter into caves;

I have deprived their nostrils of the breath of life.

⁹I have set the terrors of thy majesty in their hearts,
My serpent-diadem upon thy brow, it consumes them,
It makes^a captive by the hair^b the Kode-folk,

¹⁰It devours those who are in their marshes with its flame.

Cut down are the heads of the Asiatics (^c *mw*), there is not a remnant of them;^c

Fallen are the children of their mighty ones.

¹¹I have caused thy victories to circulate among all lands,
My serpent-diadem gives light to thy dominion.
There is no rebel of thine as far as the circuit of heaven;
They come, bearing tribute upon their backs,
¹²Bowing down to thy majesty according to my command.
I have made powerless the invaders who came before thee;
Their hearts burned, their limbs trembling.

658. ¹³I have come, causing thee to smite the princes of Zahi (^D *h*);
I have hurled them beneath thy feet among their highlands.
I have caused them to see thy majesty as lord of radiance,
So that thou hast shone in their faces like my image.

¹⁴I have come, causing thee to smite the Asiatics,^d
Thou hast made captive the heads of the Asiatics^e of Retenu.
I have caused them to see thy majesty equipped with thy adornment,
When thou takest the weapons of war in the chariot.

¹⁵I have come, causing thee to smite the eastern land,
Thou hast trampled those who are in the districts of God's-Land.
I have caused them to see thy majesty like a circling star,^f
When it scatters its flame in fire, and gives forth its dew.

659. ¹⁶I have come, causing thee to smite the western land,
Keftiyew (*Kf-tyw*) and Cyprus (*Ysy*) are in terror.
I have caused them to see thy majesty as a young bull,

^aThis phrase is explained in Annals, year 31, l. 10, § 470, note; for *ys-h* > *k*, see Sethe, *Verbum*, II, § 700.

^b"Hair" is without determinative; it occurs with determinative on Tombos tablet, ll. 6, 7, § 71, q. v.

^cLit., "their remnant is not."

^d*Ymyw-sf* *t*.

^e*c mw*.

^fSee I, 511, l. 2.

Firm of heart,^a ready-horned, irresistible.

¹⁷I have come, causing thee to smite those who are in their marshes,
The lands of Mitanni (*My-t-n*) tremble under fear of thee.

I have caused them to see thy majesty as a crocodile,
Lord of fear in the water, unapproachable.

660. ¹⁸I have come, causing thee to smite those who are in the isles;
Those who are in the midst of the Great Green (Sea) hear^b thy roar-
ings.

I have caused them to see thy majesty as an avenger (*nd ty*)
Who rises upon the back of his slain victim.

¹⁹I have come, causing thee to smite the Tehenu (Libyans),
The isles of the Utentyew^c are (‘subject’) to the might of thy prowess.
I have caused them to see thy majesty as a fierce-eyed lion,
Thou makest them corpses in their valleys.

661. ²⁰I have come, causing thee to smite the uttermost ends of the
lands,

The circuit^d of the Great Circle (Okeanos) is inclosed in thy grasp.
I have caused them to see thy majesty as a lord of the wing,^e
Who seizeth upon that which he seeth, as much as he desires.

²¹I have come, causing thee to smite those who are in front^f of their
land.

Thou hast smitten the Sand-dwellers as living captives.
I have caused them to see thy majesty as a southern jackal,
Lord of running, stealthy-going, who roves the Two Lands.

²²I have come, causing thee to smite the Nubian Troglodytes,
As far as ʿ—^g (they) are in thy grasp.

^aSee a bead of Amenhotep II, bearing a bull, with the words: “*Firm of heart*” (Petrie, *Historical Scarabs*, XVIII, No. 1119); not uncommon.

^bLit., “*are under thy roarings.*”

^c*Wtntyw*; unknown.

^dLit., “*That which the Great Circle encircles.*”

^eA designation of the hawk.

^fThis is in contrast with the “*back-lands*” of l. 20; Maspero’s rendering, “*duars*” = protected inclosures, is a conjecture which ignores the word “*land*,” written here with a single stroke, very easily to be overlooked. The text thus contrasts the nearest and the remotest Asiatic enemies of Egypt. Chabas (*Etudes sur l’antiquité historique*, 183) emends to read the same as the word for river- and harbor-mouths (*h w*) under Ramses III.

^gŠ ʾ t, name of an uncertain Nubian country.

I have caused them to see thy majesty as thy two brothers,^a

I have united their two arms for thee in [v[ictory]]

662. ²³Thy two sisters,^b I have set them as protection behind thee,
The arms of my majesty are above, warding off evil.

I have caused thee to reign, my beloved son,

Horus, Mighty Bull, Shining in Thebes, whom I have begotten, in
[uprightness of heart]^c.

²⁴Thutmose, living forever, who hast done for me all that my ka
desired;

Thou hast erected my dwelling as an everlasting work,

Enlarging and extending (it) more than the past which had been.

The great doorway — — —.

²⁵Thou hast fêted the beauty of Amon-Re,

Thy monuments are greater than (those of) any king who has been.

When I commanded thee to do it, I was satisfied therewith;

I established thee upon the Horus-throne of millions of years;

Thou shalt continue life — — —.

TOMB OF REKHMIRE^d

663. This tomb is the most important private monument of the Empire. The scenes and inscriptions on its walls depict and narrate the career of Rekhmire, who was prime minister, or vizier, of Egypt and governor of the residence

^aHorus and Set.

^bIsis and Nephthys.

^cSee § 138, l. 1.

^dA cliff-tomb in the hill of Shekh Abd el-Kurna, on the west shore at Thebes; it attracted attention as early as 1819, when some scenes were copied by Cailliaud, and later published in "*Recherches sur les arts et métiers, les usages de la vie civile et domestique des anciens peuples de l'Égypte, de la Nubie et de l'Éthiopie*," par F. Cailliaud (Paris, 1831-37). Later various scenes were published by Wilkinson, *Manners*, I, Pl. IV, etc.; Champollion, *Monuments*, 161, 164 ff.; Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, 52-54; Hoskins, *Travels in Ethiopia* (London, 1835), 328; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 40, 41, and Text, III, 270 f.; Prisse, *Histoire de l'art égyptien*, 1863 (plates not numbered); Piehl, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 113, 114, pp. 92, 93. The first attempt to publish the entire tomb was made by M. Ph. Virey. It was published by him in 1889 (*Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, V, "*Le Tombeau de Rekhmara*"), but his work is so incomplete and incorrect, both in the drawings and the texts, that it is unusable; indeed, Virey himself translated from it the great inscription on the duties of the vizier backward! Thus this priceless monument steadily deteriorated during the last century, without a serious effort being made to preserve it in its entirety, until it was finally rescued by Mr.

during the latter half of the reign of Thutmose III, the period of Egypt's greatest power. He came of eminent family, having succeeded his uncle Woser in the vizierate,^a and as his career brought him the highest post in the state during the most stirring years of Thutmose III's great conquests, he has put much of it in his tomb. We find in it the fullest known source for the study of the constitution of the state and the administration of the Pharaoh's government under the Empire, beside the best known representations in color of the peoples and products of Punt, Keftiyew, Retenu, and Nubia.

664. Incidentally, Rekhmire also throws light upon the character of Thutmose III. After modestly remarking of himself that "*there was nothing of which he was ignorant in heaven, in earth, (or) in any quarter of the nether world;*"^b and again: "*I was a noble, second to the king;*" he says of the king: "*Lo, his majesty knew that which occurred; there was nothing which he did not know —, he was Thoth in everything, there was no affair which he did not complete.*"

I. APPOINTMENT OF REKHMIRE AS VIZIER^c

665. The following inscription narrates Rekhmire's appointment to the highest office in the kingdom. The

Newberry, who published the first instalment of his complete copies in 1900 (*The Life of Rekhmara*, by Percy E. Newberry, London, 1900). From this careful work, for which we are much indebted, the following translations have been made; the plate numbers referred to are always those of Newberry's work.

^aFor a full account of his life, see Newberry, 13-20.

^bHe is, of course, referring to the affairs of his office, and to political matters. These extracts are all taken from a long inscription, too fragmentary for full translation (Pls. VII and VIII).

^cPls. IX and X. I had also the fragmentary copies of the same text in the tombs of Woser and Amenhotep (Newberry, 34), for which I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Alan H. Gardiner. They fill up some lacunæ and furnish some corrections, cited as "Dupl.," but I have not added this remark merely to indicate the filling up of a lacuna. [Later: Mr. Gardiner has now published the text and duplicates, with an excellent rendering and commentary (*Recueil*, XXVI), from which I have incorporated a number of valuable points in the above.]

relief shows Thutmose III enthroned, before whom, in accordance with the statement of the inscription, Rekhmire appears for appointment.^a The king then gives him instructions regarding the administration of his office. Unfortunately, these instructions, which occupy twenty long lines, are very fragmentary, and at the same time extremely obscure. The following version omits a number of passages which may not be safely rendered, and even so translates much more than can be understood, without a longer commentary than it is possible to offer here. It will be seen that the vizier is exhorted: to legal (l. 8), just (l. 8), and impartial (l. 15) decisions; not to be excessively forbidding, but still to keep himself aloof from the people (ll. 18, 19); finally, that his office is really to be administered according to the instructions given (l. 22). The instructions are remarkably humane in temper and show a surprisingly high appreciation of justice. As they present the fundamentals of Egyptian government, it is greatly to be regretted that they are so fragmentary and difficult. These were apparently the conventional instructions customarily delivered at the appointment of every vizier, for they were delivered to Woser, the uncle of Rekhmire, at his appointment, and also to Hapu, vizier under Thutmose IV.^b

666. ¹Regulation laid upon the vizier, Rekhmire. ²The officials were brought to the audience-hall, [This majesty] commanded that ³the vizier, Rekhmire,^c be presented [for] appointment for the first time.

⁴His majesty spake before him: [“Take heed”] to thyself for the hall of the vizier; ⁵be watchful over all that is done therein. Behold, it is a support^d of the whole land; behold, as for the vizier, behold, he is not sweet, behold, bitter^d is he, when he addresses — — ⁶of copper is

^aHis figure has been intentionally erased.

^bNewberry, *Rekhmara*, p. 34.

^cName intentionally erased from the wall.

^dSee Gardiner.

he, a wall of gold for the house of his —. Behold, he is not one setting his face toward the officials and councilors, neither one making [brethren] of all the people. Behold, — — — ⁷a man is in the dwelling of his lord, he [does] good for him; behold [he] does not — — for another.

667. Behold, the petitioner of the South, [the North] and the whole land, shall come, supplied — — — —. ⁸Mayest thou see to it for thyself,^a to do everything after that which is in accordance with law; to do everything according to the right thereof. Do not — — — that he may be just. Behold, as for an official, when he has reported ⁹water and wind of all his doings, behold, his deeds shall not be unknown — — — [— — —] — — —; he is not brought in because of the speech of the responsible officer, [‘but’] it is known ¹⁰by the speech of his messenger^b as the one stating it;^b he is by the side of the responsible officer as the speaker; he is not one lifting up the voice, a messenger petitioning — — — — ¹¹or an official. Then one shall not be ignorant of his deeds; lo, it is the safety^c of an official to do things according to the regulation, by doing that which is spoken by the petitioner.^d

668. ¹²It is an abomination of the god to show partiality. This is the teaching: thou shalt do the like, shalt regard him who is known to thee like him who is unknown to thee, and him who is near to — like him who is far ^e — — — ¹⁶an official who does like this, then shall he flourish greatly in the place. Do not [avoid] a petitioner, nor nod thy head when he speaks. As for him who draws near, who will approach to thee, do not — — — — ¹⁷the things which he saith in speaking. Thou shalt punish him when thou hast let him hear that on account of which thou punishest him. Lo, they will say, the petitioner loves him who nods the head [— — —] — — —.

669. ¹⁸Be not enraged toward a man unjustly, but be thou enraged concerning that about which one should be enraged; show forth the fear of thee; let one be afraid of thee, (for) a prince is a prince of whom one is afraid. Lo, the true dread of a prince is to do ¹⁹justice. Behold, if a man show forth the fear of him a myriad of times, there is some-

^aAn ethical dative which might be omitted in the translation. Dupl. has *m³ k nk*.

^bOr: “Tell it not, (for) he is, etc.”

^cLit., “refuge.”

^dIn l. 13 there is a reference to an unjust vizier Khety, but in what connection is uncertain.

^eFor a similar antithesis of *tkn*, “be near,” and *w³ y*, “be far,” see *Hierat. Papyrus aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, II, 36, l. 8.

thing of violence in him. Be not known to the people; and they shall not say: "He is (only) a man."^a

670. ²⁰He who speaks a lie shall go forth according to his docket,^b Lo, [—] thou shalt do thy office, as thou doest justice. Lo, one shall desire to do justice²¹. Lo, one shall say of the chief scribe of the vizier: "A scribe of justice," shall one say of him. Now, as for the hall, wherein thou holdest hearings there shall be a broad-hall therein ———. [He who dispenses¹ ²²justice before all the people, he is the vizier. Behold, a man shall be in his office, (as long as) he shall do things according to that which is given to him. Lo, a man is [—] when he shall act according to that which has been told him. Do not — thy — in — — ²³that thou knowest the law thereof. Lo, let one [—] to the proud-hearted;^c the king loves the fearful more than the proud-hearted. Do thou according to [that which is given¹ to thee; lo, ——— ²⁴. ———.

II. DUTIES OF THE VIZIER^d

671. This, the most important inscription known on the organization of the state under the Eighteenth Dynasty, is unfortunately incomplete. Two duplicates^e found by Newberry fill out many of the lacunæ, but the last fifth of the text is very fragmentary. This is especially unfortunate, as the latter part of the inscription is by far the most intelligible and deals with functions easily understood.

672. The inscription is an outline of the duties of the vizier, of the greatest interest. After prescribing the external arrangements for the vizier's daily sitting in his "*hall*," as his office is termed, the document proceeds to the daily conference of the vizier with the king, and, immediately

^aThis is the same advice given by Amenemhet I to his son Sesostri I (I, 479, ll. 3-5).

^bSee Duties of Vizier, § 683, l. 14.

^cLit., "*mighty-hearted*."

^dPls. II and III.

^eFrom the tomb of Woser, belonging to the early part of Thutmose III's reign; and the tomb of Amenemopet, belonging to Amenhotep II's reign (see Newberry, 25 f.).

subsequent to this, the daily reports of the chief treasurer and the vizier to each other, and of the chief officials to the vizier. These daily duties are now followed by a long list of exceedingly varied functions to be discharged by the vizier, making in all at least thirty. There seems to be no logical order in the enumeration, and the varied character of the list will be evident from a reading of the marginal heads, which may serve in lieu of a table of content here. It will be seen that the vizier is grand steward of all Egypt, and that all the activities of the state are under his control. He has general oversight of the treasury, and the chief treasurer reports to him; he is chief justice, or head of the judiciary; he is chief of police, both for the residence city and the kingdom; he is minister of war, both for army and navy; he is secretary of the interior and of agriculture, while all general executive functions of state, with many that may not be classified, are incumbent upon him. There is, indeed, no prime function of the state which does not operate through his office. He is a veritable Joseph, and it must be this office which the Hebrew writer has in mind in the story of Joseph. The only person other than the king to whom he owes any respect is the chief treasurer, to whom he seems to offer a daily statement that all is well with the royal possessions. Such power is, of course, possible only in a highly centralized state, and Egypt is shown by this inscription to be in the Empire simply a vast estate of the Pharaoh, of which the vizier is chief steward. The vizier's functions are distributed promiscuously throughout the document, as follows:

- I. Judiciary (§§ 675, 681, 685-6, 688-91, 700, 704, 705).
- II. Treasury (§§ 676, 680, 706, 708).
- III. War $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Army (§§ 693-95, 702).} \\ \text{Navy (§§ 710, 687).} \end{array} \right.$

IV. Interior (§§ 677, 687, 697, 707).

V. Agriculture (§§ 698, 699).

VI. General Executive (§§ 692, 701, 703).

VII. Advisory and Unclassified (§§ 678, 679, 682, 684, 696, 709, 711).

673. It is impossible to discuss this inscription without raising the question of its origin and exact character. The fact that it is known to exist in two other tombs also, would suggest that it was not an informal enumeration of the vizier's duties drawn up by himself especially for his tomb, but a close examination of the document itself shows that it could not possibly have been a state document to the decrees of which the vizier was amenable. It was evidently no more than we have suggested, viz., a list of the vizier's duties, compiled by himself, for recording in his tomb. It must, of course, have been based upon the existent laws, from which it may, in places, contain extracts. In any case, it contains the purport of certain of the laws in force at the time, some of which, like those regulating the criminal docket, are very interesting and important. The only other surviving example of the laws of Egypt are in the Decree of Harmhab (III, 45 ff.), for of the "40 skins," undoubtedly rolls containing "*this law which is in his hand*" mentioned by our inscription, nothing has ever been found. Such law was, of course, the codified fiat of the Pharaoh, as is evident in the Decree of Harmhab.

674. The language of the document is very difficult, and demonstrates how helpless our incomplete knowledge of the Egyptian dictionary leaves us as soon as we pass from the conventional language of the few classes of monuments familiar to us, to some untrodden path. Especially the legal enactments of the first half of the inscription abound in technical terms, most of which are totally unknown

to us. These render a final translation impossible, in many places.

External Arrangement of the Sitting

675. ¹Arrangement of the sitting^a of the governor of the (residence) city, and vizier of the Southern City, (and) of the court, in the hall of the vizier. As for every act^b of this official, the vizier while hearing in the hall of the vizier, he shall sit upon a chair,^c with a rug upon the floor, and a dais upon it, a cushion^d under his back, a cushion under his feet, a — upon it, ²and a baton at his hand; the 40 skins^e shall be open before him. Then the magnates of the South^f (shall stand) in the two aisles before him, while the master of the privy chamber is on his right, the 'receiver of income' on his left, the scribes of the vizier at his (either) hand; one^g 'corresponding' to another, with each man at his proper place. One shall be heard after another, without allowing one who is behind to be heard before ³one who is in front. If one in front says: "There is none being heard at my hand," then he shall be taken by the messenger of the vizier.^h

Intercourse of Palace with Outside World

676. There shall be reported to him the sealing of the sealed chambers up to (that) hour and the opening of them up to (that) hour. There shall be reported to him the affairs of the fortresses of the South and

^aThis is not the title of the entire document, but refers only to the opening paragraph.

^bLit., "every doing" (inf.!).

^cEvidently a particular kind of chair called *phḏw*, a word not occurring elsewhere.

^dErman; original has *šd*, "a skin," evidently meaning a leathern cushion so common on Egyptian furniture. "Back" is, of course, a euphemism.

^eThis word (*šsm*) is new; it has the determinative of leather. The 40 *šsm* are depicted in the accompanying scene lying on the floor before the vizier (§ 712). Erman suggests they may have been the leather cases in which the rolls of the papyrus were preserved; but such state documents were written on leather, e. g., the records of Thutmose III (§ 433).

^fOnly the magnates of the South, as the vizier with whom we are dealing is the southern vizier.

^g"One" refers to the entire company before him; each shall occupy his proper place with reference to the other.

^hMeaning that as soon as a petitioner in front sees no one before him ("at his hand"), he may say so, and be taken to the vizier by his messenger.

North. The going out of all that goes out of the king's-house shall be reported to him; and the coming in of all that comes into the king's-house shall be reported to him.^a Now, as for everything going in (and) everything going out on the floor of the court, they shall go out (and) they shall go in through his messenger, who shall cause (them) to go in (and) go out.

Reports of Overseers

677. The overseers of hundreds and the overseers of [—]^b shall report to him their affairs.

Daily Report to Pharaoh

678. ⁵Furthermore, he shall go in to take counsel on the affairs of the king, L. P. H., and there shall be reported to him the affairs of the Two Lands in his house every day. He shall go in to Pharaoh, before the chief treasurer; he^c shall wait at the northern flagstaff. Then the vizier shall come, proceeding from the gate of the great double façade.

Report of Treasurer and Vizier to Each Other

679. Then ⁶the chief treasurer, he shall come to meet him (the vizier) and shall report to him, saying: "All thy affairs are sound and prosperous; every responsible incumbent has reported to me, saying: 'All thy affairs are sound and prosperous, the king's-house is sound and prosperous.'" Then the vizier, he shall report to the chief treasurer, saying: "⁷All thy affairs are sound and prosperous; every seat of the court is sound and prosperous.^d There have been reported to me

^aThe "king's-house" is a whole, of which the "court" is but one part, in which the king lived. Entrance to the "king's-house" was only reported to the vizier, while entrance to the "court" could be gained only under conduct of his "messenger."

^b*Mr-hrp.*

^cThe chief treasurer; the front of the palace was decorated, like the temple façades, with flagstaves, and near one of these the treasurer is to wait.

^dOn a fragment in the Louvre (without a number) is a relief showing a line of twelve priests: three of the "first order," three of the "second order," three of the "third order," and three of the "fourth order." Over their heads are fragments of two lines, as follows: "——— in the temple of Amon, in 'Most-Splendid-of-Splendors' (name of Der el-Bahri temple), by the High Priest of Amon in 'Most-Splendid-of-Splendors,' Senu (Snnw), triumphant ——— of Amon and of Hathor, Mistress of Thebes. They praise thee, they love thee, for all thy affairs are sound and prosperous in this temple." The High Priest of Hatshepsut's temple of Der el-Bahri is thus eulogized in the formal terms for a faithful officer's report. See the same words in the report of the lay priests at Illahun, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 37, 97.

the sealing of the sealed chambers to this hour (and) the opening of them to (this) hour, by every responsible incumbent."^a

Daily Opening of the King's-House

680. Now, after each has reported to the other, of the two officials, then the vizier shall send ⁸to open every gate of the king's-house, to cause to go in all that goes in, (and) [to go out]^b all that goes out likewise, by his messenger, who shall cause it to be put in writing.

Irregularities among the Princes

681. Let not any official be empowered to judge against a superior¹ in his hall. If there be any assailant^c against any of these officials in his hall, then he shall cause that he^d be brought to the judgment-hall. It is the vizier who shall punish him, in order to expiate his fault. Let not any official have power to punish in his hall. There shall be reported [to] him every judgment which is against the hall, when he repairs thereto.¹

Duties and Treatment of the Vizier's Messengers

682. As for every messenger ¹⁰whom the vizier sends with a message for an official, from the first official to the last, let him not be [swerved], and let him not be conducted; the official shall repeat his vizierial message while he^e stands before ¹¹the official, repeating his message and going forth to wait for him. His messenger shall seize the mayors and village sheiks for the judgment-hall; his messenger shall give the [regulation] ——— his messenger gives answer, saying: "I have been sent ¹²with a message for the official so and so; he caused that I be conducted, and

^aIt will be seen that the vizier reports on the "court," while the treasurer reports on the "king's-house." Now, the vizier possesses the reports concerning the "king's-house" (mentioned in ll. 3 and 4), by which he is enabled to control the report of the treasurer on the "king's-house." Similarly, if we possessed a list of the treasurer's duties, we should doubtless find that he received daily reports on the matters of the "court," by means of which he was enabled to control the vizier's report on the "court," which the vizier conducted directly by means of his messenger.

^bThe publication shows no lacuna, but the sense demands the inserted phrase.

^cSk.

^dThe confusion of pronouns is also in the original.

^eThe messenger.

he caused that something be entrusted to me.^a Hear [the affair] of this official ——— expiate those things, about which there has been litigation by the vizier in ¹³his hall, in every [crime], with greater^b punishment than by cutting off a limb.

Criminals

683. Now, as for every act of the vizier, while hearing in his hall; and as for every one who shall — — — — — [He shall record] everything concerning which he hears him. He who has not disproved the charge^c at ¹⁴this hearing, which takes place [—], then it shall be entered in the criminal docket. He who is in the great prison,^d not able to disprove the charge of his^e messenger, likewise; when their case comes on another time, then one shall report and determine whether it is in the criminal docket, ¹⁵and there shall be [executed] the things concerning which entry was made, in order to expiate their offense.

Loan of Vizier's Records

684. As for any writing sent [by the vizier] to] any hall, being those which are not confidential,^f it shall be taken to him^g together with the documents of the keepers ¹⁶thereof under seal of the (*sḏm·w*-) officers, and the scribes thereof after them; then he shall open it; then after he has seen it, it shall return to its place, sealed with the seal of the vizier. (But) if he furthermore ask for ¹⁷a confidential writing, then let it not be taken by the keepers thereof.

Summons of Petitioner

685. Now,^h as for every messenger whom the vizier sends on account of any petitioner, he shall cause that he go to him.

^aLit., "put upon my neck." This message evidently furnishes the formula to be used by the messenger in reporting the replies of the officials to whom he has been sent.

^bErmann; lit., "with an increase upon punishment by, etc."

^cLit., "warded off the evil."

^dOn our scanty knowledge of the prisons, see Spiegelberg, *Studien*, 64 ff.

^eOf the vizier.

^fLit., "wrapped up."

^gThe official desiring to consult the document.

^hOn this and the following paragraph, see Gardiner, *Inscription of Mes.* 37, 38.

Real Estate Cases

686. Now, as for every petitioner to the vizier concerning lands, he shall dispatch him (the messenger) to him, in addition to a hearing of ¹⁸the land-overseer and the local council^a of the ^{1b}district.^{1b} He shall decree a stay for him of two months for his lands in the South or North. As for his lands, however, which are near to the Southern City and to the court, he shall decree a stay for him of three days, being ¹⁹that which is according to law; (for) he shall^c hear every petitioner according to this law which is in his hand.

Reports of District Officials

687. It is he who brings in the officials of the district; it is he who sends them out; they report [to] him the affairs of their districts.

Wills, Etc.

688. Every property-list^d is brought to him; it is he who seals it.

Settlement of Registered Boundaries

689. ²⁰It is he who administers the ¹gift¹-lands^e in all regions. As for every petitioner who shall say: "Our boundary is unsettled;" one shall examine whether it is under the seal of the official thereof; then he shall seize the seizures^f of the local council who unsettled it.

Treatment of Unregistered Boundaries

690. Now, as for every remarkable case,^g and everything pertaining thereto; do not look ²¹at anything therein.

^a *p>g>t*. Whether this is a hearing before the vizier or a local hearing under the charge of "messenger," is not clear.

^b *Tm* >

^c The verbal form (*sgmif*) seems to be incorrect.

^d Such a property-list is frequently a will. A will, with the registration docket of the vizier's office upon it, is preserved to us; it reads: "(Date); *Done in the office (lit., hall) of the vizier in the presence of the governor of the city and vizier Khety, by the seal-scribe of the people's-bureau, Amenemhet-Ameny.*" A remark, probably indicating the payment of the tax on the transfer, follows (Griffith, *Kahun Papyri*, Pl. XIII, ll. 9-12). The document is from the Middle Kingdom.

^e These lands (*šd*) are thought by Moret to be the divisible lands held by tenantry as distinguished from indivisible tracts held by nobles (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 39, 36).

^f Meaning?

^g Unregistered land? Erman.

Manner of Petition

691. One shall put every petition^a in writing, not permitting that he petition orally.^b Every petitioner to the king shall be reported to him,^c after he puts (it) in writing.

Intercourse between Court and Local Authorities

692. It is he who dispatches every messenger of the king's-house, L. P. H., who is sent to the mayors and village sheiks. It is he who dispatches ²²every circuit messenger, every expedition of the king's-house. It is he who acts as the one who — — [in] the South and North, the Southern Frontier (*tp rsy*) and Abydos (*T³ -wr*). They shall report to him all that happens among them, on the first day of every four-month season; they shall bring to him the writing thereof, in their hands, together with their local council.

Mustering King's Escort

693. ²³It is he who gathers the troops, moving in attendance upon the king, in journeying northward or southward.

Garrison of Residence City

694. It is he who stations the rest who remain in the Southern City, (and) in the court, according to the decision in the king's-house, L. P. H.

General Army Orders

695. The commandant of the ruler's table^d is brought to him, to his hall, together with ²⁴the council of the army, in order to give to them the regulation of the army.

Advisory Functions

696. Let every office, from first to last,^e proceed^f to the hall of the vizier, to take counsel with him.

Felling Timber

697. It is he who dispatches to cut down trees according to the decision in the king's-house.

^aLit., "*petitioner*," strange as it seems; hence "*he*" in the next clause.

^bEgyptian: "*by hearing*."

^cThe vizier.

^dA district commandant who delivered game and supplies for the prince's table. In the Middle Kingdom the nomarchs also had such officers.

^eLit., "*every first office to every last office*."

^fOnly the determination of a verb of motion occupies the place where the verb should be.

Water-Supply

698. It is he who dispatches ²⁵the official staff, to attend to the water-supply^a in the whole land.

Annual Plowing

699. It is he who dispatches the mayors and village sheiks to plow for harvest time.

Overseers of Labor?

700. It is he who 'appoints' the overseers of hundreds in the hall of the king's-house.

Audience for Town Authorities

701. It is he who 'arranges' the hearing of the mayors and village sheiks who go forth in his name, of South and North.

Administration of Fortresses

702. ²⁶Every matter is reported to him; there are reported to him the affairs of the southern fortress; and every arrest which is for seizing — — —.

Nome Administration, Boundaries, Etc.

703. It is he who makes the '—' of every nome; it is he who "hears" it. It is he who dispatches the 'district' soldiers and scribes to carry out the 'administration' of the king. ²⁷The records of the nome are in his hall. It is he who hears concerning all lands. It is he who makes the boundary of every nome, the field '—', all divine offerings^b and every contract.

Record of Depositions, Etc.

704. It is he who takes every deposition; it is he who hears the rejoinder when a man comes for argument with his opponent.^c

Appointment of Courts for Special Cases, Etc.

705. It is he who appoints every appointee ²⁸to the hall of judgment, when any litigant comes to him from the king's-house.^d It is he who hears every edict.

^aSee I, 407, l. 6.

^bTemple income.

^cLit., "comes to words with his second." This evidently refers to argument of plaintiff and defendant before the vizier. See Gardiner, *Inscription of Mes*, 36, 37.

^dHe appoints members of special courts for cases where a member of the king's household is concerned.

Sacred and Royal Revenues in Residence City and Court

706. It is he who hears concerning the "Great Beauty" of every divine offering. It is he^a who levies all taxes of the income, and who gives it to him [—] ——— every — in the Southern City, (and) in the court. It is he who seals ²⁹it under his seal. It is he who hears every matter; it is he who makes the distribution of the tribute to the crown possessions. The great council shall report to him their dues ——— every — that is brought to ³⁰the judgment-hall, and every offering to the judgment-hall, he shall hear concerning it. It is he who opens the gold-house, together with the chief treasurer. It is he who inspects the tribute of [all] lands^b ——— ³¹chief steward, together with the great council (*dꜣdꜣt wrꜣt*). It is he who makes the [lists of] all bulls, [of] which a [list] is made.

Canal Inspection (?) in Residence City

707. It is he who inspects the [water-supply]¹ (*swꜣt*)^c on the first of every ten-day period [—] ——— ³²concerning every matter of the judgment-hall.

Revenues from Local Authorities

708. The mayors, village sheiks, and every man shall report to him, all their tribute. Every district supervisor, and every [overseer of] hundreds, they shall report to him every litigation [—] ——— ³³they shall report to him furthermore, monthly, in order to control the tribute. The treasurers and the (*kꜣꜣ yb-*) officials shall ———.

Observation of Sirius and High Nile

709. ——— the rising of Sirius, and the [—] of the Nile. There shall be reported to him the high (Nile)^d ——— [— — —] ³⁴—.

Administration of Navy

710. It is he who exacts the ships for every requisition made upon him. It is he who dispatches every messenger of the king's-house to ———. When the king is with the army, it is he who makes report

^aRead: *ntꜣ*.

^bThis function of the vizier is depicted with great detail in a splendid series of wall scenes in this tomb (§§ 760 ff.).

^cSee Florence Stela, No. 1774.

^dSimilar duties are referred to in the tomb of Min (*Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, V, 368), but the context is unfortunately broken. The following is visible: "——— concerning the affairs of the king's-house, conducting the work — — — of the high Nile."

———. ³⁵Report is made to him by all the officials of the head of the navy, from the highest to the lowest. It is he^a who seals the edicts ——— [—] of the keeper of [—] who is dispatched with a message of the king's-house.

Method of Reporting to Vizier

711. Every report shall be reported to him by ³⁶the doorkeeper of the judgment-hall, who reports [on his part] all that he (the vizier) does while hearing in the hall of the vizier.

III. THE SITTING OF THE VIZIER^b

Scene

712. The vizier sits enthroned at one end of the hall; before him are the "*Magnates of the South*" and the "*scribes of the vizier*," in two rows on each side of the central aisle; in this aisle, directly in front of the vizier, are the forty rolls of the law (see § 675, l. 2). Two deputies are leading petitioners down the aisle, and outside are other deputies or door-keepers receiving the petitioners as they arrive.

Inscription

713. Sitting, in order to hear the petitioners, in the hall of the vizier; by the hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, (*mr' t-ntr-*) priest, chief of the six courts of justice, a mouth giving satisfaction in the whole land; (*sm-*) priest, [master of every wardrobe], judging justly, not showing partiality, sending two men forth satisfied, judging the weak and the powerful, not [bringing sorrow] to the one who petitioned him; satisfying the heart of the king before the Two Lands, prince before the people, companion approaching the sovereign, favorite of him who is in the palace.

IV. RECEPTION OF PETITIONS^c

714. The following scene has unfortunately almost entirely disappeared; it portrayed the reception of petitions, from the people, regulated in the "Duties of the Vizier" (§§ 685 and 691).

^aText has *nf*; I emend to *ntf*.

^bPl. IV. See the description of the sitting in the first three lines of the preceding inscription (§ 675).

^cPl. XV.

Scene

Rekhmire stands leaning upon his staff, while scribes pass out among the people, where they receive and register complaints and petitions. Over Rekhmire is the following:

Inscription

715. Going forth over the land every morning to do the daily favors, to hear the matters of the people, the petitions of the South and the North; not preferring the great above the humble, rewarding the oppressed [— —], bringing the evil to him who committed it; by ——— [Rekhmire].

V. INSPECTION OF TAXES OF UPPER EGYPT

716. These important scenes,^a representing the only tax-lists we possess, show the local officials of Upper Egypt paying their dues (*yp·w*) to the vizier. Just what part of the total revenues of Upper Egypt these dues formed, it is impossible to state; but that they were only a part is certain. For the inscription clearly indicates that they are only the dues exacted from the local officials (as a tax upon their offices), and not the taxes paid by the people, for which we find a different designation (*bk·w*), from that employed here. This tax (*yp·w*) upon the officials is the one remitted by Harmhab (III, 63). It was collected by the vizier, while the tax (*bk·w*) upon the people was, of course, collected by the chief treasurer. It is noticeable that the vizier has charge of these revenues (*yp·w*) only in Upper Egypt, showing clearly the extent of his fiscal jurisdiction. There was, of course, another vizier for Lower Egypt from below Assiut to the sea.^b

Owing to the loss of a large portion of the lower rows, it is impossible to summarize and determine the total income

^aPls. V and VI. They are published for the first time by Newberry, having been passed over by all previous students of the tomb. We are therefore much indebted to him for their rescue.

^bA relief at Berlin, for example, shows the two viziers (No. 12411); see additional references, Newberry, 17, n. 3, and a full statement, Gardiner, *Inscription of Mes*, 33. It is probable that the office was not divided before the Empire, and probably not before Thutmose III.

of the crown from this source in Upper Egypt. Gold, silver, cattle, and linen form the most valuable items; of the others many are uncertain, and have therefore only been transliterated. The list begins with the fortresses of Bigeh and Elephantine at the first cataract, and extends as far north as Assiut. Some of the place-names are unknown, and have been merely transliterated below. The list is divided into two parts: the first from the cataract to Thebes, and the second from Thebes to Assiut; that is, the first above, the second below Thebes.

A. ABOVE THEBES

Scene

717. Rekhmire, at the right, receives the local officials, who advance in four lines, bringing their dues.^a Over their heads are inscribed their titles, the names of the towns or localities to which they belong, and the amounts of their dues.

Over Rekhmire

Inspection of the taxes (*yp w*) counted to^b (the credit of) the hall of the vizier of the Southern City, and counted against the mayors, the town-rulers, the district officials, the recorders of the districts, their scribes, and their field-scribes, who are in the South (*Tp-rsy*); beginning with Elephantine and the fortress of Bigeh; made according to the writings of ancient time, by the hereditary prince.^c [Rekhmire].

	OFFICIAL AND PLACE	TAX
718.	Commandant of the fortress of Bigeh (<i>Sn-mw t</i>)	20 deben of gold 5 good hides apes; 10 bows 20 large staves of [cedar] wood

^aThere are thirty-one officials still preserved; of five of these the inscriptions with names and dues are lost. Besides this, at least three more, with their inscriptions, have been lost in the lower row; that is, nearly one-fourth of the officials with their dues are lost. How many names of localities are lost is uncertain.

^bThe two prepositions "to" or "for" (*n*) and "against" (*r*) are correlative, and antithetic, the first being the preposition of advantage, the second of disadvantage. This is precisely as in Arabic, where *li* and *ʿalā*(*y*) have the same relation; thus: *li dāynūn* = "A debt is (owing) to me" (lit., "to me is a debt") is opposed to: *ʿalāyā dāynūn* = "I owe a debt" (lit., "against me is a debt"). See Uni, l. 36 (I, 320) for the same use of *yp n*, "count to."

^cOmitted titles.

	OFFICIAL AND PLACE	TAX
719.	Commandant of the fortress of Elephantine Scribe of the recorder of Elephantine Kenbeti of Elephantine Scribe of Elephantine	40 deben of gold, tribute weight 1 chest of (<i>mt</i> -) linen ——— 6 deben of gold, in tribute weight a pedet of raiment a large 'bolt' ¹ 2 deben of gold; 2 pedet of raiment; a large 'bolt' ¹ ; 1 chest of (<i>mt</i> -) linen 1 deben of gold; 2 oxen (<i>ng</i> 2 <i>w</i>)
720.	Recorder of Ombos Scribe of the Recorder of Ombos Kenbeti of Ombos	2 deben of gold; ——— 1 deben of gold, in tribute weight 3 large bolts; ——— — deben of silver, in tribute weight 4 deben of gold, in tribute weight 1 ox; 1 two-year-old
721.	Mayor of Edfu His scribe Recorder of Edfu	8 deben of gold, tribute weight a great 'bolt' ¹ gold (amount ?) 1 ox
	Town-Ruler of <i>Pr-mr-yw</i> ^a	1 deben of gold 1 chest of (<i>mt</i> -) linen; 2 oxen
722.	Mayor of Nekhen Kenbeti of Nekhen	4 deben of gold 3 deben of silver 1 ox 1 two-year-old 3 deben of gold, in tribute weight 1 bead necklace ['of' gold] 2 oxen 1 chest of (<i>mt</i> -) linen; 1 chest of (<i>d</i> 2 <i>w</i> -) linen
	(Name lost, top row)	Garments, 2 (<i>pdt</i> -) bolts (Linen) 1 great (<i>sm</i> 2 <i>t</i> -) 'bolt' ¹ gold (amount ?)
	(Name lost, top row)	1 (<i>wn-dw</i> -) ox, 2 yearlings Gold, linen

^aAn uncertain town.

	OFFICIAL AND PLACE	TAX
723.	Town-Ruler of Esneh { Scribe of the Islands of Esneh { Kenbeti of Esneh ^a {	— of silver 8 of gold 2 oxen; grain, linen 2 deben of gold ½ deben of silver 1 bead necklace 'of gold 1 (<i>wn-dw-</i>) ox, 1 yearling; linen (<i>d' w-</i>) linen 2 chests of (<i>mt-</i>) linen grain 2 calves, 2 oxen (<i>s' s'</i>)
724.	Recorder of Gebelen	1 deben of gold; ½ deben of silver
725.	Scribe of the District of '—' {	Gold, bead necklace, linen, yearlings; two-year-olds; (numbers lost)
726.	Scribe of the Islands which are in the South (<i>tp-rsy</i>) {	2 deben of gold 30 pigeons ^c <i>nb-tm' t</i> 2 oxen, 5 yearlings 1 chest of (<i>mt-</i>) linen
727.	Recorder of Hermonthis { Scribe of the Recorder of Hermonthis { Scribe of — the District of Hermonthis { Kenbeti of the District of Hermonthis {	3 deben of gold 10 ^c <i>nb-tm' t</i> 1 chest of (<i>mt-</i>) linen Gold (amount lost) (<i>d' w-</i>) linen 2 deben of gold 1 chest of (<i>mt-</i>) linen 40 pigeons 5 firstlings of the year 2 oxen, 5 yearlings Grain, honey 4 deben 'of gold 1 deben of silver 1 bead necklace 'of gold 1 chest of (<i>mt-</i>) linen (<i>d' w-</i>) linen
728.	Recorder of House of Hathor (<i>Pr-Hthr</i>)	(Lost)

^aOnly the end of the name is preserved. In the second row next to Esneh there is another Kenbeti, whose place-name is lost. He brings gold (amount?), 1 chest of (*mt-*) linen, 2 heket of grain, and 1 heket of grain (sic!).

B. BELOW THEBES

729. The scene is the same as before.^a

Over Rekhmire

Inspection of the taxes (*yp·w*) counted to (the credit of) the hall of the vizier of the Southern City (and) counted against the mayors, the town-rulers, the district officials, the recorders of the districts, their scribes and the — of their fields, from above Koptos to below S[iut], by the hereditary prince [Rekhmire].

	OFFICIAL AND PLACE	TAX
730.	— in the midst of the City (Thebes)	{ 1 deben of silver 3 deben of gold 1 chest of (<i>mt</i> -) linen 2 two-year-olds 3 yearlings
731.	Scribe of the District of <i>Rs-nj·t</i>	{ 1 chest of (<i>mt</i> -) linen Honey 3 heket of grain 3 yearlings 3 two-year-olds 2 full-grown (oxen) gold (amount lost); bead necklace
732.	— of Cusae	{ 3 deben of gold 1 bead necklace [of] gold ____ ____ ____
	— of Cusae	{ — deben of gold — deben of silver ____ ____ ____

^aThe two lower rows have mostly disappeared; twenty-four figures of officials are visible, and the tribute of two more is partially preserved. Of these twenty-six, the dues of one are totally lost, while five more figures (at least) with their dues have also disappeared; thus the dues of about one-fifth of the officials have been lost; the number of place-names lost (if any) is uncertain.

	OFFICIAL AND PLACE	TAX
733.	Kenbeti of the District of of Coptos	1 deben of silver $\frac{1}{2}$ deben of gold 10 measures of ($y^c h$ -) grain 1 heket of grain 1 ($hbn' t$ -) jar of honey; calves
734.	Kenbeti of the District of Dendera	1 deben of gold — — of silver ($y^c h$ -) grain 10 heket of grain 1 ($hbn' t$ -) jar of honey 5 calves — two-year-olds 1 ox
735.	Mayor of Haturt-Amen- emhet ($Ht-wr' t-Ymn-$ $m-h' t$)	5 deben of gold 1 deben of silver, tribute weight 200 (kw -) loaves 1,000 (sh -) loaves -3 wdn 10 sacks of [—] 3 tm ² 5 calves 3 yearlings 3 two-year-olds 2 (full-grown) oxen 500 pigeons
736.	Recorder of $W^2 h-ys' t$ Scribe of the Recorder of $W^2 h-ys' t$	$\frac{1}{2}$ deben of gold 1 chest of (mt -) linen 1 ($hbn' t$) jar of honey 1 two-year-old 1 bolt of ($d^2 -w$ -) linen cattle
737.	Recorder of Diospolis Parva ($Ht-shm$) Scribe of the Recorder of Diospolis Parva	5 deben of gold 1 heket of (tb -) grain ($\c -) grain 1 measure of ($y^c h$ -) grain 1 measure of ($sw' t$ -) grain 3 measures of southern grain 1 measure of southern grain pigeons, linen (many items lost) 3 deben of gold

	OFFICIAL AND PLACE	TAX
738.	<p>Recorder of Abydos</p> <p>His scribe</p> <p>Scribe of the District of of Abydos</p> <p>Kenbeti of Abydos</p>	<p>1 deben of gold (<i>mt</i>-) linen (<i>q² w</i>-) linen 1 (<i>hbn t</i>-) jar of honey 1 two-year-old 1 deben of gold 3 two-year-olds 1 deben of gold 1 bead necklace 'of' gold 1 heket of grain 2 heket of southern grain oxen</p>
739.	Mayor of Thinis	<p>6 deben of gold $\frac{1}{2}$ deben of silver (<i>y^c h</i>-) bread, 20 (<i>kw</i>-) loaves 10 sacks of '—' 10 <i>nb-tm^c t</i> 2 heket of grain 50 heket 10 heket of grain 1 (<i>hbn t</i>-) jar of honey 5 calves 6 yearlings 3 two-year-olds 2 (full-grown) oxen</p>
740.	Scribe ^a of the District of the city of Min (Akh- mim)	<p>2 deben of gold 1 deben of silver 2 bead necklaces 'of' [gold] 200 '—' 2 heket of grain —1 calves — two-year-olds 1 (full-grown) ox</p>
741.	<p>Recorder of Itfit</p> <p>His scribe</p>	<p>3 heket of southern grain 1 measure of grain 1 (<i>hbn t</i>) jar of honey 2 (full-grown) oxen</p>
742.	Mayor of <i>Pr-Hr</i>	<p>1 heket of southern grain 10 measures of (<i>sw t</i>-) grain 1 (<i>wn-dw</i>) ox 1 two-year-old (<i>šw</i>-) rolls</p>

^aBehind him was a figure now lost, with considerable tribute of grain, bread and cattle; the gold, if any, is lost. This may also belong to Akhmim.

	OFFICIAL AND PLACE	TAX
743.	Mayor —	1,000 (<i>sh</i> -) loaves (<i>sw</i> - <i>t</i> -) grain 3 measures of grain southern grain 2 heket of grain 10 (<i>kw</i> -) loaves 1 (<i>hbn</i> - <i>t</i> -) jar of honey <i>im</i> ^c - <i>t</i> 1 yearling 1 (full-grown) ox
744.	 Scribe of the District of ^c <i>nt</i> —	5 deben of gold 2 heket of grain 1 chest of (<i>mt</i> -) linen 1 chest of (<i>d</i> ³ <i>w</i> -) linen — [deben] of gold 1 chest of (<i>mt</i> -) linen 1 chest of (<i>d</i> ³ <i>w</i> -) linen
745.	Scribe of the Recorder of Siut ^a Kenbeti of Siut	Grain 1 (<i>hbn</i> - <i>t</i> -) jar of honey

VI. RECEPTION OF DUES TO THE AMON-TEMPLE^b

746. In this scene is represented the reception of the products of the field, including honey, due to the temple of Amon. The products of a Punt expedition and the annual tribute of North and South, so often recorded in the Annals, are mentioned.

Scene

747. Rekhmire, with his suite behind him, is enthroned at the right. Before him, in three registers, are officials and servants, presenting, storing, recording, and preparing

^aThere are two scribes, the name occurring with each.

^bPls. XII-XIV.

for use the products of Egypt and her tributary countries. Throughout this scene are distributed the following inscriptions:

Over Rekhmire

748. Reception of grain ($y^c h$) and honey in the White House of the temple; sealing of all treasures in the [temple of Amon], by virtue of his office of master of secret things; by the hereditary prince, the vizier, Rekhmire.

Over Grain Scene

749. Reception of grain ($y^c h$) in the [temple of Amon].

Over Trituration of Grain

Pounding grain ($y^c h$) in the White House of the [temple of Amon], in order to make an oblation [at] every feast, which his majesty established anew.

Over Flour-Sifting

Servants of the date-storeroom. "Haste thee every matter thou shalt cause that we be praised."

Over Bakers

Making 'loaves' for the oblation of the divine offerings. Doing safely and well the baking of the cake.

Over Men Doing Reverence

750. Speech of the fleet-captains: "According to the desire of thy heart, O prince! 'Thy' every matter is very good; the treasures are overflowing with the tribute of all countries: oil, incense, wine, everything, all the products of Punt; bags and sacks bearing every good thing — — — in a myriad of hundred thousands, for King Menkheperre (Thutmose III), given life. May thy favor with his ka be every day.

Over Men Carrying Tribute

751. Introduction of wine into the storehouses ($w\bar{d}$) by the vizier, Rekhmire. Reception of the tribute of the South country, together with the tribute of the Northland before Rekhmire.

On the Storehouses

Gold-houses of the temple. Storehouse ($w\bar{d}$) of the temple. Double gold-house.

VII. INSPECTION OF DAILY OFFERINGS AND OF MONUMENTS^a*Scene*

752. Rekhmire, (figure erased) stands inspecting two lines of men with food-offerings, and two rows of statues of the king, behind which are weapons, temple furniture, and utensils.

Inscription over Rekhmire

Inspection of food of the divine offerings of every day; inspection of his —, and the beautiful monuments, which he executed for the Sovereign, the Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Menkheperre (Thutmose III), given life forever, for the temple of Amon, and the temples which are in his —; by [Rekhmire].

VIII. INSPECTION OF CRAFTSMEN^b

753. We here see Rekhmire inspecting the artificers, who are making for the temple of Amon various vessels, doors, furniture, etc., from the precious metals and other costly materials captured in Thutmose III's wars in Asia.

Scene

Rekhmire stands leaning on his staff; behind him are his suite, and before him are long lines of craftsmen in leather, wood, stone, and various metals, busily engaged at their work. Over them are the following inscriptions:

Over Rekhmire

754. Inspection of every craft ———,^c in order to cause every man to know his duty according to the stipulation of every affair, by the hereditary prince, count, who gives the regulation to the prophets, who directs the priests to their duty, governor of the (residence) city, chief of the six courts of justice, Rekhmire.

^aPl. XXII.^bPls. XVI-XVIII.^cThe lacuna here and at the beginning of the following inscription would indicate that the name of Amon had been erased in both places.

Over Gold Weighing

‘Reckoning’ of the gold ———, in order to fulfil all business of the daily stipulation. Their number is myriads of hundred-thousands; before the vizier Rekhmire.

Over Goldsmiths and Silversmiths

Making all vessels for the divine limbs; multiplying vases of gold and silver in every (style of) workmanship that endures forever.

Over Coppersmiths

755. Bringing the Asiatic copper which his majesty captured in the victories in Retenu, in order to ‘cast’ the [two doors^a] of the temple of Amon in Karnak. Its pavement was overlaid with gold like^b the horizon of heaven; by the governor of the (residence) city, and vizier.

They say: “The king, beautiful in monuments, Menkheperre (Thutmose III), given life forever; (as) he is (so) they are forever. He repeats monuments in the house of his father.”

Over Cabinet-makers

Making chests of ivory, ebony, carob wood, meru wood, and of cedar of the best of the terraces; by this official who gives the regulation, guiding the hands of his craftsmen.

IX. INSPECTION OF SCULPTORS AND BUILDERS^c

756. The heavier works of the Amon-temple are here under inspection by Rekhmire. Of particular interest are the Semitic foreigners, who appear among the brickmakers, of the “*captivity which his majesty brought for the works of the temple of Amon.*” This is, of course, precisely what was afterward exacted of the Hebrews.

^aThese words are in Virey’s copy (*Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, V, Pl. XV), but had been lost before Newberry’s was made.

^bLit., “*in likeness to*” (*m sn’t r*), a circumlocution not uncommonly used for the simple “*like*” (*my*).

^cPls. XX and XXI.

Scene

Rekhmire stands leaning on his staff, his suite behind him; and before him, at work, are stonecutters, sculptors, brickmakers, and builders. The inscriptions are as follows:

Over Rekhmire

757. Inspection of all works of divine offerings of Amon in Karnak; causing every man to know his way, by virtue of his office as chief of works; by the hereditary prince, count, who establishes laws in the temples of the gods of the South and North ——— [Rekhmire].

By Bricklayers^a

758. The layer of brick who brings the field,^b the very numerous [—]; building with ready fingers, skilled^c in his duty, causing vigilance among the [conquered],^d who hear the sayings of this official, skilful^e in bui[lding] of works, giving regulation to their chiefs. [‘They say’]: “He [‘supplies’] us with bread, beer, and every good sort; he leads us, with a loving heart for the king, amiable — — — King Menkheperre (Thutmose III), who builds the sanctuary of [‘the gods’]; may they grant to him a reward therefor with myriads of years.

The taskmaster,^f he says to the builders: “The rod is in my hand; be not idle.”

By Brickmakers^g

759. Captivity which his majesty brought, for the works of the temple of Amon.

By Bricklayer

Laying the brick, in order to build the storehouse anew, [in the temple of Amon] of Karnak.

^aPl. XX. The beginning of the inscription is very difficult and a little doubtful.

^bA similar reference to a “*clay-field*” in Ineni (§ 106, l. 12).

^c*Wn-hr*, *wb 3-hr*, and *šs 3-hr* are not uncommon, meaning “*experienced, instructed, skilful*.”

^dThe captives of war shown in the same scene?

^eThe adjectives now refer to the prince.

^f*Dy-rs-ḡ 3 ḡ 3* = lit., “*he who causes to be vigilant*.”

^gSome of these are clearly Semitic foreigners.

By Builders

Let your hands build, ye people. Let us do the pleasure of this official in restoring the monuments of his lord in the house of his father Amon. His name is upon them, abiding, permanent, for both æons of years. The overseer of works, he saith to those bringing stone: "Strengthen your hands, ye people. Let us lay [the foundation] of stone, of work [—] — —."

X. RECEPTION OF FOREIGN TRIBUTE^a

760. This is one of the most important scenes preserved in ancient Egypt. Similar scenes will be found in other Theban tombs, but none contains so elaborate, detailed, and extensive representations of the wealth of the Asiatic peoples, which was now flowing as tribute into the treasury of the Pharaohs. The pride of the Egyptian vizier, which led him to depict these official incidents in his career, has thus been the means of preserving to us much of the early civilization of Asia, which on its native soil has perished utterly.

Scene

761. At the right stands Rekhmire, while the foreigners, carrying their tribute, approach in five long lines from the left. At the head of each line is a scribe, who records their tribute as it is deposited in splendid profusion before him.

Inscription

Reception of the tribute of the south country, besides the tribute of Punt, the tribute of Retenu (*Rṯnw*), the tribute of Keftiyew, besides the booty of all countries which the fame of his majesty, King

^aThis scene has not yet been published by Newberry; I had only Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 505-10; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1110-113 (whose description is taken bodily from Champollion); and the two plates in Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, I, Pl. II A and II B.

Menkheperre (Thutmose III), brought; by the hereditary prince^a Rekhmire.^b

A weighing scene^c shows the reckoning of "*this great heap of electrum, which is (measured) by the heket, making 36,692^d deben.*"

XI. ACCESSION OF AMENHOTEP II

762. This scene is not yet published, but Newberry describes it (*op. cit.*, 20) as showing Rekhmire after having sailed down-river to Hatsekhem to meet his new sovereign, presenting to him "the royal insignia."

STELA OF INTEF THE HERALD^e

763. This splendid stela was erected by the "*royal herald*" of Thutmose III, whose important offices were the following:

Hereditary prince and count, companion, great in love, count of Thinis of the Thinite nome, lord of the entire oasis region, great herald of the king.

^aTitles, etc., of Rekhmire.

^bAn inscription over each of the five rows begins in each case: "*Arrival in peace, of the chiefs of X*" (Punt, Retenu, etc., as the case may be). To Keftiyew is added "*and of the isles in the midst of the sea,*" and to Retenu: "*all the northern countries of the ends of the earth.*" This introductory formula is followed by the conventional acclamations of the foreigners; but these inscriptions are not readable in Wilkinson's plates. Champollion gives only the introductory formula of each row, and Newberry's second volume containing these scenes has not yet appeared.

^cLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 39, d.

^dAbout 8,943 pounds (troy).

^eNow in the Louvre (C. 26), being doubtless the finest stela in that great collection. It is nearly 6 feet high by nearly 4 feet in width, and of the finest workmanship (see de Rougé, *Notices des monuments*, 84-89). It was published by Gayet, *Stèles de la XII^e dynastie*, Pl. XIX, and the long inscription (partially) by Brugsch (*Thesaurus*, VI, 1479-85). Owing simply to the name of its owner, "Intef," it has always been attributed to the early Middle Kingdom. It has long been evident, both from its language and content, however, that it belongs to the Eighteenth Dynasty. The discovery of Intef's tomb at Thebes by Newberry shows that this conclusion is correct, and that Intef lived in the reign of Thutmose III. The important conclusions regarding the oases in the Middle Kingdom, often drawn from this inscription (e.g., Maspero, *Dawn*, 432, n. 3, and *ibid.*, 459, n. 3), are therefore to be given up.

Or again:

Hereditary prince and count, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, favorite of the Good God, excellent scribe of computation, first herald of the king.

Again:

First herald of the judgment-hall (*ḥrry t*).^a

It would thus appear that the Oases, at least those of the Theban region, were dependents of the Thinite princes,^b who have survived into the Eighteenth Dynasty and taken office at the court of the Pharaoh.

764. The stela contains, in a less formal list than the "Duties of the Vizier" (§§ 675 ff.), a similar statement of the duties of the "*royal herald*" (*whm-štny*^c = lit., "*royal reporter or repeater*"). This statement, far from being an extract from the government archives, is but a random rehearsal, in a boastful style, of the powers of the court herald. It is evident that his office is only partially expressed by our word herald, for the duties of the Egyptian herald show him to have been of ministerial power and importance; they were the following:

1. The management of the formalities and ceremonies of court and palace (ll. 4-7, only part of l. 5).

2. Communication of the messages of the people and affairs of the land to the king^d (l. 5).

^aAll the above titles are from the head of the stela; others will be found in the following translation.

^bFor another Thinite prince, who was also lord of the oasis, see *Recueil*, X, 141.

^cSo in Ahmose-pen-Nekhet (ll. 10 and 13), but in Intef's inscription "*whm-n-štny*."

^dHere he seems to cover the same ground as the vizier (Duties, 4, l. 5); but the vizier evidently reported larger affairs of state, while the herald communicated personal matters, of which we have an example in the brave deeds of Ahmose, which are regularly reported to the king by the "*royal herald*" (§§ 9 ff.).

3. Messenger of the judgment-hall (^c *ry·t*), or general administrative office of the Pharaoh (l. 6).

4. The communication to the people of all commissions laid on them by the Pharaoh (l. 7).

5. The communication, both to Egyptians and foreign countries, of the amount of their taxes, and verification of same (l. 8, and l. 27 end). This is but a specialization of 4.

6. To be in general the mouthpiece of the palace (l. 9).

7. To exercise a kind of police control, wherever the Pharaoh proceeded (ll. 10-12).

765. This unsystematic list of powers is followed by an enumeration of Intef's good qualities (ll. 13-20), to which is added, after an asseveration of its truth (ll. 20-22), a remarkable statement of the source of his success (ll. 22-24).

Finally, a rapid statement of the herald's duties abroad while accompanying the Pharaoh on his Syrian campaigns, completes the inscription (ll. 24-27). As the Pharaoh, in this instance, was Thutmose III, these brief references are of the greatest interest, showing the herald, as they do, preceding the great commander from town to town, and preparing his residence in the palaces of the Syrian princes.

Intef's Address to Passers-by

766. ²He says: "O ye that live upon earth, all people (*ṛhy·t*), every priest, every scribe, every ritual priest, who shall enter into this tomb of the necropolis; if ye love life, and think not on death, if your native gods shall favor you, if ye would not taste the fear of another land, ³if ye would be buried in your tombs, if ye would bequeath your offices to your children; whether (ye be) one that readeth these words upon this stela, being a scribe; or one that heareth them, so shall ye say: 'An offering which the king gives, etc.'"

Intef's Duties

767. ⁴For the ka of the hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, favorite of the king, as leader of his army, who levies

the official staffs and the soldiers, who counts the companions, who conducts the nobles, who makes the king's-confidants approach their places, leader of leaders, ⁵guide of millions of men, superior of advanced offices, advanced in place, excellent in the (royal) presence, who sends up the words of the people (*ṛhy' t*), who reports the affairs of the Two Lands, who discourses concerning matters in the secret place, who enters with good things and comes out with favor, ⁶who places every man upon his father's seat, who makes glad the heart and favors the favorites, at whose words the great arise, who does the errands of the judgment-hall (*ṣ' ry' t*), who originates the regulations in the palace, L. P. H., who makes every man to know his duties, who gives the administration in the —, [⁷great] ⁷in power in the great seat (i. e., the palace), who silences the voice, and originates honors, who guards the foot from the place of silence, the counterpoise of the balances of the Good God, who conducts the people to that which they do, who says: "Let it be done," and it is done on [the instant], ⁸like that which comes out of the mouth of a god; who lays commands on the people (*ḥnmm' t*), to number their work (impost) for the king, who fixes the ⁹'reckoning' of every country, who furnishes the ¹⁰'supplies' of their princes, great in affairs at the counting of the numbers, prepared — ⁹— — — to do, knowing that which is in the heart of the king, L. P. H., the speaking tongue of him who is in the palace (i. e., the king), the eyes of the king, the heart of the lord of the palace, the instruction of the whole land, who binds the rebellious, who quiets the —, ¹⁰— — from the hostile, strong-armed toward robbers, applying violence to them that apply violence, mighty-hearted against the mighty-hearted, who brings down the arm ¹¹of him whose — is high, who ¹¹'shortens' the hour of the ¹²'cruel-hearted', who causes the evil-hearted to perform the regulation of the laws, although his heart is unwilling, great in terror among criminals, lord of fear among rebellious-¹²hearted, who binds the adversary, and repels the violent, the safety of the palace, the establisher of its laws, who quiets the multitude for their lord, the chief herald of the judgment-hall, count of Thinis of the Thinite nome, chief of all the oasis country, excellent scribe, solving writings, Intef, triumphant.

Intef's Qualities

768. ¹³The only wise, equipped with knowledge, the really safe one, distinguishing the simple from the wise, exalting the craftsman, turning his back upon the ignorant, ¹⁴— in mind, very ¹⁵'complete' in mind, giving attention to hear the man of truth, ¹⁶void of deceit, useful to his lords,

accurate-minded, with no lie in him, experienced in every way, protector of the seemingly, hearer of his prayer, gentle toward the cold-hot one, interceding for him, who does according to his plans, not — ¹⁵the truthful, understanding the heart,^a knowing the thoughts, when nothing has come forth from the lips, speaking to wit: according to his thought; there is none, whom he hath not known, turning his face to him that speaks the truth, disregarding him that speaketh lies, who does ¹—¹ to — — ,¹⁶not mild toward the ¹loquacious¹, but opposing him by doing the truth, content with giving satisfaction, not exalting him that knew not above him that knew, going about after the truth, giving attention to hear petitions, judging — ¹⁷for him who is without offense and for the liar, free from partiality, justifying the just, chastising the guilty for his guilt, servant of the poor, father of the fatherless, — — ¹⁸of the orphan, mother of the fearful, ¹dungeon¹ of the turbulent, protector of the weak, advocate of him who has been deprived of his possessions by one stronger than he, husband of the widow, shelter of the orphan [¹making¹ the wee]¹⁹per rejoice, ¹— — —¹, who is praised on account of his character, for whom the worthy thank god, because of the greatness of his worth, for whom health and life are besought by all people (*rhy't*), great herald of the judgment-hall, ²⁰chief steward, overseer of the double granary, leader of all works of the king's L. P. H. estate, to whom all offices report, who counts the impost of the leaders, the mayors and the village sheiks of the South and the North excellent scribe, Intef, triumphant.

Intef's Asseveration

769. He says: "Those were my qualities, of which ²¹I have testified; there is no deceit therein; these were my excellencies in very truth, there is no exception therein. Nor was there any likening of words to boast for myself with lies, but that was my color, ²²which I showed; that was my office in the king's L. H. P. estate, that was my service at the court L. P. H., that was my ¹duty¹ in the judgment-hall.

Intef's Explanation of His Success

770. ^bIt was my heart which caused that I should do it, by its leading of my affairs; it is — — ²³an excellent witness, I did not violate its

^aOn this passage, cf. my article, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 39, 47.

^bOn this remarkable passage, see my article, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 39, 47.

speech, I feared to transgress its leading; I prospered on account of it exceedingly. I was excellent by reason of that which it caused that I should do, I was valuable by reason of its leading. 'Lo, — — —,'²⁴ said the people, 'it is an oracle of the gods, which is in every body. He is a counsellor, whom it has led to the goodly way of achievement.' Lo, thus I was.

Intef's Duties Abroad

771. I followed the King of the Two Lands, I struck into his tracks in the countries, — — ²⁵— the earth, I arrived at its end, being at the heels of his majesty, L. P. H., my valor was like the lords of strength, and I captured like his brave ones. Every palace in a country — — ²⁶— — before the troops, at the head of the army. When my lord arrived in safety where I was, I had prepared it (the palace), I had equipped it with everything that is desired in a foreign country, made better than the palaces of Egypt, ²⁷purified, cleansed, set apart, their mansions adorned, (each) chamber for its proper purpose, I made the king's heart satisfied with that which I did, — — —. I numbered the tribute of the rulers dwelling in every country, consisting of silver, gold, oil, incense, wine."

TOMB OF MENKHEPPERRESENEB^a

772. This tomb is one of the most interesting and important at Thebes. Menkhepperreseneb, besides being High Priest^b of Amon under Thutmose III, was also "*overseer of the gold-house and overseer of the silver-house*," as well as chief architect in the temple of Amon, and "*chief of the overseers of craftsmen*." As treasurer, he is depicted in his tomb receiving the tribute of Asia, and the treasure from the mines of Africa; while as architect and chief of the master-craftsmen, we find him in charge of Thutmose

^aIn the cliff of Shekh Abd-el-Kurna at Thebes, published by Piehl, *Inscriptions*, I, Pl. 127 P-129 and 102-5; Virey, *Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, V, 197 ff. I had also a copy of the building inscription, kindly furnished me by Mr. Newberry.

^bSee his statue (*Annales*, IV, 8, 9) found at Karnak, according to which he was a son of Rekhmire.

III's great works in the Karnak temple, recounted in this king's building inscriptions (§§ 599 ff.).

Scene of Asiatic Tribute

773. Two lines of Asiatics bring forward splendid and richly chased vessels of gold, silver, etc. The Asiatics are designated as "*the chief of Keftiyew, the chief of Kheta, the chief of Tunip (Tnṣw), the chief of Kadesh.*" Before them is an inscription:

Giving praise to the Lord of the Two Lands, obeisance to the Good God, by the chiefs of every land. They acclaim the victories of his majesty; their tribute is upon their backs, being every [product] of God's-Land: silver, gold, lapis lazuli, malachite, every splendid, costly stone

A line of superscription contains the acclamations of the Asiatics; the bulk of it is lost:

——— the sea; thy fear is in all lands. Thou hast overthrown the lands of Mitanni (*My-ṯn* —); thou hast hacked up their cities, their chiefs are in caves — —.

Reception of Gold

774. Another scene shows the deceased receiving shipments of gold, from the "*captain of the gendarmes of Coptos*" and the "*governor of the gold-country of Coptos.*"

Reception of gold of the highland of Coptos, besides gold of Kush the wretched, being the yearly dues — —; by Menkheperreseneb.

Inspection of Workmen

775. Again we see the deceased inspecting the work of the craftsmen, accompanied by the words:

Viewing the workshop of the temple of [Amon], the work of the craftsmen, in real lapis lazuli, and in real malachite, which his majesty made after the design of his heart,^a to be 'monuments' for his father,

^aThese very works are shown in the great relief depicting the presentation of monuments to Amon by Thutmose III at Karnak (§ 545), accompanied by the same words, showing that Thutmose III himself furnished the design to the craftsmen.

Amon, in [the house of Amon], abiding, flourishing as eternal works; by the hereditary prince, count, pleasing the king as the establisher of his monuments, chief of the overseers of craftsmen, chief of works in the [House of] Amon, first prophet of [Amon], Menkheperreseneb. He says:

A Shrine

"I inspected when the lord, King Thutmose III, erected [a shrine,] called 'Thutmose-III-is-the-Wearer-of-the-Diadem-of-Amon,' of enduring granite, in one block,^a upon the 'canal' ——— ^bwrought with electrum, the 'hall' being of sandstone, wrought with gold of the best of the hills ——— wrought with gold."

A Second Shrine

776. "I inspected, when his majesty erected a great^c shrine of electrum (called): 'Thutmose-III-is-Great-in-Love-in-the-House-of-Amon.'"

Colonnade

"I inspected when his majesty made a great colonnade,^d [wrought] with electrum — — —."

Obelisks and Flagstaves

"I inspected when his majesty erected obelisks and numerous flagstaves for his father, Amon. I pleased his majesty while conducting the work on his monuments. I did these things, without being unpleasant to the heart of ———."

STELA OF NIBAMON^e

777. This official lived at Thebes under the early Thutmosids, and finally became steward of Nebetu, one of

^aA monolithic chapel of granite, such as still exists, for example, at Edfu.

^bThe following is either a different building, the account of which began in the preceding lacuna, or the hall in which the shrine stood.

^cSo Piehl; Newberry, "*beautiful*."

^dThis is doubtless the building at the east end of the Karnak temple; but may be the attempted restoration of the hall dismantled for Hatshepsut's obelisks.

^eStela in his tomb in the hill of Drah-abu-'n-Neggah, at Thebes; published by Bouriant, *Recueil*, IX, 95-97.

Thutmose III's wives, and chief captain of the king's fleet. His tomb stela is chiefly devoted to the usual mortuary prayers, in the midst of which he refers to his favor under the first three Thutmosids. The name of Thutmose I is evidently lost in one of the numerous lacunæ; but Nibamon seems to have received gifts of land and cattle from this king. He then says:

Favor under Thutmose II

778. ¹⁷My lord, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Okhepernere (Thutmose II), triumphant, repeated favors to me; he appointed me overseer of the hall (*ḥꜣ*) of the king.

Favor under Thutmose III

779. My lord, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre (Thutmose III), given life, repeated favors to me; he magnified ¹⁸me until I was at the front; he appointed me as steward of the king's-wife, Nebetu (*Nb' t-w*), triumphant. My lord, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre, ¹⁹given life, repeated favors to me; he appointed me to be captain of all the ships of the king. There happened no oversight of mine, nor was there found any neglect of mine. I was not associated with ²⁰evil, but I attained a revered old age, being in the favor of the king's presence.

Then follows a final prayer, addressed to the living.

REIGN OF AMENHOTEP II

ASIATIC CAMPAIGN

780. Syria, of course, revolted on the death of Thutmose III, and already in his second year we find his energetic son, Amenhotep II, on the march into northern Syria to quell the rebellion. Doubtless the harbor cities had also rebelled, and hence the young king is forced to proceed by land. Leaving Egypt in April, as his father had done on the first campaign thirty-three years before, he had already in early May won a battle at Shemesh-Edom in northern Palestine. On the twelfth of May he crossed the Orontes, and gained a skirmish near the river. He celebrated a feast of thanksgiving to Amon there, and fourteen days later (May 26) he arrived at Niy, which opened its gates to him and received him with acclamation. June 5 he reached and punished the rebellious city of Ikathi, which was plotting against its Egyptian garrison. Somewhere in Naharin he set up his tablet of victory,^a as his father and grandfather had done before him. Here the sources fail, and the further course of the campaign is unknown until the king's return to Egypt; but it is clear that the coalition against Egypt was crushed in Tikhshi, probably at the battle on the Orontes, for on his return in the autumn the king brought back with him to Thebes "*the seven princes who were in the district of Tikhshi*," and sacrificed them himself before Amon. Early in the following July we find the king in Nubia, arranging the completion of his father's temples at Elephantine and Amâda. In both he set up a

^aTurra inscription of Minhotep (§ 800).

tablet bearing the same inscription, recording the building and mentioning the seven princes, six of whom he says he hanged on the walls of Thebes, and the seventh on the walls of Napata. At Napata or above it he set up a tablet marking his southern boundary (§ 800). It is perhaps on his return from this last errand that he stops at Amâda for the foundation ceremonies of the temple.

The said Amâda and Elephantine stelæ, another at Karnak, and a Karnak chapel are the only sources for this campaign.^a

I. KARNAK STELA^b

781. Above is a relief in two parts, each showing the king offering to Amon-Re. Between the two parts is a vertical line of text recording the restoration of the monument by Seti I, just as on the Building Inscription of Amenhotep III.

Date and Introduction

782. 1[Year 2]^c ——— under the majesty of:

^dHorus: Mighty Bull, Great of Strength; ——— Part of Atum;

^aAn inscription from a tomb at Shekh Abd-el-Kurna probably refers to his campaigns in calling the deceased "*a follower of the king on his journeys on water, on land, and in every country; to whom has been given favors of the king's-presence, consisting of rings of electrum*" (Piehl, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1883, 135).

^bA pink granite stela, found by Champollion against the second of the southern pylons at Karnak, in a deplorably fragmentary condition. Text: Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 185, 186 (only ll. 1-10; l. 9 is not omitted as indicated); Maspero, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, XVII, 56, 57 (only ll. 3-10, copying Champollion); Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 175, 176; Bouriant, *Recueil*, XIII, 160, 161; Wiedemann, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XI, 422, 423; a new fragment by Legrain, *Annales*, IV. The text is corrupt, being full of errors, like the omission of the determinative (important emendations by Erman, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1889, 39-41). The reason for these errors is the careless restoration of the text after its erasure by the emissaries of Ikhnaton. See Legrain, *Annales*, IV.

^cThe tablet of Amâda below (§§ 791 ff.), dated in year 3, speaks of an Asiatic campaign already completed; it can hardly refer to any other than this campaign to Niy. Hence the latter would have taken place in the year 1 or 2, more probably the latter. The lacuna at the beginning of each line is four or five words long.

^dThe complete titulary of Amenhotep II.

Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Mighty in Opulence, Who is Crowned in Thebes;

Golden Horus: Who Seizes by His Might in all Lands;

²[King of Upper and Lower Egypt] ——— Opet: Okheperure, Lord — of the Sword, Who Binds the Nine Bows;

Son of Re, of his Body, Lord of All Countries: Amenhotep (II), Divine Ruler of Heliopolis, Giver of Life, Forever, like Re.^a

Battle of Shemesh-Edom

783. ³[His majesty was] in the city of Shemesh-Edom (*Š-m-šw-y-tw-my*);^b his majesty furnished an example of bravery there; his majesty himself fought hand to hand. Behold, he was like a fierce-eyed lion, smiting the countries of Lebanon (*[R-m]-n-n*)^c ^{4f} — — — — — *-š-ḥw^d* was his name.

Booty

List of that which his majesty himself captured on this day: Asiatics, 18 living persons; 16 horses.^e

Battle on the Orontes

784. First month of the third season (ninth month), day 26; his majesty crossed over the ford of the Orontes^f on this day, caused to cross *šf* — — — — — *ḥ* — — — — — like the might of Montu of Thebes. His majesty raised his arm, in order to see the end of the

^aThe complete titulary of Amenhotep II.

^bA town of northern Palestine, which occurs in the first of Thutmose III's town-lists as: *Š > -my-š > -y-t > -my* (No. 51).

^cThe undoubtedly correct restoration of Erman, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1889, 39. Wiedemann's variants only show the decay of the stone since Champollion.

^dRemnant of the name of a chief or a country.

^eAll the texts but de Rougé have "oxen," but "horses" is certainly confirmed by the context.

^fTexts all have *y-ṣ > -s-t*, but Brugsch read "Arinath," hence the wavy-lined *n*, which is straight in hieratic, has been transferred to the stone straight; it has been read as an *s* by all modern copyists but Brugsch. There is no question, therefore, concerning the emendation to *n* first made by Maspero. Geographically, the emendation is also convincing. From a northern Palestinian city the king marches northward to Lebanon; this course continued would bring him to the Orontes. Moreover, the identical phrase, "crossed over the channel of the Orontes," with the same rare word (*mšd.t*) for "channel" (or "ford?") occurs in Ramses II's Kadesh campaign (III, 308, l. 12). The objections of Bissing (*Statistische Tafel*, 34) are not convincing. Petrie's identification with Harosheth on the

earth;^a his majesty descried a few Asiatics (*Sityw*) coming on horses
 coming at a gallop¹ (*rkrk*). Behold, his majesty was equipped
 with his weapons of battle, his majesty conquered with^b the might of
 Set³ in his hour. They retreated when his majesty looked at one of^c
 them. Then his majesty himself overthrew their —^d, with his spear
 — — —. Behold, he carried away this Asiatic —¹, ⁸his horses,^e
 his chariot, and all his weapons of battle. His majesty returned with
 joy of heart [to]^f his father, Amon; he (his majesty) gave to him a
 feast —¹.

Booty

785. List of that which his majesty captured on this day:^g 9his
 horses, 2; chariots, 1; a coat of mail; 2 bows; a quiver, full of arrows;
 a corselet; and —¹.^h

Arrival at Niy

786. Second month of the third seasonⁱ (tenth month), day 10;
 passing southward toward Egypt, his majesty proceeded by horse to

Kishon (Petrie, *History of Egypt*, II, 155) is impossible, for the king is already
 in the Lebanon, and has left the Kishon far behind. The route by which Amenhotep
 advanced northward from Shemesh-Edom is not certain, but the crossing of the
 Orontes is doubtless the last one as he turned toward the Euphrates. This would
 be most naturally at Senzar. He would then march by way of Aleppo to Niy,
 which was about 175 miles from Senzar. That he reached Senzar is shown by
 his list in § 798A. This suits his marching speed also, as he would have made
 about 12½ miles a day from Senzar to Niy.

^aThere may be a reference here to the common designation of this remote
 region as the "end of the earth," but it more probably refers merely to the king's
 shading his eyes that he might scan the horizon.

^bLit., "behind."

^cLegrain's lacuna of 24 cm. is of course impossible; it is improbable also at
 the head of the next two lines.

^d*hntw*.

^eLit., "his span" (*hty*).

^fRestore *n*, "to," according to Amâda tablet, ll. 16, 17 (§ 797).

^gThere is no line omitted here, as Champollion indicates.

^hThe same word (*shntw*) applied to the corselet (*h n*) is found in Thutmose
 III's first campaign, l. 23 (*shnw-ty*?).

ⁱThe texts of de Rougé, Bouriant, Wiedemann, and Brugsch's translations
 show "month II," not III, as usually read from Champollion. That Shemu
 (not 'akhet) is to be read here is clear from the determinative and the other dates
 (ll. 4 and 13; note, l. 13). Maspero now accepts this (Maspero, *Struggle of the
 Nations*, 291), although he formerly read 'akhet. Petrie's date (Petrie, *History
 of Egypt*, II, 155) is therefore about five months too late; for had this date been
 in another year, the year must have been added. The arrival at Niy is therefore
 fourteen days after the crossing of the Orontes.

the city of Niy. Behold, these Asiatics of this city, men as well as women, were upon their walls praising his majesty, ¹¹— — — to the Good God.

Revolt of Ikathi

787. Behold, his majesty heard saying, that some of those Asiatics (*St tyw*) who were in the city of Ikathi (*Y-k²-ty*) had 'plotted' (*ngm gm*) to make a plan for casting out the infantry^a of his majesty ¹²[who were] in the city, in order to overturn — — — who were loyal to his majesty. Then [his] majesty put them in [— — — —] in this city ¹³— — he —^b them immediately, and he pacified [this] city — — — against the entire country —.^c Second month^d of the third season (tenth month),^d day 20 (+x). ¹⁴— [— — —], made the city of Ikathi [*Y-k²-ty*]-^e — — — ¹⁵— — — ¹⁶— — —.

788. The remainder as far as l. 29 shows but a few scattered traces, of which the following are significant: "of his children. Statement of that which [his majesty] captured" (l. 21); "his chariot" (l. 26); "list of captives" (l. 27); "[weapon]s of war without number" (l. 28); "his majesty was adorned with [his] regalia" (l. 29). The record then becomes more connected:

Overthrow of Khatithana

789. ³⁰— — — His majesty —^e the tribe of Khatithana (*H²-ty-t²-n²*) united ³¹— —. Behold, the chief^f — — — — the city, for fear of his majesty. His chiefs, his wives, his children were carried captive, ³²and all his people likewise. Statement of that which his majesty himself captured — — — — his horses.

^aProbably the Egyptian garrison of the town.

^bVerb.

^cPossibly the name of the country, containing *kh*.

^dThis date is very important, showing (1) that we must read Shemu (the third season, not *h²t*, the first season) in l. 10 above, and (2) that we must read second month (in l. 10) with all the copies (except Champollion).

^eVerb.

^fThe position of the introductory words (before the lacunæ) in ll. 31 and 32 is not certain.

Return to Egypt

790. ³³— — day 27; his majesty went forth from the house of the Beautiful-of-Face (Ptah)^a and proceeded [to] — Memphis, bearing the plunder which he had taken in the country of Retenu. List of that which was taken:

Nobles (<i>my-r 2-y-n 2</i>) alive	34550 (+x)
Their [wiv]es	240
['Vessels wrought'] of gold	6,800 ^b deben
Copper	500,000 ^c deben
<hr/>	
Horses	210
Chariots	300

The whole land beheld the victories of his majesty.

³⁵By the Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Offerings — — — —,^d beloved of Amon, protector of him who is in Thebes, celebrator of the feasts of the house of Amon, lord of Thebes, [— —], Son of Re, Thutmose (IV),^e given life [forever] and ever.

II. AMÂDA^f AND ELEPHANTINE^g STELÆ

791. Both are dedication tablets, the upper half of which is occupied by an oblation scene: at Amâda, Amenhotep II offering wine to Harakhte and Amon-Re, all in a sacred boat; at Elephantine, the king once with Amon and

^aOr: "*the beautiful house, proceeding*" (*hr wd 2*), etc.

^b1,657½ pounds, troy. Nearly 100,000 pounds.

^dRoyal name is lost.

^eIf this is correct, the stela was erected by Thutmose IV, son of Amenhotep II.

^fOn the interior of the back wall of the sanctuary of the temple of Amâda. Text: Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 105-7 (very imperfectly and incorrectly copied); Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 65, a; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1280 (only ll. 12-20). I had also the Berlin lexicon copy, collated by Erman with the squeeze of Lepsius, and a collation of the original by Steindorff.

^gFrom a similar position in the Elephantine temple (now perished); the upper part with the relief and parts of thirteen lines of text is in Vienna (No. 141); the lower portion is in Cairo (No. 158). I had: my own photograph and von Bergmann's publication (*Recueil*, IV, 33 ff.) of the Vienna fragment; two copies of the Cairo fragment, one by Steindorff and one by Schaefer, which they kindly loaned me; and a photograph by Borchardt.

Anuket and once before Khnum, receiving "*life and stability*." Both tablets were intended to mark the "*station of the king*," both record similar buildings in the year 3 (material at Elephantine is better), and the same facts regarding the Asiatic princes. The differences in wording are almost nil. The Elephantine stela has an interesting addition from the year 4.

Date and Introduction

792. ¹Year 3, third month of the third season (eleventh month), day 15,^a under the majesty of^b Amenhotep^c (II), beloved of Harakhte and Amon, lord of Thebes, ²Good God, creation of Re, sovereign who came forth from the body, mighty; likeness of Horus upon the throne of his father; great in strength, whose like does not exist; of whom a second is not found. He is a king very weighty of arm; there is not one who can draw his bow^d among his army ³among the hill-country sheiks (or) among the princes of Retenu, because his strength is so much greater than (that of) any king who has ever existed; raging like a panther, when he courses through the battlefield; there is none fighting before him; an archer mighty in smiting; ⁴a wall protecting Egypt; firm of heart, [—] in the hour of [conflict]; trampling down those who rebel against him; [instantly]¹ prevailing against all the barbarians with people and horses,^e when they came with myriads of men, while they knew not that Amon-Re was ⁵his ally, (nor) that he would be seen to [approach]¹ instantly, strength in his limbs;^f likeness of Min

^aThe date of the Elephantine tablet is lost; but it was earlier than the "year 4," in which an addition was made to it.

^bFull five-name titulary.

^cChiseled away and reinserted (Steindorff).

^dThis is the basis for the well-known legend of Herodotus (III, 21), which represents Cambyses as unable to draw the bow of the king of Ethiopia (Schaefer, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 38, 66 f.). It is a not uncommon statement. Curiously enough, the bow of Amenhotep II was found in his tomb; it bears an inscription designating him as "*smiter of the Troglodytes, overthrower of Kush, hacking up [their] cities the great wall of Egypt, protector of his soldiers*" (Cairo, *Catalogue*, 24120).

^eThis is not a generality, but doubtless specifically refers to a battle with the Asiatics in the campaign of the previous year.

^fThe god's strength in the king's limbs.

in the year of terror. There is not one that saves himself from him; he makes a 'slaughter' among his enemies, the Nine Bows likewise. All lands and all rebellious countries pay him impost, 'for he is a king [———]'. There is not one who makes a boundary with him;^a (but) they live by his breath. King of kings, ruler of rulers, who captures the boundaries 'of [———]'; the only mighty one, whose fame is exalted^b until Re in heaven knows it, (and) the one who faces him¹ in the day of smiting. There is no boundary made for him toward all countries united, (or) toward all lands together; (but) they fall instantly because of his flaming crest, like [———] ⁸———. There is none among them that escapes from the overthrow, like the foes of Bastet on the road of Ir-Amon.^c It is a happy chance for all those who know that he is his real son, who came forth from (his) limbs, one 'with him, in order to rule that which the sun encircles, all the lands, and countries which he knew, that he might seize them immediately with victory and power.

Buildings and Offerings

793. He is a king with heart favorable to the buildings of all gods, being one who builds their temples (and) fashions their statues. The divine offerings ¹⁰are established for the first time, loaves and beer in plenty and (*ht-^c*) fowl in multitude as a daily offering every day, forever; large cattle and small cattle at their seasons, without [———].^d He gave the house to its lord, supplied with everything, with oxen,¹¹ calves, young cattle, fowl [without] limit, this temple being supplied throughout with loaves and wine. He established 'revenues' for the first time [for] (his) fathers, the gods,^e to be seen of the people, ¹²to be known of all.

Completion of Temple

794. Behold, his majesty beautified^f the temple which his father, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre (Thutmose III), had

^aIt is all his own matter where a boundary shall be.

^bLit., "of exalting his fame."

^cLit., "begotten of Amon" = the king (Erman).

^dSee long Khnumhotep inscription (I, 637, l. 201).

^eElephantine: "Khnum."

^f"Beautified" means here (as on the Lateran and Popolo obelisks) "to supply with inscriptions," the monument having been left uninscribed by Thutmose III.

made for (his) fathers, all the gods,^a built of stone as an everlasting work. The walls around it are of brick,^b the doors of [cedar of the best^c] ¹³of the Terraces; the doorways are of sandstone,^b in order that the great name of his father, the Son of Re, Thutmose (III), may remain in this temple forever and ever.

Foundation Ceremony

795. The majesty of this Good God, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Okheprure (Amenhotep II) extended the line and loosened the [—] for all the fathers,^d [the gods] ¹⁴making for it^e a great pylon of sandstone opposite^f the hall of the 'sacred chamber' in the august dwelling;^g surrounded by columns of sandstone as an everlasting work; many tables^h with vessels of silver and bronze, oblation-standards, ¹⁵altars, fire-pans, 'oblation-vessels', oblation-tablets, [—].

Erection of the Tablet

796. Then his majesty caused that this tablet should be made and set up in this temple in the place of the Station of the King,ⁱ and engraved with the great name of the Lord of the Two Lands, ¹⁶the Son of Re, Amenhotep (II), Divine Ruler of Heliopolis in the house of the fathers, the gods,^j after the return^k of his majesty from Retenu the Upper, having overthrown all his enemies, extending the boundaries of Egypt, on the first victorious campaign.

^aElephantine: "*Khnum, lord of the cataract, his mother, Satet, mistress of Elephantine, and Anuket, presider over Nubia (T > pd·t).*"

^bElephantine: "*the doors of cedar, wrought with copper, the portals of enduring granite.*"

^cRestored from Ineni, l. 8. (§ 103).

^dElephantine: "*Khnum.*"

^eThe temple.

^fElephantine: *Hjt-hr*. The first pylon and the colonnaded hall behind it are referred to; but these, with the exception of the back row of columns, were all inscribed by Thutmose IV, and must have been left unfinished by Amenhotep II.

^gElephantine: "*in the august colonnade.*"

^hThe account merges into a list of temple furniture given by the king without any syntactical connection with the preceding.

ⁱHis ceremonial position. See § 140, l. 7, and note.

^jElephantine: "*Khnum, lord of the cataract.*"

^kIf he arrived at about the time of Thutmose III's return from the first campaign (§ 409), the Amâda stela is then dated about nine and a half months later than his arrival; for it is impossible to suppose that this Shemu of the Asiatic campaign is the same as the Shemu of the Amâda stela, which would then be only twenty-five days later than the last date readable in the Asiatic campaign.

Sacrifice of Asiatic Princes

797. When his majesty returned ¹⁷with joy of heart to his father, Amon, he slew with his own weapon the seven princes,^a who had been in the district of Tikhsi (*Ty-h-sy*), and had been placed head downward at the prow of his majesty's barge, the name of which was: "Okheprure (Amenhotep II)-¹⁸is-the-Establisher-of-the-Two-Lands." One hanged the six men of those fallen ones, before the wall of Thebes; those hands likewise. Then the other fallen one was taken up-river to Nubia and hanged ¹⁹on the wall of ¹⁹Napata (*Npt*), in order to cause to be manifest the victories of his majesty, forever and ever in all lands and countries of the land of the Negro; since he had taken the Southerners and bound the Northerners, the back-lands of ²⁰the whole earth, upon which Re shines; that he might make his boundary as far as he desired, none opposing his hands, according to the command of his father Re, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes; in order that the Son of Re, of his body, his beloved, Amenhotep^b (II), divine ruler of Heliopolis, might be given life, stability, satisfaction, joy of heart, through him, like Re, forever and ever.

798. The Elephantine stela^c here adds enactments for the sacred feasts there, as follows:

Year 4. His majesty commanded to have the sails^d made for the voyages of these gods dwelling in Elephantine; large sails, each one of 10 cubits, while they were (formerly) small sails of 3 cubits.

His majesty commanded to add one day for his mother, Anuket, to her feast of Nubia (*Pd-ut*), at her voyage of the "Beginning-of-the-River." The supplies are: bread, beer, oxen, geese, wine, incense, fruit, every good and pure thing, as dues each year, as an increase upon

^aThese unfortunate kings were sacrificed by the Pharaoh himself before the god, as so often represented in the temple reliefs.

^bChiseled away and reinserted (Steindorff).

^cAn obelisk of Amenhotep II was also found at Elephantine; it is now in the collection at Alnwick Castle, England. It bears the inscription: "*Amenhotep II; he made (it) as his monument for his father Khnum, making for him two obelisks of the altar of Re; that he might be given life forever.*" The pyramidion shows the king worshipping before "*Khnum, residing in Elephantine*" (Birch, *Catalogue Alnwick*, 345; Bonomi, *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, New Ser., 1843, I, 170).

^dThe usual sign for linen fabric is used, so that anything of linen may be meant.

the 3 days of her customary^a feast, in order to make her great feast of the first (month) of the third season (ninth month) of 4 days^b duration, to abide and to endure; that he may be given life forever.

III. KARNAK CHAPEL^c

798A. This monument, of which only a few fragments have survived, bears a relief showing Amenhotep II leading seventy Asiatic prisoners to Amon. They are accompanied by the words:

List of those countries which his majesty smote in their valleys, overthrown in [their] blood ——— that he might be given life forever.

Twenty-four prisoners in two rows bear the names of the countries they represent. The following are still legible:

1. Retenu [the Upper]; 2. Retenu [the Lower]; 3. Kharu; 12. Kadesh; 13. Aleppo; 14. Niy; 15. Sezar^d (*Š³ - ḏ³ - r³*); 16. Thenew (*Tnw*); 17. Ketne.

TURRA INSCRIPTION^e

799. Above is a relief showing the king before two rows of divinities, thirteen in number, for whose buildings the quarry-chambers have been opened. A dedication at the left side is as follows:

He made (it) as his monument for the gods and goddesses, for whose temples of a [million of years] the quarry-chamber was opened, in order to quarry fine limestone of Ayan.

^aFor a similar use of this rather rare word (*mty*), see § 619, l. 18, and III, 377, note.

^bThat is, one day has been added. Cf. the same formula in the feasts of victory (§§ 550-52).

^cFound by Legrain near Pylon V at Karnak; published by him, *Annales*, V, 34, 35.

^dThe same as Senzar of § 584; see § 784, note, where it is shown that Senzar was a natural point of departure from the Orontes for Niy.

^eCut in the rock walls of the limestone quarry of Turra, south of Cairo. Published by Vyse, *Pyramids*, III, 95; less fully by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, I, 20.

800. Below the relief is the following record:

¹Year 4, under the majesty of the king, Okheprure, Son of Re [Amenhotep II], given life.

His majesty commanded [to open] the quarry-chambers anew, ²in order to quarry fine limestone of Ayan, in order to build his temples of a million of years; after his majesty found [the quarry-chambers which are in Troja]^a ³beginning to go to ruin since the times that were before. It was my majesty who made (them) anew, that he might be given satisfying life, like Re, forever.

⁴Made under the hand of the hereditary prince, count, satisfying the king by maintaining his monuments; vigilant for the temples; who erected tablets ⁵in the land of Naharin (*N-h-r-n*)^b and in the land of Karoy (*K-r-y*),^c overseer of works in the temples of the gods of the South and North, king's-scribe, Min[hotep].

TOMB OF AMENKEN^d

801. The tomb of Amenken,^e a treasurer of Amenhotep II, whose name is everywhere erased, shows a remarkable scene representing the production before the king of the New Year's gifts intended for his favorites.^f He sits enthroned at the right, and the gifts are brought before him in magnificent array for his inspection.

^aRestored from the inscription of Amenhotep III (§ 875).

^bThis was on the Asiatic campaign (§§ 780 ff.); and makes at least four such tablets in Naharin, one of Thutmose I, two of Thutmose III, and one of Amenhotep II.

^cRegion around Napata; see § 1020.

^dRelief scenes and inscriptions in a Theban tomb, at Shekh Abd-el-Kurna; published, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 63, 64, and Text, III, 274; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 500 f.; Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, 121; Mond, *Annales*, V, 97 ff.

^eThe name is not found in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, but is given by Newberry, Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 328, and Mond, *Annales*, V, 97 ff.

^fThey are not presents from the noblemen to the king, as Erman supposed (*Aegypten*, 177); one of the statues bears the words: "*Given as a favor of the king's-presence*," the usual formula upon gifts from the king, e. g., Nebwawi (§ 186, l. 10) received as a gift from this same king, Amenhotep II, a statue of the king's father, Thutmose III, it being customary for the king to present such royal statues to his favorites.

Inscription before the King

¹First occasion of doing the pleasant deed in the great palace — —.

²Production of the New Year's gifts: ³chariots of silver ⁴and gold; statues of ivory ⁵and ebony; necklaces of every costly stone; weapons ⁶of warfare, works of all craftsmen⁹.^a

802 The following are the gifts ranged before the king: 13 statues of the king;^b 7 sphinx portraits of the king; 1 standing statue of his mother, Hatshepsut-Meretre; 8 necklaces; 7 shields, over the last three are the words: "*Leather of* [—] 680," 10 quivers, the last three bearing the words: "*Leather* — — 230," 6 battle axes, 2 coats scale armor; 6 (*ḥpš*-) swords, bearing the words: "360 bronze (*ḥpš*-) swords;" "140 bronze daggers;" 3 ebony staves tipped with silver and gold, marked: "30 staves;" 6 whips, bearing the words: "220 gold, ivory, and ebony whips;" 7 elaborate chests; sun shades, chairs, vases, and numerous small objects. Except in the case of the statues, it is not the number of times that an object is represented that is significant, but the accompanying numeral. Before the accompanying inscriptions the name of Amenhotep II appears.^c

KARNAK BUILDING INSCRIPTION^d

803. After interesting references in the introduction to his conquests in Asia, particularly Mitanni, the king narrates the erection of the columns in the southern half of the

^aTitles of the noblemen.

^bOne marked "*Thutmose I*;" eight standing, two sitting, three kneeling; for description, see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 276 f.

^cLepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 277.

^dOn a column in the hypostyle of Thutmose I between pylons IV and V at Karnak; published Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 157, 158; Piehl, *Actes du Congrès à Leyde*, 1883, IV^{me} partie, section 3, 203-19; and Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 38.

hypostyle of Thutmose I, pulled down by his mother Hatshepsut to introduce her obelisks (§ 304). The northern colonnade had already been restored by Thutmose III (§§ 600 ff.). A description of the king's wealth from his wars follows.^a

Universal Sway

804. Live the Horus: Mighty Bull, Great in Strength; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Mighty in Opulence; Made to Shine in Thebes; Golden Horus: Seizing by his Might in all Lands, Good God, Likeness of Re, Splendid Emanation of Atum, —^b Son, whom he begat, whom he made to shine in Karnak. He appointed him to be king of the living, to do that which his ka did; his avenger, seeking excellent things; great in marvels, ²creative in knowledge, wise in execution, skilful-hearted like Ptah; king of kings, ruler of rulers, valiant, without his equal, lord of terror among the southern lands, great in fear at the end of the north. Every land comes to him bowing down; their chiefs bearing their offerings; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Okheprure (Amenhotep II), given life; victorious lord, who takes every land, whom 'Horus' has magnified because of his strength. The chiefs of Mitanni (*My-in*) come to him, their tribute ³upon their backs, to beseech his majesty that there may [be given to them]^c his sweet breath of life. A mighty occurrence, it has never been heard since the times of the gods. This country which knew not Egypt beseeches the Good God. ^d“It is my father Re who commands that I do it; 'he' is the fashioner of my beauty. He appointed me to be protector of this land, (for) he knew that I would offer it to him. He assigned to me that which is with him, which the eye of his uraeus illuminates, ⁴all lands, all countries, every circuit, the Great Circle (Okeanos); they come to me in submission like every subject of my majesty; Son of Re, Amenhotep (II), Divine Ruler of Thebes, living forever, only vigilant one, begotten of the gods.”

^aOf his other buildings the king has left us no narrative. His small temple between the two southernmost pylons at Karnak is without building inscription. His mortuary temple on the west shore at Thebes was just north of the Ramesseum and alongside that of his father, Thutmose III (see Baedeker, Map, 260), but it has utterly perished. See Spiegelberg, *Recueil*, XVI, 30, and XIX, 88, 89; also Petrie, *Six Temples*.

^bProbably the name of Amon is cut out here.

^cRestored after Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 84, ll. 3, 4; *infra*, § 285, ll. 3, 4.

^dThe king speaks.

Dedication

805. He made (it) as his monument for his father [Amon], making for him the august columns of the southern hypostyle, wrought with electrum very plentifully, as an eternal work. I made for him a monument in ⁵—¹. It was more beautiful than that which had been; I increased that which was before; I surpassed that which the ancestors made. He appointed me to be^a lord of the people (*ṛhy·t*), while I was a youth in the nest; he gave to me the two halves; he caused that my majesty should assume the throne, as one does a useful thing for his father. I rested upon his throne; he gave to me the land ¹—[—]¹. I have no enemies ⁶in all lands.

Temple Equipment

806. I made for him an adytum (*sh̄m*) of gold; its floor was of silver. I made for him many vessels; they were more beautiful than the bodies of the stars. His silver-house, it inclosed treasures of the tribute of every country. His granaries were bursting with clean grain, rising upon the walls. I founded for him divine offerings. I restored the things of him that begat me, that the Son of Re [Amenhotep II], Divine Ruler of Heliopolis, might be given life, stability, satisfaction, like Re, forever.

BIOGRAPHY OF AMENEMHAB

[Concluded from § 592]

807. A scene^b in the tomb shows Amenhotep II standing before the deceased Thutmose III enthroned as Osiris. This is in accord with the copy of the "Book of the Dead" found with Thutmose III's body, which also testifies to Amenhotep's piety; for it bears the title:^c "*Amenhotep II,^d he made (it) as his monument for his father, Thutmose III,^d making for him a book of glorifying the soul.*" Behind

^aRead: *dh̄n·n·j wy r nb*.

^b*Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, V, 245.

^cMaspero, *Momies royales*, 548.

^dDouble name.

Amenhotep II appear Amenemhab and his wife bearing flowers and food. The biography continues, after the death of Thutmose III, as follows:

Accession of Amenhotep II

808. "When the morning brightened, ³⁸the sun arose, and the heavens shone, King Okheprure, Son of Re, Amenhotep (II), given life, ³⁹was established upon the throne of his father, he assumed the royal titulary. He [—] all, he mingled with [—]^{3a} in —, ⁴⁰the Red Land; he cut off the heads of their chiefs.^b Diademed as Horus, son of Isis, [he] took ——— ⁴¹——— [—]^{1c} the Kenemetyew (*Knm' tyw*), every land, bowed down because of his fame; with their tribute upon their backs, ⁴²[that he might grant] to them the breath of life."

Favor Shown Amenemhab

809. ⁴²"His majesty noticed me rowing won[derfully] with him in ⁴³[his] vessel; 'Khammat' was its name. I was rowing [with] both hands at his beautiful feast of Luxor, likewise to the splendors ⁴⁴———. I was brought to the midst of the palace, one caused that I should stand before [the king, O]khepru[re] (Amenhotep II), — ⁴⁵—— [—]. I bowed down immediately before his majesty; he said to me, 'I know thy character; I was abiding in the nest, while thou wert in ⁴⁶the following of my father. I commission thee with office that thou shalt be deputy of the army as I have said, watch thou the élite troops^d of the king.' The deputy, Mahu, executed (all) that his lord said."^e

^a*K* with plural strokes and determinative of a prisoner or enemy. It is not Kehek with whom it was identified as formerly restored (Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 290).

^bSee Piehl, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1888, 115, n. 3. Amenemhab doubtless refers to the sacrifice of the seven kings of Tikhsi.

^c*p'n untyw*, Newberry; he also has *nb* instead of *k*, as the first sign of the following word.

^dThe élite troops as in l. 29; *k* is to be corrected to *nb* in Eber's copy, as in l. 29.

^eSo, after Newberry's copy, which unfortunately does not support Piehl's excellent suggestion (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1885, 61, 62).

REIGN OF THUTMOSE IV

SPHINX STELA^a

810. This remarkable document purports to be a votive stela of Thutmose IV, recording how he had been raised to the throne by Harmakhis, the Sphinx, in recognition of his clearance of the great image from the encumbering sands, in response to the god's appeal to him as a young prince, to whom he appeared in a vision as the youth, weary with the chase, slept at noonday in his shadow. The form and content of the document are strikingly unlike the official or royal records of the Pharaohs. It is besides filled with errors and striking irregularities in orthography, and exhibits a number of suspicious peculiarities not to be expected in a monument of this class. It is therefore to be regarded as a late restoration,^b and it is a great question to what extent it reproduces the content of the monument of which

^aA huge red granite tablet, standing between the paws of the Great Sphinx, made from one of the architraves of the neighboring (so-called) Temple of the Sphinx. It is 11 feet 10 inches high, and 7 feet 2 inches wide. The lower third of the face has flaked off, so that over half the inscription is lost. It was uncovered by Caviglia in 1818, copied by Salt in 1820; his manuscript text is in the British Museum, *Memoirs on the Pyramids and the Great Sphinx*, fol. 1820; it was published from this manuscript in Young's *Hieroglyphics* (London, 1823), Pl. 80; again from the same manuscript inaccurately in Vyse Appendix to *Operations Carried on at the Pyramids of Gizeh* (London, 1842), III, 115; more accurately than any of these, but with further lacunæ, in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 68; repeated partially by Brugsch, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1876, 89-92. Finally a collation of all texts by Erman, *Sitzungsberichte Königlich Akademie*, Berlin, VI, 428-37. I had collated all old publications and Berlin squeeze, and my readings have now been confirmed by Erman's text.

^bErman has now put together the reasons for the same conclusion, which he also has reached. He would date the document between the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Dynasty and Saitic times. Spiegelberg's objections to this conclusion (*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1904) would explain the mistakes and peculiarities in the orthography as due to the erasure of the inscription under Ikhnaton

it is a restoration. Some such current incident during the youth of Thutmose IV may possibly have prompted it; but the form of the narrative as now on the monument is that of a folk-tale.

811. Moreover, a similar incident was narrated of a prince named Amenmose, son of Thutmose I. It was on a monument^a by the Sphinx, of which the following fragments are preserved:

Year 4, under the majesty of Thutmose I, beloved of Harmakhis^b [given life] like Re, forever.

—————^c There went forth the eldest king's-son, commander in chief of the army of his father, Amenmose, living forever, to take a pleasure walk^d —————.

Evidently the priests were striving by such tales as these to enhance the reputation of the Sphinx.

The upper third of the Sphinx stela is occupied by an adoration scene in which Thutmose IV offers to Harmakhis in form of a sphinx. Below is the inscription, as follows:

Introduction

812. ¹Year 1, third month of the first season, day 19, under the majesty of Horus: Mighty - Bull - 'Begetting' - Radiance; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Enduring - in - Kingship - like - Atum; Golden Horus: Mighty-of-Sword, Repelling-the-Nine-Bows; King of Upper and Lower Egypt; Menkheprure (*Mn-hpr[w]-R^c*), Son of Re: [Thutmose IV, Shining] in Diadems; beloved of —, given life, stability, satisfaction, like Re, forever. ²Live the Good God, son of Atum, Pro-

and the subsequent careless restoration, as in the Theban stelæ (e. g., §§ 878 ff.). That this objection cannot hold is evident; for the Sphinx is a sun-god, and the monuments of the sun-gods, especially of the Horuses, were respected by Ikhnaton, and not erased. It is impossible to conceive that Ikhnaton would erase the inscription to a god called "*Harmakhis-Khepri-Re-Atum*" (l. 9) in said inscription.

^aA stone vessel in the Louvre, of which only a fragment, inscribed on two faces, survives. From my own copy of the original. See Erman, *ibid.*, 1063.

^bThe Sphinx.

^cOther face.

^d*R swtwt hr šd > hr*, as on Sphinx stela.

tector of Harakhte, living image of the All-Lord; sovereign, begotten of Re; excellent heir of Khepri; beautiful of face like^a his father; who came forth [—] equipped with the form of Horus upon him;^b a king who — the gods; who — favor with the ennead of gods; who purifies Heliopolis, ³who satisfies Re; who beautifies Memphis; who presents truth to Atum, who offers it to Him-Who-is-South-of-His-Wall (Ptah); who makes a monument by daily offering to Horus; who does all things, seeking benefits for the gods of South and North; who builds their houses of limestone; who endows all their offerings; son of Atum, of his body, Thutmose (IV), Shining in Diadems, like Re;^c ⁴heir of Horus upon his throne, Menkheprure, given life.^c

Youth of Thutmose

813. When his majesty was a stripling like Horus, the youth in Khemmis, his beauty was like the ^dprotector of his father,^d he seemed^e like the god himself. The army rejoiced because of love for him, the king's-children and all the nobles. Then his strength overflowed him, and he ⁵repeated the circuit of his might like the son of Nut.^f

Hunting Expedition

Behold, he did a thing that gave him pleasure^g upon the highlands of the Memphite nome, upon its southern and northern road,^h shooting at a target with copperⁱ bolts, hunting lions and wild goats, coursing in his chariot, his horses being swifter ⁶than the wind; together with two of his followers, while not a soul knew it.

Midday Rest

814. Now, when his hour came on for giving rest to his followers, (it was always) at the [shoulder] of Harmakhis, beside Sokar in Rosta,

^aRead *my* for *my hkk*.

^bHe was born with the royal insignia upon him, as in Papyrus Westcar.

^cThe usual predicate is here cut in two, with half of it after each name; the two names are in inverted order also. This could only have happened from the scribe's use of an original in which the two names were in two vertical lines, with the predicate under them (Erman).

^dHarendotes, a title of Horus.

^ePassive of "see;" cf. *videri*.

^fSo also Erman.

^g*Sd* occurs also in the hunting inscription of Imunzeh (*Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, V, 355).

^hOr: "side."

ⁱNot bronze, as in all the versions.

Renutet in ʿ — —^{1a} in heaven, Mut — — of the northern — the mistress of the Wall of the South, Sekhmet ʿpresider (fem.) over Khas (*H³ s*) ʿ — —¹ the splendid place of the ^bbeginning of time, over against the lords of Kheryha (*Hr-^c h^c*), the sacred road of the gods to the necropolis^c west of On (Heliopolis). Now, the very great statue^d of Khepri, rests in this place;^e the great in prowess, the splendid in strength; upon which the shadow of Re tarries. The quarters of Memphis and all the cities which are by him come to him, (raising)^f their hands for him in praise to his face, ^gbearing great oblations for his ka.

The Vision

815. One of those days^g it came to pass that the king's-son, Thutmose, came, coursing at the time of midday, and he rested in the shadow of this great god.^h A ʿvisionʼ of sleep seized him at the hour (when) the sun was in the zenith, ⁹and he found the majesty of this revered god speaking with his own mouth, as a father speaks with his son, saying: "Behold thou me! See thou me! my son Thutmose. I am thy father, Harmakhis-Khepri-Re-Atum, who will give to thee my kingdom ¹⁰on earth at the head of the living.ⁱ Thou shalt wear the white crown and the red crown upon the throne of Keb, the hereditary prince. The land shall be thine in its length and breadth, that which the eye of the All-Lord shines upon. The food of the Two Lands shall be thine, the great tribute of all countries, the duration of a long period of years. My face is thine, my desire is toward thee. Thou shalt be to me a protector ¹¹(for) my manner is as I were ailing in all my limbs ʿ — 1. The sand of this desert upon which I am, has reached me; turn to me, to

^aThe first two words indicate grains, a meaning which suits Renutet, a harvest goddess. *T³-mwt* is also the name of a Theban region (Djême); it occurs e. g., Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, I, 11, 1).

^bLit., "the first time."

^cLit., "horizon." If Giseh was the necropolis of Heliopolis, it is probable that the Fourth Dynasty kings may have actually resided in Heliopolis.

^dThe Great Sphinx.

^eThis is a resumption of the object, which preceded in the foregoing clauses.

^fLit., "give."

^gIt would seem that the preceding lines narrate the hunting expedition(s?) as customary, and on "one of those days" the following incident of the dream occurred.

^hThe Sphinx.

ⁱYoung: *tp t³ hnt^c nh³ w.*

have that done which I have desired, knowing that thou art my son, my protector; 'come hither', behold, I am with thee, I am ^{12a}thy leader." When he had finished this speech, this king's-son 'awoke' hearing this^a — —; he understood the words of this god, and he kept silent in his heart. ^bHe said:^b "Come, let us hasten to our house in the city; they^c shall protect the oblations for this god ^{13d}which we bring for him: oxen [[—]] and all young vegetables; and we shall give praise [to] Wennofer,^d — — — Khaf[re],^e the statue made for Atum-Harmakhis ¹⁴—————.^f

ASIATIC CAMPAIGN

816. The records of Thutmose IV's Asiatic war or wars are scanty and scattered. It is clear, however, that he still maintained the empire at its former northern limits. Naharin paid tribute, although a campaign thither had been necessary.

817. The king left a record referring to the first war in Asia in a list of offerings from his victories, which he had made in Karnak,^g in which nothing more concerning the campaign can be seen than that there were among these offerings, things "*which his majesty captured in Naharin^h (—————ⁿ) the wretched, on his first victorious campaign.*"

^aAll from Young.

^bBrugsch's text.

^cOr: "*we?*" "*that we may protect . . . and that we may bring*" (so Erman).

^dAll from Young.

^eThis mention of King Khafre has been understood to indicate that the Sphinx was the work of this king—a conclusion which does not follow; Young has no trace of a cartouche.

^fYoung shows two fragments, each bearing a few words (from the middle of ll. 16 and 17 and ll. 18 and 19) which probably refer to further offerings.

^gFragmentary lower ends of ten vertical lines east side of the wall surrounding Hatshepsut's obelisk; published Mariette, *Karnak*, 33=Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 164; photograph by Borchardt.

^hMariette read only the final '(aleph), but Rougé read ⁿ at the end. This reading is also perfectly clear on the photograph. Brugsch's "Kheta" (*Geschichte*, 393) must therefore be given up. See also Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 321, n. 2.

818. This is corroborated by the inscription of Amenhotep, a bodyguardsman of Thutmose IV, whose tomb stela^a calls him:

Attendant of the king on his expeditions in the south and north countries; going from Naharin (*N-h-ry-n*) to Karoy (*K-r-y*) behind his majesty, while he was upon the battlefield; companion of the feet of the Lord of the Two Lands, chief of the stable of his majesty, high priest of Onouris, Amenhotep, triumphant.

819. In harmony with these data, we find depicted on the two following monuments the tribute of Naharin and Retenu; the first is in the tomb of Khamhet,^b who was a powerful noble, and served as chief treasurer under Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III.^c His tomb contains three scenes of historical importance, of which one^d belongs to the reign of Thutmose IV. It shows the king seated in a "naos" at the left; before him are magnificent vessels of Asiatic workmanship in gold and silver, and quantities of these metals in large rings. Behind these are Asiatic princes bowing to the earth, over whom is the inscription:^e

Bringing in the tribute of Naharin (*N-h-ry-n*) by the princes of this country, in order to crave that the breath of life be granted to them. Obeisance to the great Lord of the Two Lands, when they come, bearing their tribute to the Lord of the Two Lands, (saying:) "Grant us breath, which thou givest, O mighty king."

^aSharpe, *Inscriptions*, I, 93.

^bIn the cliff of Abd el-Kurna (No. 120) at Thebes; published entire by Loret, *Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, I, 113-32; partially, Prisse, *Histoire de l'Art*; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 76, 77; Champollion, *Monuments*, 160, 1; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, 498 f., 839 f. The entire tomb is now being broken up by natives, part of the reliefs having reached Berlin (1899). A useful summary in Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1902, 282, where the tomb is inadvertently placed in the reign of Amenhotep IV.

^cSee §§ 870 ff.

^dChampollion, *Monuments*, 160, 1; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, 498 f., 839 f. It has been incorrectly attributed to Amenhotep III by Wiedemann (*Aegyptische Geschichte*, 381).

^eChampollion, *Monuments*, 160, 1; the remainder from Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 839 f.

820. A similar scene in the tomb of Thaneni is accompanied by the following inscription:^a

Bringing in the tribute of Retenu, presentation of the northern countries; silver, gold, malachite, every costly stone of God's-Land; by the princes of all countries. They come, to [make gifts] to the Good God, to ask for breath for their nostrils; by the real king's-scribe, his beloved, commander of troops, scribe of recruits, Thaneni.

821. A tablet^b of the king, erected in his mortuary temple at Thebes, records the settlement of Syrians in the temple inclosure:

Settlement of the "Fortress of Menkheprure," with Syrians ($\text{H}^{\circ} \text{-rw}$), which his majesty captured in the city of $\text{K}^{\circ} \text{-}\dot{\text{q}}^{\circ}$ — ('Gezer').

822. Finally, on the Lateran Obelisk (§ 838), the king refers to the cedar which he cut in the land of Retenu; and on the stela of Semen (*Smn*) in the Louvre (C 202),^c he is twice called the "conqueror of Syria" (*sksk h^o rw*), a title which must have been won in successful Syrian wars.

KONOSSO INSCRIPTION^d

823. This inscription contained perhaps the most interesting record of all the many Nubian wars, and its content has never been historically employed; but it is so incorrectly published that it is difficult to follow. While engaged in the ceremonies of the Theban temple, on the second of Phamenoth, in the year 8, Thutmose IV receives a message

^aScheil, *Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, V, 601.

^bPetrie, *Six Temples*, I, 7.

^cDe Rougé, *Notice des monuments*, 153; and text, Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1461, No. 113.

^dCut on the rocks of the peninsula (high-water island) of Konosso by Philæ. It was first very incorrectly published by Bouriant (*Recueil*, XV, 178, 179); again, still worse, in de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 66, 67. The inscription contained 40 lines, of which the latter portion is much destroyed; only 23 lines are published.

reporting a revolt in Wawat. The next morning the king solemnly proceeds to the temple to consult the god, and is granted an oracle promising success. The expedition now embarks and moves southward, stopping on the way at all the great temples, where the divinities come forth to meet the king, and gird him for battle.^a The result of the battle,^b fought doubtless somewhere in Wawat, is of course a foregone conclusion, and the enumeration of the spoil begins, as the published portion comes to an end.

824. The prisoners whom the king brought back on his return were settled in his mortuary temple at Thebes, and the quarter was marked with a tablet^c bearing the words:

Colony of Kush the wretched, which his majesty brought back from his victories.

The Konosso inscription is as follows:

Introduction

825. ¹Live Horus:^d the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Menkheperure (Thutmose IV), who is given life, forever. ²Year 8, third month of the second season, day 2.

Announcement of Nubian Rebellion

826. Behold, his majesty was in the Southern City, at the town of Karnak. His two hands were pure with the purity^e of ³a king, and he

^aA tablet (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 69 e = Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 164) on Konosso, dated year 7, on the eighth of the same month, shows the king before the god Dedun, smiting his enemies.

^bThere is a reference to the victory in the king's architrave inscription at Amada (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 69, f. 5), and campaigning in Nubia (Karoy) is mentioned by the king's bodyguardsman, Amenhotep (§ 818).

^cFound by Petrie in the temple inclosure; it is now in Haskell Oriental Museum, of the University of Chicago (*Six Temples*, I).

^dFull titulary, lacking only s³-R^c-name.

^eHe was ceremonially pure, for carrying out the temple ritual; the emendation is certain, cf. "*His majesty was pure with the purity of a god*," on the construction, see Sethe, *Verbum*, II, § 725.

performed the pleasing ceremonies of his father Amon, because he had given to [him]^a eternity as king, everlastingness while abiding upon the Horus-throne. One came to say to his majesty: "The Negro descends⁴ from above Wawat; he hath planned revolt against Egypt. He gathers to himself⁵ all the barbarians and the revolters of other countries."

Oracle of Amon

827. The king proceeded in peace to the temple at the time⁶ of morning, to cause that a great oblation be offered to his father, the fashioner of his beauty. 'Behold,¹ his majesty, he himself petitioned in the presence of⁷ the ruler of the gods (Amon), that he might counsel him concerning the 'affair of his going¹ — and inform concerning that which should happen to him; leading for him upon a goodly road⁸ to do that which his ka desired, as a father speaks to his son,^b ' — — —. He went forth from him, his heart⁹ rejoicing ' — — — (for) he sent him with might and victory.

Voyage Southward

828. After these things his majesty¹⁰ proceeded to overthrow the 'Negro¹ in Nubia (*T³ - p^d t*); mighty in his barge of ' — — like Re when he shows himself^c in the celestial barque¹¹.^d His army¹² of his victories, was with (him) on both banks, while the recruits were upon its (one) shore, and the ship was equipped with his attendants,^e ¹³as the king proceeded up-stream like 'Orion.¹ He illuminated the South with his beauty;^f men shouted because of his kindness,¹⁴ women

^aOf course omitted by the copyist.

^bThe same phrase is used of the god's speaking to Thutmose IV, on the Sphinx Stela (l. 9, § 815).

^cA common phrase of the sun-hymns, e. g., Berlin Stela, No. 7316, *Ausführliches Verzeichniss des Berliner Museums*, 108.

^dAbout one-half line mere fragments. The other half is very uncertain. The subject is the embarkation, with the same obscure phrases used in the transportation of the el-Bersheh colossus (§ 698, ll. 7, 8), but "horses" appear here in the place of "the youth" there.

^eApparently we have here the disposition of troops as the king embarked; the veterans ("of his victories") on either bank, the young recruits on one bank, and the bodyguard in the royal barge.

^fCompare the southward advance of Sesostris I (I, 511, l. 2), also compared with a star in the same way.

danced at the message. Montu^a was in Erment as the protection of [his] every limb; Irerti (*Yrrty*)^b led before; every god of the South¹⁵ bore the '—' before him; Nekbet, the White, of El Kab, she^c fastened the adornments of my majesty,^d her two hands were behind 'me', she bound for me the Nine Bows together¹⁶.^e I stopped in the city of Edfu, the beautiful god come forth^f like Montu in all his forms, ¹⁷girded with his arms and weapons, 'raging'¹⁸ like Set of Kom Ombo¹⁸.

The Battle

829. His army came to him, ¹⁹numerous — with his mighty sword. The fear of him entered into every body; Re put the fear of him among the lands, like Sekhmet in the year of ²⁰the dew. He coursed through the eastern highland, he traversed the ways like ²¹a jackal He found all [This] foes 'scattered' in inaccessible valleys.

The remainder is published too badly for translation; one can make out a reference to "*their cattle* ['*their tribute*']^h upon their backs."

LATERAN OBELISKⁱ

830. Although this obelisk belongs to Thutmose III (§§ 626 ff.), the inscriptions added by Thutmose IV as side columns are more interesting and important than the dedication in Thutmose III's name. They state that after

^aThere is no doubt of the emendation. The advance up-river is marked by references to the gods of the larger places passed. Hermonthis (Erment) is the first place south of Thebes; then follow El Kab, Edfu, and Kom Ombo in the proper order.

^bApparently a goddess.

^dAn abrupt change to the first person.

^cRead *smn' n' s*.

^eA reference to some feast.

^fTo meet the king; cf. the same occurrence at Abydos (I, 763).

^gRead *nšn*?

^hOf course, some such word is omitted in the publication.

ⁱFor bibliography, see § 626.

lying neglected and unfinished for thirty-five^a years, the obelisk was found by Thutmose IV, erected and inscribed by him.

North Right

831.^b (Thutmose IV) who seizes by his might, like the lord of Thebes; great in strength, like Montu; whom his father, Amon, has made victorious against all countries; to whom unknown lands come, his fear being in their bodies; Son of Re, Thutmose (IV), Shining in Diadems, beloved of Amon, Kamephis, given life.

North Left

832. King of Upper and Lower Egypt, beloved of the gods; whose excellence the ennead of gods praise; who sends Re to rest in the evening-barque; who praises Atum in the morning-barque; Lord of the Two Lands, Menkheprure (Thutmose IV), who beautifies Thebes, forever; who makes monuments in Karnak. The ennead of gods of the house of Amon is satisfied with that which he has done; Son of Atum, of his body, his heir upon his throne, Thutmose (IV), Shining in Diadems, beloved of Amon-Re.

South Left

833. Thutmose (IV), Begotten of Re, beloved of Amon. It was his majesty who beautified^c the single, very great obelisk, being one which his father,^d the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre (Thutmose III) had brought, after his majesty had found this obelisk, it having spent 35 years lying upon its side in the hands of the craftsmen, on the south side of Karnak. My father commanded that I should erect it for him, I, his son, his savior.

South Right

834. Son of Re, Thutmose (IV), Shining of Diadems. He erected it in Karnak, making its pyramidion of electrum, (so that) its beauty illu-

^aAccepting Thutmose III's death as the probable cause of the unfinished condition of the monument, we should have an important chronological datum, if only Thutmose IV had given us the year of his own reign in which he found it. But as it is, the datum indicates only that Amenhotep II and Thutmose IV together reigned at least thirty-five years.

^bFull titulary except last name, which comes at the end of this line.

^cThat is, finished and inscribed it.

^dReally his grandfather, but any ancestor of a king may be called his father.

minated Thebes. It was graven with the name of his father, the Good God, Menkheperre (Thutmose III). The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Menkheprure (Thutmose IV), Beloved of Re, did this, in order to cause that the name of his father might abide and endure in the house of Amon-Re, that the Son of Re, Thutmose (IV), Shining in Diadems, may be given life through him (*nj*).

West Right

835. (Thutmose IV), whom Amon has chosen before the people [whom Mut] bore [to him], [whom] he [loves] more than any king, to see whose beauty he rejoices, because he has so fully set him in his heart; under whose authority he has placed the Southerners and the Northerners, doing obeisance to his fame. He made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, erecting for him a very great obelisk at the upper portal^a of Karnak, over against Thebes, that the Son of Re, his beloved Thutmose (IV), Shining of Diadems, may be given life through him (*nj*).

West Left

836. Menkheprure, eldest son, useful to him who begat him; doing that which satisfies the lord of gods; (since) he knows the excellence of his plans. It is he who has led him to pleasant ways, and who hath bound for him the Nine Bows beneath his feet. Behold, his majesty was vigilant in beautifying the monument of his father. The king himself was the one who gave direction, being skilfully-minded like "Him-Who-is-South-of-His-Wall" (Ptah). He erected it 'at the completion of time'. He rejoiced the heart of the one who fashioned him; Son of Re, Thutmose (IV), Shining in Diadems, — —.

East Right

837. Good God, Mighty in Strength, Sovereign, seizing by his victories, who sets his terror among the Asiatics, and his roaring among the Nubian Troglodytes, whom his father, Amon, reared to exercise an enduring kingship, while the princes of all countries do obeisance to the fame of his majesty; who spoke with his mouth and executed with

^aThe entrance to the Karnak temenos on the south side, to which the four southern pylons lead. It is mentioned on the statue of Beknekhonsu (III, 567, l. 5), where it is also called "*upper portal*" (*sb ȝ-hry*).

his hands. All that he commanded happened; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheprure (Thutmose IV), of abiding name in Karnak, given life.

East Left

838. Menkheprure, who multiplied monuments in Karnak, of gold, lapis lazuli, malachite, every splendid costly stone; the great barge of the "Beginning-of-the-River"^a (named): Userhet-Amon, shaped of new cedar, which his majesty cut^b in the land of Retenu, wrought with gold throughout; all its adornments were fashioned for the first time, to receive the beauty of his father, Amon, on his voyage of the "Beginning-of-the-River." May the Son of Re, Thutmose (IV), Shining in Diadems, be given life through him.

STELA OF PE'AOKE^c

839. The mortuary stela of the standard-bearer (*t³-sr·t*) of the royal barge, Pe'aoke (*P³-^c³-^c k*), after the usual prayers, records the arrival of a royal messenger at Abydos, to attend to the conveyance to Osiris of certain property of the people. The nature of these payments is not at all clear, and the purpose of their record is only incidental, being doubtless to explain the occasion on which Pe'aoke visited Abydos and executed his stela there. His reference to Ahmose shows that Thutmose IV increased his ancestor's mortuary endowment. A stela in the British Museum^d mentions a "*palace (h·t) of Thutmose IV, given life, in Abydos,*" which would indicate that he occasionally resided

^aThe same in Thutiy (l. 18, § 373). It was some feast on the river, perhaps that of the fourteenth of Paophi.

^bThe same statement by Amenhotep III (§ 888, ll. 16, 17).

^cStela in the Louvre, C 53; see de Rougé, *Notices des monuments*, 100. I had my own copy of the original.

^dNo. 148; it is the mortuary stela of Neferhet (*N/r-h·t*), the chief of works in the palace (from my own copy of the original).

there, and Pe'aoke's record of the gifts of cattle and lands would indicate great interest in Abydos on the part of Thutmose IV.

840. There came a royal messenger of King Menkheprure (Thutmose IV), who is given life, to his father, Osiris, lord of Abydos, to give to him all his property which was with all the people (*rḥy' t*), being bulls, oxen, wild cattle, fowl, and all his [property] which was therein.

Again one came to give the lands of Osiris to him,^a which were [with] all the people (*rḥy' t*); the stat (*st' t*) being 1,200.

Again came the like for the Good God, Nebpehtire (Ahmose I),^b in order to give [to] him all the lands [— —].

^aThe order of words is unusual; the dative should precede the direct object.

^bReferring to a mortuary endowment; but the form of expression is unusual for this idea.

REIGN OF AMENHOTEP III

BIRTH AND CORONATION^a

841. The scenes and inscriptions representing Amenhotep III's supernatural birth and his coronation by the gods, which he had placed upon the walls in one of the chambers of his Amon-temple at Luxor, are taken from the same sources as those of Hatshepsut, and have already been treated under her reign (§§ 187-212, 215-42). For Ahmose, the mother of Hatshepsut there, one must here substitute Mutemuya, the mother of Amenhotep III; and for Hatshepsut, Amenhotep III.

NUBIAN WAR

842. In his fifth and sixth years, Amenhotep III found it necessary to invade Nubia as far as Karoy,^b the district conquered by his grandfather, Amenhotep II (§§ 797), and his great-grandfather, Thutmose III, and probably much farther. He has left us a list of the Nubian regions

^aIn the Luxor temple of Amon in the first chamber on the east of the holy of holies, on the west wall. Partially published by Champollion, *Monuments*, IV, 339, No. 2-341; Rosellini (*Monumenti Storici*, 38-41), and Lepsius (*Denkmäler*, III, 74, c-75). First completely by Gayet, *Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, XV, Pl. 62-68 and 75. Besides errors innumerable in the texts, every plate bears two numbers, and on these plates every figure bears two numbers; in each case only one is correct! The errors in the texts, evident everywhere, can be demonstrated easily by a comparison with the texts of the queen's interview with Amon, which have also been published by Bouriant (*Recueil*, IX, 84, 85).

^bKaroy is not mentioned in the records of the campaign, but is referred to, as reached on the first campaign, in the building inscription (§ 889, l. 23).

subjugated, presumably on this campaign, on a colossal granite statue, now in the Louvre.^a

I. STELA AT FIRST CATARACT^b

843. The upper third of the stela is occupied with a scene showing the king trampling down an Asiatic and smiting two Negroes; before him are Amon and Khnum; behind him, Ptah. The inscription of twelve lines is very fragmentary (having been mutilated by Amenhotep IV in erasing the name of Amon, which has afterward been restored), but shows clearly that, owing to a revolt in Nubia, Amenhotep III was obliged to invade the country, and crush the rebels in his fifth year.^c

844. ¹Year 5, third month of the first season (third month), day 2, the coronation (day)^d under the majesty of

Horus: Mighty Bull, Shining in Truth;

Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Establisher of Laws, ²Quieter of the Two Lands;

Golden Horus: Great in Strength, Smiter of the Asiatics, Good God, Ruler of Thebes, Lord of Strength, Mighty of Valor;

³King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Nibmare (*Nb-m³ · t-R⁹*).

^aThis statue (A 18) was usurped by Amenhotep III; it belonged perhaps to a king of the Twelfth Dynasty. See Maspero, *Dawn*, 491, n. 6. I have verified this usurpation on the original. The list is published by Sharpe (*Inscriptions*, II, 26).

^bCut in the rock on the road from Assuan to Philæ. Text: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 81, g; de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 254; de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, I, 4.

^cA second stela in the same locality, also relating to this war, is too fragmentary for translation (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 81, h; de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, I, 5).

^dBased on an ostrakon in London (No. 5637, Birch, *Inscriptions in the Hieratic and Demotic Character*, Pl. 15). His coronation is usually dated on the thirteenth of the eleventh month, see Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, 213. Sethe, however, has shown (*Untersuchungen*, I, 12, n. 1) that this ostrakon does not specify which Amenhotep is meant, and rightly refers it to some one of the three other Amenhoteps.

Son of Re: Amenhotep (III), Ruler of Thebes; beloved of Amon-Re, King of Gods, and Khnum, Lord of the Cataract (*Kbh*), who giveth life.

⁴One came^a to tell his majesty: "The foe of Kush the wretched, ⁵has planned¹ rebellion in his heart."

⁵His majesty led on unto his victory, he completed it on his first victorious campaign.^b His majesty went forth ⁶— like — Horus, like Montu (*Mntw*) ⁷ — — — — — ⁷^c ⁸He knew not this lion which was before him; Nibmare (Amenhotep III) was a ¹⁰fierce-eyed lion, he seized ¹¹ — — — Kush. ¹²All¹ the chiefs were overthrown ¹³in their valleys, cast down in their blood, one upon another — ¹⁴^d

II. STELA OF KONOSSO^e

845. A scene above shows Amon presenting four southern regions^f to Amenhotep III. The inscription commemorates the same Nubian campaign as the preceding stela.

¹^g ⁵Year 5; his majesty returned, having triumphed on his first victorious campaign in the land ⁶of Kush the wretched; having made his boundary as far as he desired, as far as the four pillars which bear the heaven. He set up ⁷a tablet of victory as far as "Pool of Horus" (*Kbhwt-Hr*); there was no king of Egypt ⁸who did the like beside his majesty, the mighty, satisfied with victory, Nibmare (*Nb-m* ⁹ ^c *t-R* ^c, Amenhotep III) is he.⁹¹⁴^h

^aCompare a similar announcement of a revolt in Nubia, to Thutmose II on the Assuan stela (§ 121, ll. 9–11), and to Thutmose IV on the Konosso stela (§ 826).

^bA rock inscription near Assuan shows an official doing homage to the names of Amenhotep III, and dates the event as occurring "on his first victorious campaign in Kush" (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, IV, 119; de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, I, 28, No. 8).

^cThese two lines are very obscure and fragmentary, but refer to the king's valor and the overthrow of Kush.

^dTitles and usual epitheta of the king.

^eCut on the rocks of the little island of Konosso at the north end of Philæ; text: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 82, a; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 164, 165; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1218, 1219; de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, I, 67, 68.

^fThese are: Kush (*Kš*), Irem (*Yr-m*), *Wrm* (?) and ⁹*rk*.

^gFull titulary of Amenhotep II.

^hContains only the usual conventional epithets; ll. 10–11 have: "He (Amon) hath given to him the south ¹¹as well as north, west, and east."

III. BUBASTIS INSCRIPTION^a

846. The fragment preserved to us belonged to an historical inscription of unusual interest, containing the account of an advance into Nubia, with descriptions of the battles and the stages of the advance in the same style as that of the Annals of Thutmose III. Indeed, it is not unlikely that the walls of the Bubastis temple contained annals of the wars of the Empire in Nubia, like those of the conquest of Syria on the walls of Karnak.

The fragment unfortunately contains no royal name, and has been conjecturally assigned to Sesostri III.^b This is impossible, for the orthography^c shows beyond doubt that the inscription dates from the Empire. Moreover, its content indicates a time when the Egyptian conquest extended far into the upper regions of Nubia, that is, from Amenhotep II on. A hitherto unnoticed reference to the coronation anniversary is here of great service. It is mentioned (l. 6) as occurring just after the first battle and before the advance to "*the height of Hua*" began. They reached this point in the third month of the first season (l. 11); the coronation anniversary therefore occurred not long before. Now, the coronation of Amenhotep III occurred in the third month of the first season on the second day; and the above inscriptions (§§ 844 ff.) show that he also celebrated a coronation festival on his Nubian campaign.^d It is

^aOn a block of granite found at Bubastis; published by Naville (*Bubastis*, XXXIV, A). The block is from the middle of an inscription in vertical lines; not merely the beginning and end of the inscription are lost, but also the upper and lower portions of the lines, of which this block bears the middle portions.

^bBy Naville (*Bubastis*, 9).

^cIt contains the horizontal *m* which never occurs before the Eighteenth Dynasty; see Calice, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 35, 170.

^dThutmose II also mentions a coronation festival in an inscription narrating his Nubian campaign, but this merely dates the arrival of the news of the revolt,

extremely probable, therefore, that this Bubastis fragment belongs to Amenhotep III, and describes the advance into Karoy, or the distant country beyond.

847. The expedition is very difficult to follow in the scanty fragment preserved to us, but its course was probably as follows:

Early in October, when the river is high, the army is already far up in Nubia. Before a battle the king makes a speech to his troops, after which the battle occurs, the king personally taking part in it (ll. 1-5). The expedition then started southward for the "*height of Hua*" on the coronation anniversary; reference is made to the first camp (l. 6). The king commanded that people (Nubians?) furnish certain things for the expedition^a (l. 7), and reference is made to former troops; his majesty held a council (l. 8). A branch expedition of 124 men was sent out from the river to a certain well (l. 9); whether to destroy the well or attack the villages which would naturally be found near a well^b is uncertain, but it was evidently the customary procedure to go out to these outlying wells, for in his expedition of the sixteenth year, Sesostris III "*went forth to their wells*"^b (I, 658, l. 15); here also the purpose is not stated. The expedition then proceeded southward for "*the height of Hua*" (l. 10), taking captives and spoil on the way (l. 11). They were favored by a high north wind, and not more than a month after the coronation feast the desired "*height*

whereas Amenhotep III apparently actually celebrated the feast in Nubia (§ 844, l. 5). The question arises whether the cataract stela (§§ 843 ff.) represents the party as having actually arrived at the first cataract on the return from the campaign, on coronation day. If so, we then have two different expeditions of Amenhotep III. In attributing both inscriptions to the same expedition, I am assuming that the cataract inscription gives the date of the battle, which is coronation day in both.

^aCompare the muster of Nubian troops by the viceroy Mermose (§ 852, ll. 1-4).

^bMany villages in Nubia are unreached by the water of the Nile, and are supported by wells.

of *Hua* *came forth*," that is, rose from the horizon (l. 12). They passed to the southward of "*the height of Hua*," and, having reached the land of Uneshk (*W¹ nšk*), they rested in a camp there (l. 13).

848. It would be of great importance to identify the countries mentioned and determine the southern limit of this expedition. Both *Hua* (*hw^c*) and the land of Khesekhet (*h² sh² t*) occur close together in the lists of the regions of Khenthennofor, placed on the Karnak walls by Thutmose III (see §§ 645 ff);^a the occurrence of Punt along with these names, and the narrative of the expedition, would indicate that they denote localities in the extreme south beyond Karoy on the Nile (above the Atbara?).

849. ¹ ————— Negroes ————— ² ————— this army, while their hearts were 'eager' to fight quickly, beyond anything — came ————— ³ ————— Ye ['see'] nothing has been done to you. Now, behold, as for your affair 'which my majesty mentions' ————— ⁴ ————— ['I of the Negroes who fell, in order that my [majesty]^b might know, because ye do 'this' ————— ⁵ ————— it was not commanded for them. His majesty smote them himself with the baton which was in [his] hand ————— ⁶ ————— the height of *Hua* (*Hw^c*) on the coronation day of the king, behind western Khesekhet.^c Behold, the army was made to camp ————— ⁷ ————— all — very numerous beyond anything. His majesty issued a command to these people, to make them.^d They

^a*W¹nšk* (l. 13) I have not found in any of the lists. *Hw^c* occurs in the Karnak list as *Hw^c t* (Mariette, *Karnak*, Pl. 22, No. 89); *h² sh² t* (*ibid.*, No. 95). *Hw^c t* also occurs with Punt in the list of Ramses III (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 209).

^bThat which Naville has read as *t* with a lacuna over it is possibly the sign for *hn*, "*majesty*," but the book-roll?

^cThe preceding last context perhaps contained some statement like: "[*The army departed for*] *the height of Hua*," etc. It cannot be the arrival, for that does not occur until l. 12. The unknown land of Khesekhet (*h² sh² t*) occurs in the southern lists of Thutmose III (Mariette, *Karnak*, Pl. 22, No. 95, and Pl. 25, No. 95), and is usually rendered simply "*barbarians*." It is however a proper name, having nothing to do with *h² s² ty*, "*barbarian*."

^dLit., "*a command of making them*." Such a use of the genitive is common, especially in Papyrus Ebers receipts.

gave pra[ise 'to his majesty'] ——— 8 ——— infantry of the army which was of old, 'when' they were brought up from the court. His majesty took counsel, ——— 9 ——— [the place] in which they were, doing everything.

850. His majesty commanded, that 124^a men of the army be dispatched, going forth to the well which is in^b ——— 10 ——— southward to see the height of Hua, to make known the ways of sailing ——— 11 ——— living captives which they found among them: negroes, 113^d cattle, male and female; 11 asses, male and female. Third month of the first season ——— 12 ——— the north wind, was very high for the coming forth of the height of Hua; the coming forth of this height was in safety, sailing ——— 13 ——— Uneshek (*Wnšḫ*)^e was its name, south of the height of Hua, resting in the camp made there ———.

IV. SEMNEH INSCRIPTION^f

851. The date of this inscription is lost, but it doubtless refers to the campaign in Nubia. A revolt having occurred in Ibhet, the viceroy, Mermose, levies an army in lower Nubia, marches into Ibhet, and quells the rebellion. The beginning of the inscription is lacking, but it apparently contained the announcement of the revolt.

^aThe rendering (*Bubastis*, 10) "123" is incorrect.

^bThe name of some land followed. See § 847.

^cThis lacuna probably contained some further remark that the expedition advanced "*southward*," etc. Evidently "*the height of Hua*" is the point by which the course of the ship was governed! The "*coming forth*" of the height indicates its rise into view on the horizon. The whole description sounds so much like a sea-voyage that, were it not for the mention of "*western Khesekhet*" (l. 6), one might see in it a voyage along the Red Sea coast to Punt.

^dNaville's "203" (*ibid.*) is incorrect.

^eHas the determinative of a foreign country, and of course indicates some region visited.

^fStela in British Museum, published by Birch, *Archæologia*, XXXIV, facing p. 388; see also *Archæological Journal*, VIII, 399. I collated Birch's text with the Berlin squeeze (No. 1097), and afterward with the original in the British Museum, and found a number of important corrections were necessary.

Muster of the Army

852. 1. ————^a 2. — — — occurred the reaping of the harvests of the 'foe' of Ibhet (Ybh-t). Every man 'reported'^b and one mustered^c [an army of] Pharaoh, L. P. H., which was under command of this king's-son. He made troops, commanded by commanders, each man with^c his village; ⁴from the fortress of Beki (Bky)^d to the fortress of Taroy (T^o-r^o-y), making 52 iters (ytr-w) of sailing.

Defeat of Ibhet

853. ⁵The might of Nibmare took them in one day, in one hour, making a great slaughter ———— ⁶their cattle; not one of them escaped; each one of them was brought — — — — fear. The might of Amenhotep took them; ⁷the barbarians among them, male as well as female, were not separated; by the plan of Horus, Lord of the Two Lands, King Nibmare, mighty bull, strong in might. Ibhet had been haughty,^e ⁸great things were in their hearts, ('but') the fierce-eyed lion, this ruler,^f he slew them by command of Amon-Atum, his august father; it was he who led him ⁹in might and victory.

List of Prisoners and Killed

854. List of the captivity which his majesty took in the land of Ibhet, the wretched:

Living negroes	150 heads
Archers (mygy)	110 heads
Negresses	250 heads
¹⁰ Servants (sdm- ^c 3) of the negroes	55 heads
Their children	175 heads
Total	<u>740 living heads</u>
Hands thereof	<u>312</u>
United ¹¹ with the living heads	1,052

^aA few fragmentary words and signs can be discerned. Several lines before this have probably been lost.

^bLit., "went down to his opposite, or opposite him," which, in view of the connection, is perhaps a technical term for "report for duty."

^cLit., "opposite his village," as above in preceding note.

^dNear Kubbân; Taroy is uncertain. See Griffith, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XIV, 408 f.; but accepting an iter as about 1.4 miles, the distance, some 75 miles, would put Taroy in the vicinity of Ibrim.

^eLit., "was high-voiced."

^fIn a cartouche.

Words of the Viceroy

855. The king's-son, vigilant for his lord, favorite of the Good God, governor of the entire land of Kush, king's-scribe, Mermose. He saith: "Praise to thee! ¹²O Good God! Great is thy might against him that fronts^a thee; thou causest them that are rebellious against thee to say: 'The fire that we have made rages against us.' Thou hast slain all thy enemies, overthrown beneath thy feet."

TABLET OF VICTORY^b

856. This tablet was set up by Amenhotep III in his mortuary temple at Thebes, to commemorate his victories in the north and south. Above is a relief twice showing Amenhotep III before Amon. Both figures of Amon were cut out by Ikhnaton and restored by Seti I, with the usual legend:

Restoration of the monument, which the Son of Re, Seti-Merneptah, made for his father, Amon.

857. Below is a second relief, in which Amenhotep III appears twice in his chariot. On the right he drives over the fallen of Kush, with the chiefs bound upon his horses, over which is the legend:

The Good God ———^c lord of the sword, mighty in dragging them (at his chariot), annihilating the heir of the wretched Kush, bringing their princes as living prisoners.

858. In the same way he drives over the Syrians on the left; above the princes bound on the horses, are the words:

The Good God, Golden [Horus], Shining in the chariot,^d like the

^aLit., "*reaches thee*," meaning in battle.

^bLimestone stela discovered by Petrie in the mortuary temple of Merneptah at Thebes, whither it had been carried by this king from the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III; text: Petrie, *Six Temples*, X.

^cTraces of the cartouche.

^dText seems to show chariot and horses; possibly only horses!

rising of the sun; great in strength, strong in might, mighty-hearted like him who dwells in Thebes (Montu); smiting Naharin (*N-h-r-ny*, sic!) with his mighty sword.

A line of inscription runs across the bottom, as follows:

———— [every] country, all people (*rhyt*), all populations (*hnm t*), Naharin (*N-h-r-ny*, sic!), the wretched Kush, Retenu the Upper and Retenu the Lower are at the feet of this Good God, like Re, forever.

859. A scarab published by Frazer (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, XXI, Pl. III, facing p. 155), gives to Amenhotep III the epithet: "*Captor of Shinar*" (*S²-n-g-r*). The Amarna Letters show that no significance is to be attached to this epithet. The decorations on the columns at Soleb show captive figures representing Shinar, Naharin, Hittites, Kadesh, Tunip, Ugarit, Keftiyew, Carchemish, Asur, and Arrapachitis.^a But such decorations are far from showing that Amenhotep III had conquered or maintained his conquest in these far-off regions.

THE COMMEMORATIVE SCARABS

860. On five different occasions, in commemoration of events in his personal history, Amenhotep IV issued a series of scarabs inscribed on the under side, recording the following matters:

- I. Marriage with Tiq;
- II. Wild Cattle Hunt;
- III. Ten Years' Lion-Hunting;
- IV. Marriage with Kirgipa;
- V. Construction of Pleasure Lake.

^aLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 88. The above are all that can safely be identified. See also fragment of a list at Karnak (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 9), containing also Naharin (?) and Shinar.

As far as we know, he was the only king who did this, although small scarabs referring in two or three words to great events were issued by other kings; e. g., Thutmose III thus refers to the erection of obelisks (§ 625) and the capture of Kadesh.

I. MARRIAGE WITH TIY^a

861. This marriage took place before the year 2 when Tiy is already queen (see next scarab). The origin of the powerful Tiy is obscure; Maspero thinks her a native Egyptian,^b and this is the most probable conclusion, but the persistent publication of the names of her untitled parents^c on these and other scarabs is in that case remarkable, although paralleled by scarabs of the Thirteenth Dynasty. This difficulty is, however, not relieved by supposing her of foreign birth. It is incredible that anyone could identify her with Kirgipa,^d on whose marriage scarab she already appears in the titulary as queen. She is the first queen who is thus recognized by the regular insertion of her name in the titulary. The innovation was continued by Amenhotep IV, who inserted his queen's name in the same way. His ephemeral successors show the same inclination, and the whole period from the time of Amenhotep III to the close of the Eighteenth Dynasty is characterized by the

^aAt least twelve of these scarabs are in the different collections of Europe; see list, Wiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte*, 393, n. 6; text: Mariette, *Album de Boulaq*, Pl. 36; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 44; Budge, *The Mummy*, 242, 234; Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 315; translated from the last three.

^bMaspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 315, n. 1, where full bibliography is given.

^cThe tomb of these two people, Yuya and Thuya, was discovered this year (1905) in the Valley of the Kings' Tombs at Thebes by Mr. Theodore M. Davis of Newport. It was filled with the most magnificent mortuary furniture, and still contained the bodies of Yuya and Thuya.

^dThe absurd story of the king's meeting and falling in love with Tiy on a hunting expedition in Mesopotamia, which has been added to the English edition of Brugsch's *Egypt under the Pharaohs* (214), it is hardly necessary to say is totally without documentary foundation.

mention and prominent representation of the queens on all state occasions, in such a manner as is never found later.

862. Live^a King Amenhotep (III), who is given life, (and) the Great King's-Wife Tiy (*Tyy*), who liveth. The name of her father is Yuya (*Ywy*), the name of her mother is Thuya (*Twy*). She is the wife of a mighty king whose southern boundary is as far as Karoy (*K³-r³-y*) (and) northern as far as Naharin (*N-h-ry-n*).

II. WILD CATTLE HUNT^b

863. This scarab records the first hunting achievements of the chase-loving Amenhotep III. Unfortunately, the region^c where the hunt took place cannot be identified with certainty, but as it was reached in a night's voyage on the king's Nile barge, it was not some remote district like the scene of Thutmose III's elephant hunt in Naharin. As the voyage was northward, it is likely to have been some district in the Delta which could be reached in a night from Memphis. The method of hunting consisted in surrounding and driving the wild cattle into a huge encircling inclosure.^d They thus inclosed 170 animals, of which the king killed not less than 75 on two different days.

864. Year 2 under the majesty of King Amenhotep (III)^e given life, and the great king's-wife Tiy, living like Re.

^aFull titulary.

^bOnly one specimen of this scarab is published; it is in the collection of Mr. G. W. Frazer, and was published by him (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXI, Pl. III, opp. p. 155), with a good translation by Mr. Griffith (*ibid.*, 156); and again, *A Catalogue of the Scarabs Belonging to George Frazer* (London, 1900), frontispiece, Pl. XVI, and p. 56. Another specimen is said to be in the collection of Rev. W. MacGregor of Tamworth.

^cIt may be read either *Štp* or *Št³*. The first determinative indicates a body of water, and the second the desert highlands. This would suit some spot in the Delta with its network of canals, near the margin of the desert.

^dSuch an inclosure, made with a net, may be seen at Benihasan (Newberry, *Beni Hasan*).

^eFull titulary.

Marvel which happened to his majesty. One came to say to his majesty: "There are wild cattle upon the highlands, as far as the region^a of 'Sheta' (^ʿŠt^ʿ)." His majesty sailed down-stream in the royal barge, Khammat (^ḫ c -m-m^ʿ t) at the time of evening, beginning the goodly way, and arriving in safety at the region of 'Sheta' (^ʿŠt^ʿ) at the time of morning.

His majesty appeared upon^b a horse, his whole army being behind him. The commanders and the citizens^c of all the army in its entirety and the children wit[h 'them were commanded'] to keep watch over the wild cattle. Behold, his majesty commanded to cause that these wild cattle be surrounded^d by a wall with an inclosure.^d His majesty commanded to count^e all these wild cattle. Statement thereof: 170 wild cattle. Statement of [that which] his majesty [captured]^f in the hunt on this day: 56 wild cattle.

His majesty tarried 4 days — — to give fire^g to his horses. His majesty appeared upon a horse [a second time]^h. Statement] of these wild cattle, which he captured in the hunt: 20 (+x) wild cattle. [Total]^h 75 (+x) wild cattle.

III. TEN YEARS' LION-HUNTINGⁱ

865. In his tenth year, the king issued a large number of these scarabs, to commemorate his success in lion-hunting.

^aRead *rwn*, as in l. 7; the *t* probably belongs to the *sm't* in the preceding line.

^bThis is the strange preposition used when the king is in his chariot, for he did not ride horseback. See the Amarna Landmark Stelæ (§ 960, ll. 5-6). The hunting reliefs at Medinet Habu show that wild cattle were hunted from the chariot.

^cSee I, 681, ll. 3, 4, and note.

^dThe same words for "surround" (*ynh*), "wall" (*sbty*), and "inclosure" (*šdy*) are used together in the same way in Thutmose III's description of the investiture of Megiddo (§ 433).

^eRead *hsh* instead of *r*, which has customarily been read heretofore.

^fRestored from lion-hunt scarab.

^gThis is literal; it perhaps means "spirit," as Griffith has rendered.

^hThis is the total from the two hunts; the sum of the two days is not less than 75, nor more than 85.

ⁱAt least thirty of these scarabs are in European museums, and three in the Art Institute of Chicago; they have been often published; e. g., Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 298; *Biblical World*, June, 1896, 449 (with translation), Pierret, *Recueil d'Inscriptions*, I, 88; a list of them is in Wiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte*, 381, n. 6. The above translation is based on a comparison of several originals.

Live^a Amenhotep (III), Ruler of Thebes, Given life, (and) the Great King's-Wife: Tiy, who liveth.

Statement of lions which his majesty brought down with his own arrows from year 1 to year 10: fierce lions, 102.^b

IV. MARRIAGE WITH KIRGIPA^c

866. This scarab records the marriage of the princess Kirgipa, daughter of Satirna, a king of Naharin, to Amenhotep III. When Brugsch published this scarab for the first time, in 1880, he expressed the hope^d that the cuneiform literature might some time be able to throw some light on the origin of this princess. Curiously enough, the discovery of the Amarna correspondence in 1887 has done so.^e In a letter^f from Dushratta, king of Mitanni, she appears as his sister Gilukhipa; their father^g was Shuttarna, king of Mitanni.^h A mistranslation of Birch (*Records of the Past*,

^aFull titulary.

^bSome have 110 (e. g., Louvre, No. 580), an easy error for 102; Maspero's 112 (Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 298) is not corroborated by his accompanying text.

^cThe specimens are in private hands. Mr. Frazer (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXI, 155) speaks of "two or three;" first published by Brugsch, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1880, 81-87; then by Maspero, *Recueil*, XV, 200; finally Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1413; another specimen, *Recueil*, XVI, 62.

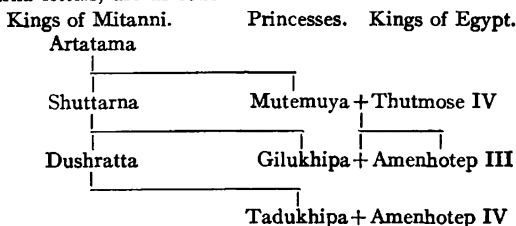
^d*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1880, 86.

^eEрман, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1890, 112; Evetts, *ibid.*, 113; Jensen and Winckler, *ibid.*, 114.

^fWinckler, *Amarna Letters*, 16, 5, and 41, 42.

^g*Ibid.*, 21, 18, 19.

^hThe marriages between this Asiatic family and the Pharaohs, as shown in the Amarna letters, are as follows:



See Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 281.

1st Series, XII, 39) has resulted in confusing Kirgipa with Tiy, who is quite another person (see § 861).

867. ¹Year 10 under the majesty of ². . . . ⁵. . . . ^athe Son of Re, Amenhotep (III), Ruler of Thebes, who is granted life; (and) the Great King's-Wife, Tiy, who liveth; the name of whose father was Yuya (*Ywy*), the name of whose mother was Thuya (*Twy*).

Marvels brought to his majesty, L. P. H.:^b Kirgipa (*Ky-r-gy-p*), the daughter of the chief of Naharin (*N-h-r-n*), Satirna (*S²-ty-r-n*); (and) the chief of her harem-ladies, (viz.,) 317 persons.

V. CONSTRUCTION OF A PLEASURE LAKE^c

868. This scarab records the construction of a pleasure lake by Amenhotep III, for his queen Tiy, in a town or a city quarter (*dmy*), called Zerukha (*d^cr-wh*), otherwise unknown. It is not unlikely that this is the lake of which the remains, called Birket Habu, are clearly visible south of Medinet Habu, beside the palace of Amenhotep III,^d an exceedingly probable situation. But this lake varies considerably in dimensions from those given on the scarab.

The opening of the lake was doubtless in connection with the coronation anniversary, which fell on the next day^e after orders for constructing the lake were given.

^aThe usual full titulary.

^bThis heads the list; we should expect the usual word "statement," as, e. g., in the lion-hunt scarabs.

^cFour copies of this scarab are known: (1) in the Vatican (Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 44, No. 2 = Stern, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1877, 87, n. 2 = Marucchi, *Bessarione*, 1899, 122); (2) private collection of W. Golénischeff (privately distributed photographs); (3) collection in Alnwick Castle (Birch, *Catalogue*, No. 1030, 137); (4) fragment in University College, London (not published). The first three of the above were collated and published by Steindorff (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1901, 63).

^dCf. Steindorff, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1901, 64.

^e§ 844, l. 1; Lieblein (*Sphinx*, VI, 113 ff.) has calculated the date of this opening in terms of our calendar as September 26, Julian, or November 5, Gregorian.

869. Year 11, third month of the first season, day 1, under the majesty of^a Amenhotep III, given life; and the Great King's-Wife, Tiy, who liveth.

His majesty commanded to make a lake for the Great King's-Wife, Tiy, in her city of Zerukha (*ḏꜥ r-wḥ*).^b Its length is 3,700 cubits; its width, 700^c cubits. His majesty celebrated the feast of the opening of the 'lake', in the third month of the first season, day 16,^d when his majesty sailed thereon in the royal barge: "Aton-Gleams."^e

JUBILEE CELEBRATIONS

870. Amenhotep III celebrated at least three royal jubilees: the first in the year 30; the second, although not recorded, probably like that of Ramses II, in the year 34; and the third in the year 36. The celebration of the first jubilee is recorded in the tomb of Khamhet,^f in two remarkable reliefs.

871. The first shows the king enthroned in state at the right; before him is the inscription:^g

^aFull fivefold titulary.

^bThis name was long misread "Zaru," with which it has nothing to do (cf. Steindorff, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1901, 64; and Breasted, *ibid.*, 65, 66). The statements regarding the presentation of "Zaru" to Tiy, current in the histories, are all to be rejected.

^cVatican copy has 600, the others 700. Steindorff reads here "upper arms" (*rmn*) instead of "cubits" (*mhy*). This distinction, although evident on the surviving cubit rods, is not carried through on the monuments. At Benihasan, the *rmn*-sign occurs in door dimensions, where it is clear that the cubit is meant; see my remarks (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, March, 1900, 88-90).

^dThus the lake must have been completed in fifteen days!

^eCf. further examples by Spiegelberg (*Rechnungen*, Text, 81-86), who has compiled a very useful list of these barges, also Breasted, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1901, 66.

^fLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 76, 77, and Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1121-23; for full bibliography, see § 819, where also the inscriptions under the reign of Thutmose IV are given. For a scarab referring to the jubilees, see Brugsch (*Thesaurus*, VI, 1456).

^gAmong his titles both inscriptions add that of: "Lord of the Jubilee."

Appearance of the king upon the great throne, to receive the report of the harvest of the South and North.

Before the king stands Khamhet reading to him a document; over Khamhet's head the following inscription in five vertical lines:

Communication of the report of the harvest of the year 30^a in the presence of the king, consisting of the harvest of the great inundation of the jubilee [which] his majesty [celebrated]; by^b the stewards of the 'estates'^c of Pharaoh, L. P. H., together with the chiefs of the South and North, from this land of Kush the wretched, as far as the boundary of Naharin (*N-h-ry-n*).

Under the document are the words: "*Total: 33,333,300.*"^d

872. As a consequence of this favorable report, the treasury officials are now rewarded, as shown in the following scene.^e

The king is seated in state in a splendid pavilion at the left; before him, the inscription:

Appearance of the king upon the great throne, to reward the chiefs of the South and North.

Before the king stands Khamhet with the inscription:

Hereditary prince, count, who satisfies the heart of the king in the whole land, the two eyes of the king in the cities of the South, his two ears in the nomes of the Northland, king's-scribe ——— (named), Khamhet.^f

^aSo Brugsch, but Lepsius has a lacuna.

^bTo be connected with "*communication.*"

^cOr possibly better "*income;*" see Spiegelberg, *Studien*, 55 and note 227, who, however, does not refer to our passage.

^dThese are probably only plurals of the numeral signs.

^eLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 76.

^fHis titles are written more fully in Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 840; "*Hereditary prince, count, who fills the heart of his lord, favorite of the Good God, to whom are told all the affairs of the 'palace' — — companion of the feet of the Lord of the Two Lands in every place which he treads, chief of the archers of the Good God*."

Behind Khamhet are three lines of officials praising the king; the upper line is receiving rich gifts; inscription:

Reward of the stewards of the 'estates' of Pharaoh, L. P. H., together with the chiefs of the South and the North after the statement^a of the overseer of the granary concerning them: "They have increased the harvest of year 30."

873. The records of the second Jubilee have perished, but the third is mentioned in the tomb of Kheruf,^b in the following heading:

"Year 36. Conducting the companions for presentation in the (royal) presence at the third (*hb-sd*) jubilee of his majesty.^c

874. The ceremony of erecting the symbol of Osiris, the curious column, which is also the symbol of stability, was performed on the morning of the traditional royal jubilee feast day (first of Tybi). Amenhotep III is shown personally erecting this column on the morning of one of his jubilee days, in the reliefs in a Theban tomb.^d

QUARRY AND MINE INSCRIPTIONS

875. New chambers in the Turra quarry were opened by the king in his first year,^e and recorded in an inscription^f identical in content with another^g recording similar work

^aRead *gd* with Brugsch; not *jd* as in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*.

^bBrugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1120.

^cThat this is Amenhotep III is shown by the mention of Queen Tiy in the titulary.

^dBrugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1190-96.

^eThe quarries at el-Bersheh were also opened in the "year 1," as recorded there in a mutilated inscription (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, IX, 195); much better, Spiegelberg, *Recueil*, 26, 151, 152). It records the erection of a monument of uncertain character in the Thoth temple at Hermopolis.

^fCut on the walls of the limestone quarry at Turra; published Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 71, *a-d*, and Vyse, *Pyramids*, III, 96, Nos. 3 and 4.

^gThis second inscription of the same content, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, 71, *b*. Compare the similar inscription of Ahmose in the same quarry (§§ 26-28).

in the second year. The latter is surmounted by an offering scene, and is as follows:

¹Year 2, under the majesty of ². . . . ^aAmenhotep (III); his majesty commanded to open the quarry-chambers anew, in order to quarry fine limestone of Ayan (^cn), in order to build his temples ³of a million of years, after his majesty found the quarry-chambers which are in Troja (*R² - 2 wy*), beginning to be very ruinous since the ⁴times which were before. It was my majesty who made (them) anew, in order that he might be given life, stability, satisfaction, health, like Re, forever.

876. The granite quarry at Assuan was visited by an official of this king, for the purpose of cutting out a colossal statue of his lord. This officer has had carved in relief^b on the rock his own figure standing in homage before the names of Amenhotep III. Below are the words:

[Homage] to the Good God, when was made the great statue of his majesty (called): "Sun-of-Rulers."

Near by is an overturned, unfinished, colossal statue, to which the inscription doubtless refers.

877. A stela^c of the year 36 in Sarbût-el-Khadem in Sinai, records an expedition thither in that year, in which the commanding official refers to the "sea (*the Great Green*)" in a connection^d which would indicate that he crossed to Sinai by the sea route, but the inscription is too fragmentary for translation.

^aThe full titulary, but omitting the Golden Horus-name.

^bSharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 39; de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, I, 63.

^cLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 71, c = *Ordnance Survey*, III, Pl. 14.

^dThe connection is broken by an interfering fragment of rock which the photographer of the *Ordnance Survey* failed to remove. Another stela of the year 36 shows Amenhotep III offering to Amon and Hathor (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 71, d; not in *Ordnance Survey*).

BUILDING INSCRIPTION^a

878. This monument has had an interesting career. Erected by Amenhotep III in his temple behind the Memnon colossi, to record his buildings in honor of Amon, its inscription was almost totally obliterated by the reforming zeal of his son, Amenhotep IV.^b It was restored by Seti I, who recorded his restoration thus: "*Restoration of the monument which the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menmare (Seti I), made for his father Amon-Re, King of all Gods.*"^c In restoring the monument, the sculptor of Seti found the old lines sufficiently traceable to be recut with tolerable certainty, not without some glaring errors, which cannot always be corrected. Four or five generations later, Merneptah demolished the splendid temple of Amenhotep III, containing this stela, and used the material, including the stela^d in a building of his own, where it fell down and remained until taken out by Petrie in February, 1896.

879. The upper third is occupied by a scene twice showing Amenhotep III with the usual legends, offering a libation to Amon. The inscription of thirty-one lines records Amen-

^aDiscovered by Petrie in February, 1896, on a black granite stela lying in the ruins of the Theban mortuary temple of Merneptah; this stela is 10 feet 3 inches by 5 feet 4 inches, and 13 inches thick. See *Contemporary Review*, May, 1896, 619; *Century Magazine*, August, 1896, 501 (view of stela in situ). Text: Photographic reproduction and transcription with translation and excellent commentary by Spiegelberg, *Recueil*, XX, 37-54; finally in Petrie, *Six Temples*, Pl. XI, XII. I have used a photograph, kindly sent me by E. Brugsch-Bey shortly after the discovery of the monument, at which time I made the translation; later notes drawn from Spiegelberg I have carefully credited to him. Important suggestions in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1898, No. 5, 156, 157.

^bOne can clearly see in the photograph that the inscription has been hammered out, as far as the end of l. 22, including also parts of lines 23-28, leaving the last three lines untouched (see, e. g., photographs in *Recueil*, XX, and *Century Magazine*, August, 1896, 501). Excepting the two figures of the king, the scene at the top was also erased.

^cCut between the two figures of Amon at the top of the monument; similar restorations by Seti often, e. g., on the obelisk of Hatshepsut.

^dHe cut on the back of it the hymn of victory, mentioning Israel: see III, 602 ff.

hotep III's chief buildings and other pious works in honor of Amon:

1. Introduction, ll. 1-2 (§ 882).
2. Temple of the (Memnon) Colossi, ll. 2-10 (§§ 883-85).
3. Luxor Temple and Connected Buildings (§§ 886, 887).
4. Sacred Barge of Amon, ll. 16-20 (§ 888).
5. Third Pylon of Karnak, ll. 20-23 (§ 889).
6. Temple of Soleb, ll. 23-26 (§ 890).
7. Hymn of Amon to the King, ll. 26-31 (§§ 891, 892).

880. The architectural data given by the scribe are very important, but are as usual, very general and vague, showing great, if not total, lack of technical knowledge of the subject. The treatment of temple floors with silver (ll. 3, 11, and 22) and the walls with gold or electrum (ll. 3, 11), although very vaguely described, is important. The settlement of Syrians around the temple of the (Memnon) Colossi is historically of importance also. The king's selection of his Soleb temple in Nubia, to be mentioned in preference to his Egyptian temples outside of Thebes,^a shows his strong interest in the region above the second cataract, where he was so active, and where he caused himself to be worshiped. It is furthermore noticeable that the king makes no reference to his other Theban buildings, the temple of Mut and the temple at the northern gate of the Karnak inclosure, of either of which very little now remains.^b

^aThus he omits all reference to his Memphis temple, where he was evidently worshipped, for he appears with Ptah as one of the gods of Memphis (Papyrus Sallier, IV; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 961, No. 23); and his temple there was called "*House of Nibmare*" (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 963). A cultus statuette which he dedicated to himself as a god in this Memphis temple is in Alnwick collection; it bears the dedication: "*Nibmare (Amenhotep III); he made it as his monument for his living image in 'The House of Nibmare'*" (Birch, *Catalogue Alnwick Castle*, 56-58). The El Kab temple, which he is often stated to have built, was erected by Thutmose IV, his father, for whom he only decorated it, as the inscription states: "*Lo, the majesty of King Nibmare decorated this monument of his father, Thutmose IV, forever and ever*" (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 80, b = J. J. Tylor, *The Temple of Amenhotep III*, Pl. 10; again Pl. 8 = Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, IV, 43).

^bThis is to be explained by the fact that the stela records only buildings of Amon.

Part of the dedicatory inscription of the latter is still preserved,^a and contains data of importance. It is introduced by the king's titulary, to which is appended:

881. Who raises a monument in Karnak, a marvelous thing, unlimited in — of gold, plentiful in gold, unlimited in malachite and lazuli; a place of rest for the lord of gods, made like his throne that is in heaven, that he (the king) might be thereby given satisfying life like Re forever.

—————^b an inclosure made to flourish with monuments, made to shine with all flowers, filled with slaves (*mr t*) due from the (*hsh*-) officials, being children of the chiefs of all countries, coming in obeisance to his fame. The Son of Re, Amenhotep, ruler of Thebes, made it for the chosen of Re, because he loved his father, Amon, lord of Thebes, so much more than all the gods. He has been given life, stability, satisfaction, like Re, forever.

Of all this the great building stela makes no mention. It is as follows:

Introduction

882. ¹Live^c Amenhotep (III), Ruler of Thebes; beloved of Amon, lord of Thebes, presider over Karnak; given life, joy of his heart, that he may rule the Two Lands like Re, forever; ²the Good God, possessor of joy, who is very vigilant for him that begat him, Amon, king of gods; who hath made great his (Amon's) house,^d who hath satisfied his beauty^d by doing that which his ka desires.

Temple of the Memnon Colossi^e

883. Behold, the heart of his majesty was satisfied with making a very great^f monument; never has happened the like since the beginning.

^aPublished by Bouriant, *Recueil*, XIII, 171-73.

^bThis section is covered by a Roman wall.

^cFull five-name titulary.

^dNot in Spiegelberg's transcription, *Recueil*, XX, 40.

^eThe colossi known as the Memnon colossi (cf. ll. 4, 5) still stand, but the temple, the entrance of which they flanked, has disappeared; see above, § 878. It was the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III, of which there is a further account inscribed on a huge stela now lying in the scanty ruins behind the colossi (§§ 904 ff.). For an account of the excavation around this temple, see Petrie, *Six Temples in Thebes*; the temple itself has never been excavated. View of the colossi, Mariette, *Voyage dans la haute Egypte*, II, 57, or my *Egypt through the Stereoscope*, No. 64.

^fAlthough the adjective is plural, I translate singular, for in l. 4 it is also plural where it clearly should be singular.

He made (it) as ³his monument for his father, Amon, lord of Thebes, making for him an august temple^a on the west of Thebes, an eternal, everlasting fortress^b of fine white sandstone, wrought with gold throughout; its floor is adorned with silver, ⁴all its portals with electrum;^c it is made very wide and large, and established forever; and adorned with this very great monument.^d It is numerous in royal statues, of Elephantine granite, of costly gritstone, of every splendid costly stone, ⁵established as everlasting works.^e Their stature shines more than the heavens, their rays are in the faces (of men) like the sun, when he shines early in the morning. It is supplied with a "Station of the King,"^f wrought with gold and many costly stones. ⁶Flagstaves^g are set up before it, wrought with electrum; it resembles the horizon in heaven when Re rises therein. Its lake is filled with the great Nile, lord of fish and fowl, pure in [—]

Its Wealth

884. Its storehouse is filled with male and female slaves, ⁷with children of the princes of all the countries of the captivity of his majesty.

^aCalled "*House-of-Amon-on-the-West-of-Thebes*" in the inscription on a black granite statue of Amenhotep III at Erment, published by Daressy, *Recueil*, XIX, 14, and Spiegelberg, *Recueil*, XX, 49.

^bThe temple regarded as a stronghold; cf. remarks of Spiegelberg, *Recueil*, XX, 48.

^cJust how the metals were used on floor, walls, and doorways is not clear from these vague data, but they materially augment our ideas of the splendor of the Egyptian temple.

^dProbably the stela on which this text is cut.

^eSpiegelberg (*Recueil*, XX, 49) calls attention to the fact that the French expedition found eighteen of these statues on the west shore still in situ, some of which are now in the museums: in the British Museum one of black granite (Arundale and Bonomi, *Gallery*, Pl. 35); two heads (*ibid.*, 107); also a black granite statue at Erment, first published by Daressy (*Recueil*, XIX, 14). Spiegelberg thinks it strange that the two Memnon colossi are not given separate mention, but they are clearly mentioned in the reference to "*costly gritstone*," which is the material of the colossi. Moreover, they are distinctly mentioned in the Dedication Inscription (l. 4, § 906). In further corroboration of the inscription, note the statement: "there were many of these statues which stood fronting the great colossi in the intervals of the front columns of the propylon" (Arundale and Bonomi, *Gallery*, 107), noted by Spiegelberg.

^fThe enormous stela lying overthrown behind the Memnon colossi (§ 904 ff.). The word "*station*" is here determined with a stela, showing that, as at Amâda (§ 796, l. 15), the "*station of the king*" was marked by the stela against the back wall of the holy of holies.

^gCf. similar staves in the inscription of Ineni, § 103.

Its storehouses contain all good things, whose number is not known. It is surrounded with settlements of Syrians (H^3 -rw), colonized with children of princes, its cattle ^aare like the sand of the shore, they make up millions.

Western Pylon

885. The bow-rope of the Southland [in it]¹ and the stern-rope of the Northland,^a even his majesty revealed^b himself like Ptah, was skilful-minded like Him-South-of-His-Wall (Ptah), searching out excellent things for his father, Amon-Re, King of Gods, making for him ^aa very great pylon^c over against Amon. Its beautiful name which his majesty made was: "Amon-Has-Received-His-Divine-Barque,"^d a place of rest for the lord of the gods at his "Feast of the Valley" on the western voyage of Amon to behold the western gods, in order that he may endow ¹⁰his majesty with satisfying life.

Luxor Temple^e

886. King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Nibmare, Heir of Re; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Amenhotep (III), Ruler of Thebes, is satisfied with a building for his father Amon-Re,

^aInscription of Ineni (l. 17, § 341) has: "*the bow-rope of the South the stern-rope of the North is she,*" as epithets of Hatshepsut. It seems to me that Spiegelberg (*Recueil*, XX, 50) has overlooked the determinative (a rope) in his rendering "Bug" and "Spiegel," "bow" and "stern." (Cf. Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 52). In view of the Ineni passage, his rejection of the genitive signs seems to me impossible.

^bLit., "*opened himself;*" cf. *wb* ³*sw*, a synonymous phrase (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 18, l. 3), which Müller renders "*sich zeigen*" (*Recueil*, IX, 162).

^cThis is probably the pylon which flanked the Memnon Colossi, but is now entirely gone.

^dThe literal meaning of the phrase used for the barque is: "*Bearer of his beauty;*" it was a portable shrine.

^eThe well-known temple at modern Luxor, of which the southern portion is due to Amenhotep III. The architrave inscriptions (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 73, and Text, III, 80, 81) offer a short account of the building: "*He made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, king of gods, again erecting for him Luxor anew, of fine white sandstone, made very, very high and wide, adorned with electrum throughout, and all splendid, costly stones; a rest for Amon, a place of rest for the lord of gods, made like unto his horizon in heaven. That he might be given life.*" Statements like: "*who built temples — — sculptured their statues; that which was of brick was (re)built of stone,*" or: "*who again erected Luxor anew,*" of course refer to the older Middle Empire temple which Amenhotep III enlarged or rebuilt. On the entire history of the Luxor temple, see Borchardt, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1896, 122-38.

lord of Thebes, in Southern Opet (Luxor), of fine white sandstone, made very wide and large ¹¹and its beauty increased. Its walls are of electrum, its floor^a is of silver, all the portals are wrought with [—], its towers reach^b heaven, and mingle with the stars. When the people see it, ¹²they give praise to his majesty.

It is the king Nibmare who hath satisfied^c the heart of his father, Amon, lord of Thebes, who hath assigned to him every country, the Son of Re, Amenhotep (III), Ruler of Thebes, Brilliance of Re [—]

Buildings Near Luxor

887. His majesty made another monument, for his father, Amon; making for him an [inclosure] as a divine offering over against Southern Opet; ¹³a salubrious place for my^d father at his beautiful feast. I erected a great temple^e in its midst^f like Re when he rises in the horizon. It is planted with all flowers; how beautiful is Nun in his pool at every season; ¹⁴more is its wine^g than water, like a full Nile, born of the lord of eternity. Many are the goods of the place, the impost of all countries is received, numerous tribute is brought before my father, being the offerings of all lands. He hath assigned to me the princes of the south countries; ¹⁵the Southerners are like the Northerners, and each one is^h like his neighbor; their silver, their gold, their cattle, every splendid costly stone of their countries, by millions, hundred thousands, ten thousands, and thousands. I have done (it) for the one who begat me, in the uprightnessⁱ of my heart, according as ¹⁶he appointed me to be the sun of the Nine Bows.

^aCorrected from l. 3, at the end.

^cLit., "washed."

^bRestored from l. 22.

^dA sudden change to the first person.

^eThe only "great temple" of Amenhotep III which is "over against" Luxor is the temple of Mut, which could hardly be referred to here without some reference to the goddess. Hence there may be some undiscovered building of Amenhotep III in the unexplored ground between Luxor and Karnak, to which reference is here made.

^fSpiegelberg, p. 41, n. 6.

^gLit., "more to it is wine," a common phrase; text is corrupt, read: "wrf yrp."

^hBy an emendation drawn from a repetition of the very same phrase on the Luxor architrave (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 73, d, l. 3). This renders invalid the objections of Spiegelberg to the emendation (*Recueil*, XX, 51).

ⁱLit., "correctness;" Erman has treated the phrase (*Gespräch eines Lebensmüden*, 62).

Sacred Barge of Amon^b

888. King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Nibmare, Part of Re; Son of Re: Amenhotep (III), Ruler of Thebes. I made another monument for him who begat me, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, who established 'me' upon his throne, making for him a great barge^a for the "Beginning-of-the-River" (named): "Amon-Re-in-the-Sacred-Barge,"^b of new cedar ¹⁷which his majesty cut in the countries^c of God's-Land. It was dragged over the mountains of Retenu (*Rtnw*) by the princes of all countries. It was made very wide and large, there is no instance of doing the like. Its '—' is adorned with silver, wrought ¹⁸with gold throughout, the great shrine is of electrum so that it fills the land with its 'brightness';^d its bows,^e they repeat the 'brightness'; they bear great crowns, whose serpents twine along its two sides; 'they exercise protection behind them.'¹ ¹⁹Flagstaves are set up before it^f wrought with electrum, two great obelisks are between them; it is beautiful everywhere. The gods of Pe make jubilee to it; the gods of Nekhen praise it; the two Nile-gods of the South and the North, ²⁰they embrace its beauty, its bows^e make Nun to shine^g as when the sun rises in heaven, to make his beautiful voyage at his feast of Opet on his western voyage of a million of millions of years.

Third Karnak Pylon^h

889. King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Nibmare, Son of Re: Amenhotep (III), Ruler of Thebes, ²¹who is vigilant to seek that which is

^aA similar barge with details of measurements in the Harris Papyrus (*infra*, IV, 209).

^bEgyptian Userhet, "wsr-h'wt."

^cThe same statement by Thutmose IV on Lateran obelisk (§ 838).

^dAs it stands, the text is certainly corrupt; the rendering of Spiegelberg ("die ganze Erde") seems impossible, in view of the *m* for *r*. This *m* indicates the above rendering, which is a common idea in respect of monuments of electrum; cf. e. g., obelisk of Hatshepsut, base inscription, south side, l. 7 (§ 315). Since making the above remark, I find the same suggestion (by Müller?) in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, May, 1898, 158, n. 2, where I also find a good suggestion for the conclusion of the phrase.

^ePlural, as often in English.

^fThe shrine, which was set up amidships; it is here regarded as a temple, and equipped therefore with flagstaves and obelisks.

^gReferring to the reflection in the water, here called Nun, as above in l. 13; the same in the Abydos Stela of Thutmose I (§ 94) and Papyrus Harris (IV, § 189, Pl. 4, l. 3).

^hThis is the ruined pylon behind the great hall of columns, known as Pylon III.

useful, the king, who has erected another monument for Amon, making for him a very great portal over against Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, wrought with gold throughout. The Divine Shadow,^a as a ram, is inlaid with real lazuli wrought with gold and many costly stones; there is no instance of doing the like. ²²Its floor is adorned with silver; 'towers' (*sbh·t*) are over against it. Stelæ of lazuli are set up, one on each side. Its pylons reach heaven like the four pillars of heaven; its flagstaves shine more than the heavens, wrought ²³with electrum. His majesty brought gold for it in the land of Karoy (*K·r·y*) on the first victorious campaign,^b slaying^c the wretched Kush.^d

Temple of Soleb

890. King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Nibmare, beloved of Amon-Re; Son of Re: Amenhotep (III), Ruler of Thebes. I made other monuments for Amon, ²⁴whose like hath not been. I built for thee thy^e house of millions of years in the '—' of Amon-Re, lord of Thebes (named): Khammat (*H·c·m·m·c·t*),^g august in electrum, a resting-place for my father at all his feasts. It is finished with fine white sandstone; it is wrought ²⁵with gold throughout; its floor is adorned with

^aThe immaterial or intangible part of a god conceived as a shadow, a common conception both for gods and men (see Birch, *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, VIII, 386-97; Maspero, *Dawn of Civilisation*, 108). The hieroglyph and symbol for this shadow is a sunshade, often figured in mortuary vignettes; it is this which is thus referred to in Ineni (§ 104, l. 9): "*its huge door was of Asiatic bronze, whereon was the Divine Shadow* (det. with ithyphallic Min) *inlaid with gold.*" In the above it is also connected with a door, but seems to be in the form of a ram; cf. also Spiegelberg, *Recueil*, XX, 53. Another similar reference to the "shadow" of the god is on one of the Soleb rams (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 89, e), but the context is broken off. A similar reference to the divine figure in connection with the door is found on the shrine of Saft: "*The doors upon it (the shrine) are of black copper, inlaid with gold, the image upon it is of —*" (Naville, *The Shrine of Saft-el-Henneh*, Pl. 6, l. 1).

^bSee the two stelæ of the Nubian War, §§ 844, 845, l. 5 in each; and scarab of marriage with Ti, § 862.

^cLit., "*campaign . . . of slaying.*"

^dText has *Kny*, which is, of course, an error.

^eEmended.

^fSame word (*s·h*) in I, § 503, l. 16.

^gThis is the name of the Soleb temple in Nubia; it means: "*Shining (or rising) in (or as) Truth,*" which is also one of Amenhotep III's names, either in the full titulary, or alone, e. g., "*which his son Khammat made for him*" [east side of south tower, third pylon, Karnak (Mariette, *Karnak*, 34, l. 29)].

silver, all its portals are of gold. Two great obelisks^a are erected, one on each side. When my father rises between them, I ^bam among his following. I have offered ²⁶to him thousands of oxen, [limbs] for the choicest of hind quarters.

Hymn of Amon

891. Utterance of Amon, king of gods:

My son, of my body, my beloved, Nibmare,

My living image, whom my limbs created,

Whom Mut, mistress of Ishru in Thebes, bore to me,

Mistress of the Nine Bows who brought thee up ²⁷as sole lord of the people.

My heart greatly rejoices when I see thy beauty,

I work a wonder for thy majesty, and thou renewest youth,

According as I have set thee as the Sun of the Two Lands.

When I turn my face to the south, I work a wonder for thee

I cause ²⁸the chiefs of Kush, the wretched, to turn to thee,

Bearing all their tribute upon their backs.

When I turn my face to the north, I work a wonder for thee;

I cause the countries of the ends of Asia to come to thee,

Bearing all their tribute upon their backs.

They present themselves to thee ²⁹with their children,

In order that thou mayest give to them the breath of life.

892. When I turn my face to the west, I work a wonder for thee;

I cause thee to seize the Tehenu (*Tyhnw*), (so that) there is no remnant of them.

(^cThey^l) are building^c in this fortress in the name of ³⁰my majesty;

Surrounded with a great wall reaching to heaven,

Settled with children of the chiefs of the Nubian Troglodytes.

When I turn my face to the orient,^d I work a wonder for thee;

I cause to come to thee the countries of Punt,

^aThese obelisks are not shown on Lepsius' plan (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, I, 117), but they are also mentioned in the ram inscriptions, § 894.

^bThe particle *ty*, introducing a nominal sentence; cf. Sethe, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 36, p. 71, n. 3.

^cAs slaves?

^dThe usual word for east is not employed, but a term meaning "sunrise."

Bearing all the pleasant sweet woods ³¹of their countries,
To crave peace with him (sic!), and breath of thy giving.

King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ruler of the Nine Bows, Lord of the Two Lands, Nibmare, Son of Re, his beloved Amenhotep (III), Ruler of Thebes, with whose monuments the heart of the gods is satisfied; that he may be given life, stability, satisfaction, health; that his heart may be joyful, like Re, forever.

BUILDING INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SOLEB TEMPLE

893. This Nubian temple, dedicated by Amenhotep III to the worship of himself, as well as of Amon, contains a number of building records. Among other things, they preserve the interesting name of the temple, which is not found in the account of the building given by the king in his great Theban building inscription (§ 890). The architrave dedications are not preserved, but only those upon the sculptures adorning the temple, the rams lining the avenue of approach, and the famous lions in the British Museum.

894. The inscriptions on the rams^a are these:

^bLive the Good God, Nibmare, Son of Re, Amenhotep (III). [He made] (it) as his monument for his image,^c Nibmare, Lord of Nubia (*T²-p^d·t*), great god, lord of heaven; making for him an excellent fortress, surrounded with a great wall, whose battlements shine more than the heavens, like the great obelisks, which the king, Amenhotep (III), Ruler of Thebes, made for a million of million of years, forever and ever. Live the Good God^d He made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon, lord of Thebes; making for him an august temple, made very wide and large, and its beauty increased. Its pylons reach heaven, and the flagstaves, the stars of heaven; it is seen (on) both sides of the river, illuminating the Two Lands.

^aOne now in Berlin (*Ausführliches Verzeichniss des Berliner Museums*, 23, 24). They were found by Lepsius at Gebel Barkal, whither they had been removed from Soleb by the Ethiopians; published, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 89, 90.

^bLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 89, a.

^cSee below.

^dContinued as above.

895. On another ram,^a the temple is said to be "*in the fortress Khammat (ḥ^c-m-³c-t),*"^b and is dedicated to Amon (as in the great Building Inscription, § 890), and the king's ka. Another ram inscription^c thus describes the building:

Making for him an august temple of fine white sandstone; all its portals are of electrum, their radiance is in the faces (of men), the Divine Shadow — — — — —."

896. The famous lions^d contribute important historical data, from the state of their inscriptions. The dedications of Amenhotep III were cut out during the religious revolution of Ikhnaton, showing that the persecution of that king extended as far south as Soleb, and included even his own father as a god. They were restored by Tutenkhamon, who prefixed to the restored dedications a record of the restoration thus:

———— rest the gods, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Offering [Nebkheprure],^e Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, Tutenkhamon, restorer of the monument of his father, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Nibmare, Son of Re, Amenhotep (III), Ruler of Thebes. He made (it) as his

^aLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 89, c.

^bOn this name, see note, § 890. (Great Building Inscription, l. 24).

^cLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 89, e.

^dThese two magnificent animal figures were later carried away from Soleb and erected in Gebel Barkal (Napata) by the Ethiopians. That there should ever have been any doubt about this, especially in the minds of the British Museum authorities, (see Budge, *History*, IV, 112; VI, 100) is, to say the least, surprising. Not only do the above dedications show that the lions were originally erected at Soleb (Khammat), but the breast of one bears the inscription of the Ethiopian, stating that he removed it, as follows: "*Good God, Lion of Rulers, fierce-eyed Lion when he spies his foes treading his path* — (cartouche, name lost), *who brought it.*" Below this, is the double name: "*King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Enekhneferibre (ḥ-ḥ-ḥ-r-yb-Rc), Son of Re, Amenisru (Ymn-ys-r-w-3).*" (Published Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XIII; I had also my own copies of the originals.) See a similar removal record, IV, 649.

^eCartouche with name erased. The name has been inserted by Lepsius (*Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XIII), but is not discernible on the original.

monument for his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, Atum, lord of Heliopolis, and Yoh^a (Y^c h), that he might be given life, like Re, forever.

897. On the other lion, the original inscription of Amenhotep III is better preserved,^b as only the name of the king (containing Amon) has been expunged, and later incorrectly restored, thus:

Horus, Mighty Bull ——— Nibmare, Son of Re, Nibmare^c (sic!). He made (it) as his monument for "His Living Image on Earth, Nibmare, Lord of Nubia in the Fortress of Khammat."^d

898. Finally, a doorpost of the temple bears the following dedication:^e

He made (it) as his monument for "His Living Image upon Earth, Nibmare, Lord of [Khen]then[nofer];"^d making for him temples of fine white sandstone. All its portals are of electrum — — — — —.

GREAT INSCRIPTION OF THE THIRD KARNAK PYLON^f

899. This pylon, now the rear wall of the great Karnak hypostyle, was erected by Amenhotep III before the obelisks of Thutmose I as the front of the temple, which it continued to be until the famous hypostyle hall was built in front of it by the Nineteenth Dynasty kings. It is referred to in

^aThoth, the moon-god.

^bThe inscription occurs twice on this lion, once in front and again behind. In front (facing the avenue) it has been completely hacked out, but behind the iconoclasts of Ikhnaton have hastily cut out only the royal names.

^cIncorrect restoration by Tutenkhamon; it should be, of course, "*Amenhotep*."

^dCultus-name of the deified Amenhotep III. ^eLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 87, a.

^fOn the east face of the southern tower of the third pylon, in 71 vertical lines, of which only the lower ends have survived, the ends of the last 23 lines containing but two or three words each. It was seen and excerpted by Champollion (*Notices descriptives*, II, 126). The text was published by Mariette (*Karnak*, 34, 35) and by Dümichen (*Historische Inschriften*, II, 39); both number the lines backward, and are also excessively inaccurate; Dümichen even mixes up the lines, and evidently his papers were in confusion. I had excellent photographs of the original by Borchardt.

Amenhotep III's Building Inscription (§ 889), and its southern tower still bears the remnant of a long and magnificently cut inscription referring to the erection of the pylon. This inscription has the following content:

1. Laudation of the king (§ 900, ll. 1-24);
2. Offerings to Amon (§ 901, ll. 24-34).
3. Presents and Buildings (§ 902, ll. 24-39).
4. Third Pylon and Connected Monuments (§ 903, ll. 39-71).

The inscription is so fragmentary that much of it is unintelligible, but enough remains to show that the third pylon must have been a monument of the greatest richness and beauty.

Laudation of the King

900. ^{1a}—— luxuries and benefactions of the lord of eternity which he levied in God's-Land, abiding like the heavens, shining
 [—] ²——^b Amenhotep III ³—— in his beauty like him who created him; the hearts rejoice in the bodies at beholding him. ⁴—— their — with one 'accord'. He whom he hath chosen is prepared, exalted above millions to lead on the people forever. ⁵—— His eye is the sun, making brightness for all men. How prosperous is he who beholds him, his sun, rising ⁶—— of the sun forever. His two hands hold^c might, his word bears victory, in order to present to him (Amon) the whole earth, with the impost thereof ⁷—— whose path 'sends away', whose name repels, whose 'word' created him, [—] with his form to be the Sole Lord, whose doing hath led ⁸—— satisfied with victory, the leader of his soldiers, the first of millions. He is one who taketh thought, who maketh wise with knowledge ⁹—— his stride is swift, a star of electrum when he circles upon his horse, a victorious archer, shooting the 'target' ¹⁰—— living captives, without his like, the good shepherd, vigilant

^aThis is l. 71 in Mariette's publication, as he numbered the lines backward, and this translation proceeds from l. 71 to l. 1, as numbered in his publication.

^bFull titulary of Amenhotep III.

^cLit., "are in might."

for all people, whom the maker thereof has placed under his authority, lord of plenty, ¹¹—— beholding benefactions is his satisfaction, 'doing that which occurs is' his thriving forever; loving examples of truth, rejoicing in plans ¹²—— searching bodies, knowing that which is in the heart, whose fame apprehends the 'evil' —, protector of the fearful, whose decree is the breath of life, prosperity, and health ¹³—— '—' in his body all his 'brightness' to the form of the majesty of Re; his divine and beautiful emanation which he made for — ¹⁴—— like Thoth, who gives the Two Lands to the balances.^a There are no rebels, (for) his strength is like the might of the son of Nut; there are no millions — ¹⁵—— protecting them, in order to do all that their ka's desire and to make Egypt flourish as in the beginning, by the plans of Truth, because she does ¹⁶—— adorning the splendid Great House of him who begat him, with monuments of beauty and splendor forever, which he decreed for his son ¹⁷—— the wealth of Ptah,^b great in his form. He created him as his son, endowed with his beauty ¹⁸——. He gave to him the thought of every day as a benefaction, in 'magnifying' the wonders of — — He rejoices in remembering ¹⁹—— joy of heart. He created me before him, while I was a youth therein. How beautiful is the '—' before the throne ²⁰—— it in the beginning. His accustomed splendid seat, wherein he alighted '—' ²¹—— him in his form in Thebes, they made rejoicing for love of him ²²—— '— —'. I am his first born son '— —' ²³—— I — under his authority, I was endowed with his might, I was endued with his power ²⁴—— 'bringing' all works 'from' his temple.

Offerings to Amon

901. My majesty founded for him (Amon) very great divine offerings anew ²⁵—— in the land, true and pure in the (divine) presence in the great seat, which I have supplied with food ²⁶—— that he might multiply my years in joy of heart. I produced fulness of food and provision from my presence ²⁷—— my subjects under my feet by the might and victory which he decreed for me ²⁸—— food in thy house filled with supplies, which the '—' established in the horizon, the vessels of him who made the things that are ²⁹—— to him to be mighty in gifts to him, 'assigning' them to him; the king,

^aTo be weighed as tribute.

^bRead *rsy ynb' f.*

the unique one of the gods^a so that they are satisfied every day ³⁰——— true, pure and flourishing with divine offerings of every day, abiding and fixed in his house forever. ³¹——— with millions, as a fierce-eyed lion, sated in the place ¹—— of the morning, taking captive ³²——— My face works terror — — ¹when it fronts¹ those who rebel against me, every time that occurs in ³³——— ¹—— — ¹ my grasp. I reported my message to him that sent me; I presented it in the presence of my august father ³⁴——— him that begat him.

Presents and Buildings

902. He is divine in my heart at all times, that I may present flowers ³⁵——— according as he creates them, I bring to him silver, gold, genuine lapis lazuli, malachite ³⁶——— every costly stone, every splendid vessel of electrum without limit of number. ³⁷——— in his seat of truth. He hath made for himself splendid things which the maker made. He made me ³⁸——— his — in every august land, the good things of every land and the impost thereof together, that I may present ³⁹———

Third Pylon and Connected Monuments

903. ——— in the splendid place, in which he loves to be, wrought of sandstone ⁴⁰——— all flowers which he gathered, all food at all times. If there be the like ⁴¹——— all — in ¹pleasing¹ him, restored and established as he desires it. The weight of this monument:

^{42b} ———	———
Malachite:	4,820 deben.
¹ —— ¹ (<i>hnt</i>) ^c	3,623 deben.
⁴³ ———	———

——— flourishing and established, which his son, Khammat (Amenhotep III) made for him. The number of these things is: ⁴⁴——— flourishing in every garden, sweet in fragrance of all flowers, ¹—— — ¹ ⁴⁵——— a great [pylon] over against the temple, [its door] made high and wide, of cedar of ⁴⁶——— it illuminates this whole

^aThe word "gods" was chiseled out in the time of Ikhnaton.

^bHere follows a statement of the weight of some monument, above mentioned.

^cThis unknown substance appears as a basket of red kernels in the tomb of Rekhmire (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1111, and Wilkinson, *Manners*, I, Pl. IIA).

land, its beauty seems like the horizon of heaven ⁴⁷———. He
 [made] wide for him its extent, an august judgment-hall of ⁴⁸———
 an august — for this portal [of the maker of his majesty as my father]
⁴⁹——— desires them — — — monument for him who raised
⁵⁰——— real lapis lazuli, 3,000 (+x) deben ⁵¹——— 3,631½ —
⁵²——— chiefs of all countries, monuments ⁵³——— great door-
 way of electrum ⁵⁴——— of the land that sees it, every land [— —]
⁵⁵——— as leader of them in ⁵⁶——— of new cedar of the royal
 domain ⁵⁷——— august — of electrum, obelisk[s]^a ⁵⁸———
^b

DEDICATION STELA^c

904. This stela contained the dedication of the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III, which stood behind the (Memnon) Colossi at Thebes. It stood in the usual place, the "*Station of the King*," which it marked, being erected, like the similar stelæ of Amenhotep II at Elephantine and Amâda (§ 791 ff.), against the inside of the rear wall of the holy of holies.^d Here it proclaimed the king's gift of the temple to the god, on the spot where the king stood in officially absolving the ceremonies of the ritual.

The upper third of the stela is occupied by two conventional scenes, showing the king, Amenhotep III, and his

^aThese obelisks probably stood in front of this pylon (III); they must have been removed to build the great hypostyle; the only obelisks of Amenhotep III now known at Karnak are in the northern temple, but only fragments have survived (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 2). Perhaps they stood on the two bases referred to in Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1902, 253.

^bLl. 59-71 contain only an incoherent word or two at the end; indeed, ll. 62 and 69-71 are entirely gone.

^cAn enormous sandstone stela about 30 feet high and 14 feet wide, still lying a few hundred feet behind the colossi of Amenhotep III at Thebes; text, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 72.

^dThe stela is directly referred to in another building inscription of Amenhotep III in this same temple (§ 883, l. 5), where it is called "*a station of the king, wrought with gold and many costly stones*." The word "*station*" is here determined with a stela, and the text would indicate that it was overlaid and incrustured.

queen, Tiy, before "*Sokar-Osiris*" (on the left) and "*Amon-Re*" (on the right).

The text of twenty-four lines represents: (1) the king delivering the temple which stood behind the Colossi to Amon in a presentation address^a (ll. 2-13); (2) Amon accepting it with words of praise to the king (ll. 14-20); (3) the "Divine Ennead" calling upon the god to enter his temple, while they praise him and the king (ll. 20-24).^b The text is badly broken and certainly corrupt in a number of places.

I. SPEECH OF THE KING (LL. 1-13)

Temple

905. ¹Live^c King Amenhotep (III). ²He saith: "Come thou, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, presider over Karnak; thou hast seen thy house which I have made for thee in ^dthe west of Thebes.^d Its beauty mingles with Manu (*M* ²*-nw*), when thou sailest over the heavens to set therein. ³When thou risest in the horizon of heaven, it shines^e with the gold of thy face, (for) its face is toward the east [—————]^f thou shinest in the morning every day; thy beauty is in its midst without ceasing. I made it ⁴in excellent work, of fine white sandstone.

Colossal Statues

906. My majesty filled it with monuments, with my [statues]^g from the mountain of gritstone. When they are seen (in^h) their place,

^aThe erection of the same temple is recorded in ll. 2-10 in the preceding building inscription, §§ 883, 884.

^bIt is therefore not merely a dialogue between the god and the king, as stated by Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, 207.

^cThe usual full titulary.

^d*dys't wr't nt W² s't* probably designates "*the west of Thebes*," found in l. 3 of the preceding building inscription (*ymy-wr't nt w² s't*).

^eThough causative, this verb may be used intransitively, e. g., l. 24 below.

^fThe parallelism of "*because thou risest*" and "*because thou settest*" is all that can be made of this phrase.

^gThis restoration is probable, for the (Memnon) colossi before this temple are of gritstone.

there is great rejoicing because of their size.^a I made ⁵likewise a ¹—^b upon the stone; it is of alabaster, pink and black granite; my majesty made a double pylon,^c seeking excellent things for my father; statues coming forth ¹—¹ they were shaped, ⁶— throughout. Great was that which I made, of gold, stone, and every splendid costly stone without end. I gave to them the directions to do that which pleases thy ka, ¹—¹ satisfied with^d an august dwelling like ⁷— — —.

Offerings

907. I made for them^e offerings — — — —. My majesty hath done^f these things for millions (of years), and I know that they will abide in the earth for my father ⁸— — — all that was due him; I made for thee a shadow^g for thy voyage across the heavens as Atum, coming forth with all the [gods], while the divine ennead who are behind thee and the Sacred Apes praise thy rising and thy appearing in ⁹— the horizon. The divine ennead rejoice, they give exaltation to Khepri; the Sacred Apes give praise to thee^h when thou settest in Enekhⁱ in the west.

Obelisks

908. I made ¹⁰obelisks there ¹— — —¹. Thou hast shown favor for^j all that my majesty made there in the likeness of a chapel of thy majesty ¹———¹.^k ¹¹Again I made for thee monuments on the

^aThe so-called Memnon colossi are about 58 feet high (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 141 ff.), but this height is reduced nearly 5 feet by the accumulated Nile mud. They bear, or at least the southern statue bears, the dedication (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 144): "*He made (it) as his monument for his father Amon; making for him a great statue of costly gritstone*" There is among the titles of the king also a reference to the monument as "*brought from Northern Heliopolis to Southern Heliopolis.*" The quarry of red gritstone, whence the statues were taken, is at the Gebel el-Ahmar near Cairo (see I, 493, l. 15, note) and Heliopolis; Southern Heliopolis is modern Erment, south of Thebes.

^bRead *ky*, "*form*," the *b* as determinative?

^dOr: "*resting in.*"

^cTranslated from the determinative only.

^eFor the statues.

^fThere is a superfluous personal ending here.

^gThis is probably not the "*Divine Shadow*," but a sunshade to protect the god on festival processions, or, as the text has it, when he crosses the heavens.

^hLit., "*to thy face*," or before thee.

ⁱMeaning "*life*," a euphemism for the place of the dead.

^jLit., "*of*."

^kA little over one-third line.

west of the Great [Sea]t¹; ^a I exacted all works f———^b in order to furnish my impost by the [Hand] of my army. I rejoiced ¹²when I had done (it) for my father.

I [foun]ded for thee offerings every day at the beginning of the seasons and oblations at their times, d[ues for] thy temple; its prophets, its priests from the greatest and choicest of ¹³the whole land. Accept that which I have made, revered father, Amon, of the beginning of the world."

II. SPEECH OF AMON (LL. 14-20)

909. ¹⁴Utterance by Amon-Re, : ^c "Come, my son Amenhotep, ^d ¹⁵I hear what thou sayest; I have seen thy monument, I am thy [fath]er, creator of thy beauty ²⁰. . . . ^e I accept the [monument] which thou hast made for me."

III. SPEECH OF THE DIVINE ENNEAD (LL. 20-24)

910. Utterance by the Divine Ennead: f. f: ²¹"Come — — — into thy eternal temple. It is Nibmare, thy son, who has done this for thee. ^g ²³. . . . ^g Thou art in heaven, ²⁴thou shinest for the earth; he (the king) is on earth, administering thy kingdom ^g. ^g

INSCRIPTIONS OF AMENHOTEP, SON OF HAPI

911. This famous official, who lived under Amenhotep III, was a descendant of an old noble family, the ancient nomarchs of Athribis, and still maintained the office of chief of the prophets of the temple at that place, which went with his ancient rank. He acquired a great reputation for

^aThe name of this temple was "*House-of-Amon-on-the-West-of-Thebes*;" see § 883, note.

^bFive or six words.

^cHalf a line of titles.

^dBoth names.

^eAbout one-fourth of the omitted portion is broken out, the remainder contains only the conventional praise of the king by the god.

^fOne-third line.

^gMuch broken, and contains only the conventional phrases of praise to Amon or the king.

wisdom. On the temple of Der el-Medineh at Thebes an inscription says of him: "*His name shall abide forever, his sayings shall not perish.*" These sayings were thought to be referred to in the papyrus of Heter at Gizeh,^a but this has been clearly shown to be an error.^b The attribution of a mortuary papyrus^c to him is also very questionable.^d The only wisdom unquestionably assigned to him, though it is probably a pseudepigraphon, is found in an eighteen-line Greek scrawl of the third century B. C., on a limestone ostrakon belonging to the Egypt Exploration Fund.^e It contains nine fragmentary sayings, of which Wilcken has found three also among the "Proverbs of the Seven Wise Men."^f Amenhotep was long supposed to have built the original temple on the site of the present Der el-Medineh temple;^g Sethe has shown the error of this supposition.^h He was long ago pointed out by Brugsch, on the basis of his statue inscription, as the architectⁱ of the Memnon colossi on the Theban plain—an error which a careful translation of the inscription immediately exposes.^j

912. He lived to be at least eighty years old, when the king granted him a statue^k in the Karnak temple of Amon with the following dedication:

^aBy Maspero, *Mémoire sur quelques papyri du Louvre*, 23.

^bBy Sethe, *Festschrift für Georg Ebers*, 113, 114.

^cMariette, *Papyri de Boulaq*, No. 5.

^dSethe, *ibid.*

^ePublished by Wilcken, *Festschrift für Georg Ebers*, 142-46. For other material which may be his, see Daressy, *Annales*, III, 43, 61, 62, where he appears as a god in the Ptah-temple of Karnak in the time of Tiberius.

^fWilcken, *Festschrift für Georg Ebers*, 144, 145.

^gBy Brugsch (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1875, 125-27) on the basis of the Mortuary Temple Edict below, §§ 921 ff.

^h*Festschrift für Georg Ebers*, 110-12.

ⁱ*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1876, 96 ff.

^jSee § 917.

^k*Annales*, II, 272, 281-84; IV, Pl. V, IV. The long inscription has nothing of historical value. See another Karnak statue of him, *Recueil*, 19, 13, 14.

[Given as a favo]r of the king's-presence to the temple of Amon in Karnak, for the hereditary prince, count, sole companion, fan-bearer on the king's right hand, chief of the king's works even all the great monuments which are brought, of every excellent costly stone; steward of the king's-daughter of the king's-wife, Sitamon, who liveth; overseer of the cattle of Amon in the South and North, chief of the prophets of Horus, lord of Athribis, festival leader of Amon, Amenhotep, son of Hapi, born of the lady Yatu (*Y³ tw*), triumphant.

Having thus attained the age of eighty years, he prays (on this statue) for the usual 110 years. In later ages he gradually gained recognition as a god, for the first time probably under Ptolemy Euergetes II;^a so that already in Manetho's time, this historian could say of him that he seemed to partake of the divine nature.^b

I. STATUE INSCRIPTION^c

913. This inscription is very difficult and obscure. The introduction (ll. 1-26) consists solely of eulogistic epithets and phrases applied to the deceased, and of mortuary texts, of no historical value. The remainder (ll. 26-43) contains his official career through three promotions, as follows:

Introduction, § 914, ll. 26-27.

First Promotion, to be Inferior Royal Scribe, § 915, ll. 27-29.

Second Promotion, to be Superior Royal Scribe, § 916, ll. 29-37.

Third Promotion, to be Minister of all Public Works, § 917, ll. 37-43.

^aSethe, *Festschrift für Georg Ebers*, 116.

^bJosephus, *Contra Apion*, I, 26.

^cThe third statue of Amenhotep at Karnak; discovered there by Mariette. Published by Mariette, *Karnak*, 36, 37; Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, XXIII-XXVIII; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1292-98. I had also a copy of the original by Borchardt for the Berlin dictionary.

Introduction

914. ²⁶..... The king's-scribe, Amenhotep, triumphant; he saith: "I was great, at the head of the great, skilful in the divine words^a in ²⁷the [council] of understanding, following the plans of the king; one whose ka the sovereign, L. P. H., advanced.

First Promotion

915. The Good God, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nibmare (Amenhotep III), firstborn son of Harakhte, praised me. I was appointed to be inferior king's-scribe^b; ²⁸I was introduced into the divine book, I beheld the excellent things of Thoth; I was equipped with their secrets; I opened^c all their [passages]; one took counsel with me ²⁹on all their matters.

Second Promotion

916. My lord again showed favor to me; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nibmare, he put all the people subject to me, and the listing of their number under my control, as superior king's-scribe^d over recruits. ³⁰I levied the (military) classes of my lord, my pen reckoned the numbers of millions; I put them in [classes] in the place of their [elders]; the staff of old age^e as his beloved son. ³¹I taxed the houses with the numbers belonging thereto, I divided the troops (of workmen) and their houses, I filled out the subjects^f with the best of the captivity, which his majesty had captured ³²on the battlefield. I appointed all their troops (*ts t*), I levied — — — I placed troops at the heads of the way(s) to turn back the foreigners in their places. ³³The two regions were surrounded^g with a watch scouting for the Sand-rangers. I did likewise at the heads of the river-mouths,^h which were

^aTerm for hieroglyphics.

^b*S3-stny-hry q > q >*.

^cThe same phrase (*pg > ny*) for opening sacred books in Neferhotep (I, 758).

^d*S3-stny-hry-q > q >*.

^eSame phrase, I, 692. There is a reference here to the replacement of old by new levies, but the technical terms are not yet fully understood.

^fThe native-born Egyptians.

^gOr: "*which surrounded the Two Lands.*"

^hLit., "*at the head(s) of the shore of the front mouths;*" the mouths of the Nile are indicated. The meaning "*river-mouths*" or "*harbor-mouths*" is clearly determined by the use of the word (*r > h > ut*) in the wars of Ramses III (year 5,

closed under ³⁴my troops except to the troops of royal marines. I was the guide of their ways, they depended upon my command.

I was the chief at the head of ³⁵the mighty men, to smite the Nubians 'and the Asiatics',^a the plans of my lord were a refuge behind me; 'when I wandered' his command surrounded me; his plans embraced all lands ³⁶and all foreigners who were by his side. I reckoned up the captives^b of the victories of his majesty, being in charge of them. I did according to that which he (the king) said, I followed according to the things which he commanded ³⁷me, I found them excellent things for the future.

Third Promotion

917. My lord a third time showed favor^c to me; Son of Re, Amenhotep (III), Ruler of Thebes, the sun-god is he, to whom hath been given an eternity of his jubilees without end. ³⁸My lord made me chief of all works. I established the name of the king forever, I did not imitate that which had been done before. I fashioned for him a mountain of gritstone, for he is the heir of Atum.^d ³⁹I did according to my desire, executing his likeness in this his great house,^e with every precious stone, enduring like the heavens; there was not one^f who had done it (the like) since the time of the founding of his Two Lands. ⁴⁰I con-

l. 53, IV, 44; year 8, l. 20, IV, 65). Maspero's "custom-houses erected at the mouths of the Nile" (Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 209), while hardly derivable from this passage alone, are amply corroborated by the Amarna Letters, which show that there were custom-houses on the coast of the Delta (*Amarna Letters*, 29; 32 and 33).

^aPossibly "*the Nubians of the cataract region.*"

^bYs-h > k.t.

^cText has "*my favor.*"

^dSee note on l. 40, where the mountain is again connected with Atum, in whose district it was.

^eThe temple of Karnak where our nobleman's statue was found; hence the statue of the king here referred to must be in this temple, and cannot have been one of the Memnon colossi, as Piehl thinks possible (*Petites études*, 37). [Later: Since making the above note, I notice that Sethe has published the same remark (*Festschrift für Georg Ebers*, 109).] It is therefore clear that Brugsch is wrong in concluding from this inscription that Amenhotep, the son of Hapi, necessarily erected the Memnon colossi; as the passage refers clearly to a statue in the Karnak temple, where there actually still is a statue of Amenhotep III of the stone of Gebel el-Ahmar (cf. Sethe, *ibid.*, 109).

^fThe rendering, "*there was not a king, etc.,*" of Brugsch (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1876, 98) and Piehl (*Petites études*, 37), is due to the misreading of the particle *swt* as *stn(y)*, "*king,*" cf. Erman, *Ägyptische Grammatik*, § 320.

ducted the work of his statue,^a immense in width, taller than his column, its beauty marred the pylon. Its length was 40^b cubits in the august mountain^c of gritstone at the side of Re-Atum. ⁴¹I built an eight-vessel, I brought it (the statue) up-river;^d it was set up in [this] great house, enduring as heaven. My witnesses are ye, ye who shall come ⁴²after us; the entire army was as one under my control, they wrought with joy, their hearts were glad, rejoicing and praising the Good God; ⁴³they landed at Thebes with rejoicing, the monuments rested in their places forever ———. ^e

Service with the King

918. ^{3f}——— I [saw] him^g fighting hand to hand upon the battlefield, while he was like Min in the year of [—]1. I recorded the [numbers] of his [captives] as subjects of the temples ——— ⁴——— while I was apportioner of ointment. I was versed in her art [— — —] and she knew (it), while I was in front with my lord, and I was great before him. I did that which men loved and gods praised ——— ⁵———.

Benefits for Athribis

919. Behold ye, I did excellent things; do (so) to me, and it shall be done (likewise) to you; for I am an heir who furnished his city, and expelled its [—]1 (*tw*?) from every place. My lord^g did benefactions for my god^h [—]1 ——— ⁶———. My lord [‘dug’] his southern lake

^aText has plural, but the singular pronouns show the error.

^bA statue of Amenhotep III of the Gebel el-Ahmar stone before Harmhab's pylon at Karnak was about 15 meters high, and is probably the one referred to; for it is not stated that the statue was 40 cubits high, but the block in the quarry was 40 cubits “long.” A similar reference to the block in the mountain in I, 698, l. 6.

^cThe same as the “Red Mountain” of Mariette, *Karnak*, 15, 24 (I, 493, l. 15, note) near Cairo, and still called Red Mountain (Gebel el-Ahmar) cf. Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1902, 74. The phrase “at the side of Re-Atum” refers to its location near the Heliopolis sanctuary of Re. Sethe notes similar phrases on the Sphinx tablet, ll. 6 and 7 (§ 814).

^dFrom the quarry near Cairo to Thebes.

^eAbout one-half line.

^fAnother, shorter inscription on the same statue, Mariette, *Karnak*, 37, b. Ll. 1 and 2 have almost entirely disappeared.

^gThe king.

^hThe god of his city, Athribis. He calls on the people of the place to pray for him because he had used his influence with the king, to secure royal benefits for the local god and temple of Athribis.

and his northern lake, brightened with flowers upon their shores. I — their —, and led them, because I was one '—' his city. He made the house of my god, and my 'city'. How beautiful is ——— 7 ——— because of his daily offerings. My lord magnified my city greatly, and my family '—' on earth.

Royal Favor

920. I buried my father, doing again that which "The-Son-Whom-He-Loves" did. I interred my mother ——— 8 ———. My lord — my necessities, causing me to receive bread 'after' the feasts. Men said to me : "— it hath come to thee through the Lord of the Two Lands. There is no citizen (*šw*?) to whom the like has been done." I executed truth ——— 9 ———^a

II. MORTUARY TEMPLE EDICT^b

921. This document legally establishes in perpetuity an endowment for the maintenance of Amenhotep's mortuary cult. It was publicly read in his mortuary temple at Thebes to the more important officers of state assembled there in the king's presence, who are adjured to respect it, or suffer under the most dreadful curses. The surviving original is a late copy of the original of Amenhotep's day.

Date

922. 1Year 31,^c fourth month of the first season, sixth day, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands, Nibmare, L. P. H.; Son of Re, of his body, Lord of Diadems, Amenhotep (III), L. P. H.

^aTwo lines of self-praise.

^bHieratic text, being a copy of very late date, on a limestone stela in the British Museum, No. 138, published in transliteration by Birch (Chabas, *Mélanges égyptologiques*, II sér., 324-43); again by the same author in facsimile (*Inscriptions in the Hieratic and Demotic Character*, XXIX). I collated the original exhaustively and found the latter publication very inaccurate. It was translated by Brugsch, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1875, 125-27; Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 148 (*Aegypten*, 214, 215); the present translation is much indebted to Erman's version.

^cNot 11, as Brugsch has it; even 41 is possible.

The Assembly

923. On this day, one (=the king) was in the ka-chapel^a of the hereditary prince, count, king's-scribe, Amenhotep. There were brought in: the governor of the city, and vizier, Amenhotep; the overseer of the treasury, Meriptah, and the king's-scribes of the army.

Establishment of Chapel

924. One said to them in the presence of ³his majesty, L. P. H.: "Hear the command which is given, to furnish the ka-chapel of the hereditary prince, the royal scribe, Amenhotep, called Huy, Son of Hapu, whose excellence is 'extolled',^b ⁴in order to perpetuate his ka-chapel with slaves, male and female, forever; son to son, heir to heir; in order that none trespass upon it forever. It is commended to Amon-Re, king of gods, as long as it is upon earth; ⁵he is the king of eternity, he is the protector of the dead.

Curses on Violators

925. As for the general and scribe of the army who shall follow after me and shall find the ka-chapel beginning to decay, together with ⁶the male and female slaves who are cultivating (the field) for my endowment, and shall take away a man therefrom in order to put him (to) any business of Pharaoh, L. P. H., or any commission, may his body be 'accursed'.^c ⁷Then if another trespasses upon them, and does not answer in their behalf, he shall suffer the destruction of Amon, lord of Thebes, he (the god) shall not permit them to be satisfied with the office of king's-scribe of the army, which they have received for me. ⁸He (Amon) shall deliver them into the flaming wrath of the king on the day of his anger; his serpent-diadem shall spit fire upon their heads, shall consume their limbs, shall devour their bodies, they shall become like Apophis on the morning of New Year's Day. They shall be engulfed in the sea, ⁹it shall hide their corpses. They shall not receive the mortuary ceremonies of the righteous; they shall not eat the food of them that dwell in Keret; the waters by the flood of the river shall not be poured out for them. Their sons shall not be put into their places,

^aNot the "temple of Kak," as usually rendered; see Sethe, *Festschrift für Georg Ebers*, 111.

^bBrugsch: "dessen Tugenden wohlbekannt sind;" but this is very doubtful.

^cIt is possible that this is the case of those who do respect the endowment; while the case of those who do not respect it begins with l. 7.

¹⁰their wives shall be violated while their eyes see it. The nobles shall not set foot in their houses as long as they are upon earth; the leaders of the two sides^a shall not introduce them, nor shall they hear the words of the king in the hour of gladness. ¹¹They shall belong to the sword on the day of destruction, they shall be called enemies; when their bodies be consumed, they shall hunger, without bread, and their bodies shall die. If the vizier, overseer of the treasury, chief overseer of the estate, superintendent of the granary, ¹²high priests, divine fathers, and priests of Amon, to whom has been read this edict, issued for the ka-chapel of the hereditary prince, the king's-scribe, Amenhotep, son of Hapu, shall not show solicitude ¹³for his ka-chapel, the edict shall touch them, and them especially.

Blessings on Preservers of Chapel

926. But if they shall show solicitude for the ka-chapel, with the male and female slaves who are cultivating (the field) for my ¹⁴endowment, then all favor shall be shown them. Amon-Re, king of gods, shall reward them^b with prosperous life.^c The king of your day, shall 'reward' you ¹⁵as he 'rewards' —.^d There shall be doubled for you office upon office, ye shall receive from son to son and heir to heir. They shall be sent on as messengers, and the king of their day will reward them. 'Their' bodies shall (rest) ¹⁶in the West after (a life of) 110 years, doubled to you shall be the mortuary oblations likewise.

Warning to Gendarmes

927. As for the officers of the gendarmes, 'belonging to' the district of the mayor of the west side, in Khaft(et)-hir-nebes, who ¹⁷shall not protect my endowment each day, and on my feast-days on the first of the month, the edict shall touch them, and their bodies shall not 'escape'. ¹⁸But if they shall hear all the edict, issued as a command, and they shall obey and shall not forsake it, good shall happen to them as (to) the just. ¹⁹They shall rest in the cemetery after years of old age.

Codicil. The mayor of the west side is he who '—' my servants during a single day.

^aThe people on the two sides of the central aisle in formal assemblies; the leaders (*sšm'w*) or ushers of such assemblies were the heralds (*whm'w*).

^bOriginal shows a correction from "you" to "them."

^cThere is no lacuna here nor in the next line, as indicated in the publication.

^dThe text has omitted the object.

STATUE OF NEBNEFER^a

928. This statue was probably dedicated in the chapel of Prince Wazmose; at least, there is a reference to this prince among the inscriptions which it bears. On the back, however, there is an historical inscription apparently recording the promotion of Nebnefer and the appointment of one Hui to his old place. The promotion was by special message of the king, which Nebnefer himself brought, and it was confirmed by a special formulary pronounced by the High Priest and witnessed by all four "*prophets*" for the temple, and one witness for the incumbent beside himself. The document thus furnishes us with interesting and important procedure in such temple appointments, which are as yet unknown in any other source.

Date

929. ¹Year 20, second month of the first season, under the majesty of King Amenhotep III, beloved of Amon ².^b

Royal Message

On this day, behold [his majesty ³was in the temple]^c of Ptah-South-of-His-Wall, lord of Life-of-the-Two-Lands. Message, concerning which the king's-scribe, the steward, Khampet, came to the chief treasurer, the High Priest of Amon, ⁴[Meriptah]^d ——— from the Pharaoh, L. P. H., (saying): "Let the chief measurer of the storehouse of divine offerings be ⁵brought —¹ before his fathers; ⁵——— Hui being put into his place in the storehouse of divine offerings of Amon."

^aFragment of limestone sitting statue, now in the Museum of Brussels; published by Capart and Spiegelberg in *Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles*, Tome XVII, 1^{re} et 2^{me} liv., 1903, 19-28.

^bDouble name of the king and conventional epithets.

^cThis was probably not Memphis, but the temple of Ptah at Karnak, which bore the same names as the Ptah-temple at Memphis.

^dSupplied from l. 8; the middle three lines evidently extended higher up the plinth than the others, and were an uncertain amount longer.

Installation

930. Then it was done according to [all] that [his majesty] said
6———— [the High Priest of Amo]n, Meriptah, triumphant, to the
king's-scribe, the steward Khampet: ^a“As for that which is done of
thy father Amon, lord of Thebes, ⁷in all his commands, as heaven
endures,^b so shall that which he does endure, enduring and permanent
forever.”

Witnesses

931. Done in the presence of the chief treasurer, the High Priest of
⁸Amon, Meriptah; the second prophet, Enen (^c *nn*); the third prophet,
Amenemhet; the fourth prophet,^c Simut; the king's-scribe, Kham-
pet; the steward, Sebeknakht.

^aThe following is evidently the formulary of confirmation in office, pronounced
by the High Priest to the incumbent.

^bThe phrase is common; hence the remark of the authors, “Le passage semble
être fautif,” is strange.

^cThe four prophets (the High Priest's title really reads “*first prophet*”) repre-
sent the temple, and for the incumbent there are only himself and one more.

REIGN OF IKHNATON

QUARRY INSCRIPTION AT SILSILEH^a

932. This inscription is among the earliest surviving documents of the great revolution under Ikhnaton. It records the opening of quarry-chambers at Silsileh to obtain stone for the king's first temple^b to his new god, whose cult already seems to be in full development. Although Amon is not yet banished, Aton has his formal name, but not yet in the cartouches, in which it later always appears. The king is however, "*High Priest*" of his new god, whose sanctuary he is about to erect. Of this temple not one stone was left upon another by the king's enemies at his death. The materials have been found at Thebes, but scattered in various structures from Karnak to Erment, chiefly, however, in the Karnak pylons of Harmhab.^c The name of this temple was: "*Aton-is-Found¹-in-the-House-of-Aton*,"^d

^aTablet fourteen feet high, cut on the quarry wall at Silsileh; published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 110, i; Legrain, *Annales*, III, 263.

^bOn the Aton-temples at Akhetaton (Amarna), see tomb of Hui (§§ 1016 ff.); and on the ones at Heliopolis, Hermonthis, and elsewhere, *ibid.* On the Aton-temples in general, see my remarks in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 40, 110 ff.

^cSee Nestor l'Hôte, *Papiers inédits*, III, 80, 96, 97, 101, 104, 105 (not seen); Prisse, *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, 2d Ser., I, 76-92, and again Prisse, *Monuments égyptiens*, V and XI; following Prisse, J. S. Perring, *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, 2d Ser., I, 140 ff.; Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, Pl. 57, 2, a-k; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 110, c and g; Bouriant, *Recueil*, VI, 51 ff.; and a letter by Piehl (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1884, 41), which also refers to the names of Tutenkhamon and Eye as occurring in blocks rebuilt into this pylon. Blocks reused in repairs on the temple of Amenhotep II (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 50); in Karnak (*ibid.*, 52); in town of Luxor (*ibid.*, 89).

^dSee tomb of Ramose, § 941, note.

and it must have been a large and imposing sanctuary.^a It was erected early in the Aton schism, for the surviving fragments show a reference to Horus and Set. The name of Aton occurs without the cartouches,^b and the king still bears his old name.^c This last fact shows that the temple was built before the sixth year. It is also referred to in the tomb of Hatey (*h³ t-y³ y*) at Thebes (Kurna), who was "scribe, overseer of the granary in the house (*h³ t*) of the Aton,"^d at a time when the Amon cult was still unrepressed. Thebes as a whole was now apparently called "*City (nw³ t)-of-the-Brightness-of-Aton*," and the temple quarter was known as "*Brightness-of-Aton-the-Great*."^e

933. 'The quarry inscription informs us that the highest officials of the court served in superintending the work of transportation. The date of the inscription must be very early in the king's reign, because the materials taken from the quarry were built into the temple, completed, and inscribed before the sixth year. The work in the quarry was therefore probably done in the first or second year. Over the inscrip-

^aIn the heart of Harmhab's pylon I found blocks of Ikhnaton's masonry of considerable dimensions; one cornice was 32 inches high. The king's leg, in a fragmentary relief, was 20 inches across at the lower edge of the apron; the *k*-vessel was 13 inches long; the *dy*-loaf was 12 inches high. The names of Aton and the king had been expunged before the destruction of the building.

^bFrom my own copies of blocks deep in Harmhab's pylon. I found there also a date which might have settled this question, but unfortunately the year is lost, and only the season and the day remain. [Later: This date is now published in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 52.]

^cLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 110, *d*. The old name, "*Amenhotep*," continued until the fifth year of his reign (Griffith, *Kahun Papyri*, Pl. 38 and pp. 91 and 92). In the sixth year we find the new name, "*Ikhnaton*," on the boundary stelæ at Amarna (§§ 949 ff.). The Theban temple must, therefore, have been built and sculptured before the sixth year.

^dDaressy, *Annales*, II, 2-4; Legrain, *ibid.*, III, 265.

^eOn Canopics published by Legrain (*Annales*, IV, 17-19).

^fLegrain's arguments for dating the temple, or a temple of Aton at Thebes, before Ikhnaton's reign are inconclusive (*Annales*, III, 265).

tion was a relief^a showing the king worshipping before Amon, but it has been erased, probably by Ikhnaton himself. The inscription below is as follows:

934. ¹Live the Horus: Mighty Bull, Lofty of Plumes; Favorite of the Two Goddesses; Great in Kingship in [Karnak];^b Golden Horus: Wearer of Diadems ²in the Southern Heliopolis; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, High Priest of Harakhte-Rejoicing-in-the-Horizon, in His Name: "Heat-Which-is-in-Aton:" Neferkheprure^c-Wanre; ³Son of Re [Amenhotep,^d Divine Ruler of Thebes], great in his duration, living forever and ever; [Amon]-^e Re, lord of heaven, ruler of eternity.^f

935. First occurrence of his majesty's giving command to — — — — — to muster all the workmen^g from Elephantine to Samhudet^h (*Sm* ⁷ - *Hwḏ* ⁸ *t*), and the leaders of the army, ⁵in order to make a great breach for cutting out sandstone, in order to make the great sanctuary (*bmbn*)ⁱ of Harakhte in his name: "Heat-Which-is-in-⁶Aton," in Karnak.

^aNot shown on Lepsius' plate, but given by him in his notes (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, IV, 96, 97).

^bLepsius has incorrectly restored Akhetaton in this lacuna. This mention of the city in the first or second year had caused me much difficulty; but the publication of this stela by Legrain (*Annales*, III, 263) shows that "Akhetaton" is an error. We should restore "Karnak" as in the contemporaneous Zernik stela (*ibid.*, 260 f.). This fragmentary stela recorded similar quarry-work in the cliffs opposite and above Esneh. The king bears his old name, and the god's name also is as in the Silsileh stela; it is undated, but is clearly from the same time as the Silsileh stela, and the expedition recorded was carried out by Eye, afterward king. There is another stela beside Eye's, showing the "chief of quarrrymen, Neferonpet," worshipping Amon (*ibid.*, 261 f.).

^cThis is the Napkhurlia of the Amarna Letters; it means: "Beautiful is the Being of Re." Wanre, the second part of the name, means, "Unique One of Re."

^dThis old form of the king's name has been erased because it contained the name of Amon.

^eErased.

^fThe connection of the god's name is uncertain, but probably "beloved of" has been omitted before it (after it in original).

^gThe text has "works," but Brugsch has a similar example (*Hieroglyphisch-demotisches Wörterbuch, Supplement*, 1337), with "the people" as object of the verb, showing clearly what is meant here.

^hLike the Hebrew "from Dan to Beersheba." On Samhudet, see Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique*, 704-6. Elephantine was, of course, at the first cataract, and Samhudet was in the Delta.

ⁱDetermined with an obelisk.

Behold, the officials, the companions, and the chiefs of the fan-bearers, were the chiefs of the quarry-service,^a for the transportation of stone.

TOMB OF THE VIZIER RAMOSE^b

936. This tomb contains reliefs and inscriptions which are among the most important documents of this reign, because among other facts they furnish contemporary and conclusive evidence of the identity of Amenhotep IV and Ikhnaton, the great religious revolutionary.

Ramose, the owner of the tomb, was an official high in the favor of the king and of exalted rank. He was:

"Governor of the (residence) city, vizier;" "hereditary prince, count ——— of Horus in his house; a doer of truth, a hater of deceit, ——— wearer of the royal seal, chief of works among the great monuments, chief of prophets of North and South, vizier, just judge; sole companion, approaching his lord, whom the Lord of the Two Lands loved because of his remarkable traits, who enters the palace, and comes forth with favor, with the utterances of whose mouth one (= the king) is satisfied;" "(*mr t-ntr*-) priest, the mouth that makes content in the whole land, (*sm*-) priest, master of all wardrobes, entering into the secrets of heaven, of earth [and of the nether world];" "master of secret things of the palace;" "attached to Nekhen, prophet of Mat, chief justice."^c

^aSee Hammamat Stela of Ramses IV, l. 14 (IV, 466); also Brugsch (*Aegyptologie*, 216 f., note). In Papyrus Hood there is a "*chief of the quarry-service of the whole land*" (p. 216).

^bA cliff-tomb in the hill of Shekh Abd-el-Kurna on the west shore at Thebes, known as Stuart's Tomb, No. 108. It was discovered by one "Mustapha Noak" in 1860, and opened successively by Ebers in 1872 and Villiers Stuart in 1879 (see Wiedemann, *Recueil*, XVII, 9). It was inadequately published by Stuart in *The Funeral Tent of an Egyptian Queen*, 89 ff.; and *Egypt after the War*, Pl. 27, and pp. 386-88. Bouriant has some notes on the tomb in *Revue archéologique*, 1882, N. S., XXIII, 279-84, and *Recueil*, VI, 55, 56. Nearly all the inscriptions were published by Piehl with great accuracy in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1883, 127-30; 1887, 37-39. I excavated the unpublished inscriptions and recopied the whole in December, 1894. Some signs had been lost since Piehl made his copies. The accompanying translations are based upon a collation with Piehl, and upon my own copies alone, where Piehl had not copied.

^cThese are all the titles in the tomb, as found in my copies.

937. Ramose, as head of the religious, judicial, and administrative organization, must have been the most powerful official at the court of Ikhnaton. He had been vizier under the king's father, Amenhotep III;^a he was early won over to the Aton faith, and the particular value of his tomb lies in the fact that we may trace in it this conversion of Ramose at a time when Ikhnaton still called himself Amenhotep, and still permitted references to Amon and "*the gods.*" This last term, as well as the name of Amon, has been expunged^b at a later date. The materials in the tomb are as follows:

Relief Scene^c

938. A king sits enthroned on the right, his face and figure executed in the usual conventional style; behind him the goddess Mat; before him, with upraised arms, Ramose.

^aIt must be the same Ramose who, in an inscription on the island of Sehel, is called: "*Hereditary prince, the two eyes of the king in the whole land, governor of the (residence) city and vizier, Ramose*" (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1216, gg = de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, I, 90, No. 79). See also Wiedemann, *Recueil*, 17, 9; Mariette, *Monuments divers*, 70, No. 21; *ibid.*, 72, No. 50; and Petrie, *Season in Egypt*, 13, No. 334.

^bThis expungement is very significant; for it is not the name of a particular god, but the word "*gods,*" which is expunged. I have found this same erasure of the word "*gods*" at Karnak in the long offering inscription of Amenhotep III on Pylon III, and in the Coronation Inscription of Thutmose III; also on a number of Eighteenth Dynasty monuments in European museums. With this fact compare the erasure of the gods' names at Karnak as noted by Lepsius: "Auch hier [Temple of Ptah, northern Karnak] waren die Namen des Ptah und Amon wie auch der Hathor und ihre Figuren alle ausgekratzt; so auch auf dem Architrav der Thüre die Namen des Ptah. Ebenso sind sämmtliche Götter im Tempel zu Med. Habu und in dem hinteren Theile des grossen Tempels von Karnak ausgekratzt; die Götterverfolgung muss also nicht nur dem Amon gegolten haben, sondern viel allgemeiner gewesen sein."—Lepsius (*Denkmäler*, Text, III, 8; read also end of section), and see *ibid.*, 31. By comparing Leyden Stela, V, 26, and Vienna Stela, 53, it will be seen that the wife of a certain "*overseer of the cattle of Amon*" was a "*musician of Upwawet,*" but when her husband became "*overseer of the cattle of the house of Aton,*" she was obliged to drop her title (see Baillet, *Notice sur la collection égyptienne de l'Abbé Desnayers*, 40, and *Recueil*, 23, 144; also Bergmann, *Recueil*, IX, 42). The persecution therefore included all the gods. See Breasted, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 40, 108-10.

^cInner wall, first chamber, left of door.

939. The accompanying inscriptions are:

Over the King^a

King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, — re, given life, Son of Re, his beloved, Amenhotep, God, Ruler of Thebes, great in his duration.

Over Mat

Mat, daughter of Re, presider over the palace, mistress of heaven, ruler of the gods. She gives myriads of years.

Over Ramose^b

940. Utterance of the governor of the (residence) city, the vizier, Ramose, triumphant, for the benefit of thy ka: "An adjuration to thy father, 'Harakhte-Rejoicing-in-the-Horizon, in his name: Heat-Which-is-[in]-Aton,'^c that he may praise thee, that he may love thee, that he may establish thee, that he may give to thee myriads of years (so that) thy annals may be jubilees; that all lands may be under thy feet, that he may fell thy foes, dead or alive; that all joy may be with thee, all health with thee, all life with thee, and that thou mayest abide upon the throne of Re forever."

Relief Scene^d

941. Under the radiating sun-disk stand a king and^e queen, worshipping, all in the peculiar Amarna style. They are in a building, doubtless a part of the Theban Aton-temple. Outside are groups of bowing officials.

942. The inscriptions are these:

^aIn two lines; a third mutilated line is omitted above. Over the king's head is also the winged sun-disk, with its usual inscription: "*The Edjwan (Horus) great god, etc.*" This disappears entirely during the later Aton movement.

^bThis entire speech of Ramose to the king appears twice over his head, with slight variants.

^cThis and the mention in the Silsileh inscription are the earliest occurrences of Aton's name; it is not yet in the cartouche.

^dInner wall, first chamber, right of door.

^eThere are no children present as usual in such scenes so common at Amarna. This is perhaps another indication of the early date of this tomb in the reign.

By the Sun-Disk

^a"Harakhte-Rejoicing-in-the-Horizon; in his name: Heat-Which-is-in-Aton," residing in "Aton-fis-Found¹-in-the-House-of-Aton."^b

By the King

Lord of the Two Lands, Nefer[khepru]re- —, given life, Lord of Diadems, Amenhotep, God, Ruler of Thebes, great in his duration.

Over the Queen

Great King's-wife, his beloved, Mistress of the Two Lands, — — living, flourishing.

943. These two reliefs show, first: that the Aton faith was in full swing under an Amenhotep whose prenomen begins like that of Ikhnaton; second, a king with the unmistakable features of Ikhnaton, worshiping the latter's peculiar god, appearing in public with his queen, as only Ikhnaton did, bears the name "Amenhotep." This is proof positive of the identity of Ikhnaton and Amenhotep IV.

944. The remaining reliefs illustrate the high favor of Ramose with the king.

Scene

The king stands at the left holding audience; before him in successive moments appears Ramose, kissing the earth, kneeling, standing decorated with gold, departing with servants bearing the gold collars just received from

^aThe god's two names are here in cartouches.

^bThis is the name of the Aton-temple at Thebes, in which the reliefs represent the king and queen as standing. The phrase "red image of Aton" (Bouriant, *Le Tombeau de Ramsès à Chéikh-abd-el-Gournah*, p. 7) is due to reading the bird here as the "red" bird (*dšr*), but even then the translation is impossible, for the word "image" is lacking. "*Gem-Aton*" is of uncertain meaning, but the name was also applied by Ikhnaton to a new city founded by him for the Aton-worship in Nubia, in the central cataract region. This Nubian city survived a thousand years under the name "Gem-Aton," and is mentioned several times on the Nastesen Stela (see my remarks, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 40, 106 ff.).

the king, and finally issuing from the palace, when he is met by congratulating friends, rejoicing and carrying flowers.

Inscriptions

945. The inscriptions were very brief, and are now mostly too fragmentary for translation, but the speech of the king to Ramose contains interesting references to the origin of the Aton faith, unfortunately much broken. It is as follows:

“^aThe words of Re are before thee, ——— of my august father, who taught me their ‘essence’, — — them to me. All that is, his — since he equipped the land ——— in order to ‘exalt’ me since the time of the god. It was known in my heart, opened to my face, I understood — — —.”

946. The king is evidently referring to the revelation of the Aton faith directly to himself. To this Ramose makes the following remarkable reply:

“Thy monuments shall endure like the heavens, for thy duration is like Aton therein. The existence of thy monuments is like the existence of the heavens; thou art the Only One of [Aton], in possession of his designs. Thou hast led the mountains; their secret chambers, the terror of thee is in the midst of them, as the terror of thee is in the hearts of the people; they hearken to thee as the people hearken.”^b

947. An inscription in the doorway might indicate that Ramose was later buried in this tomb; it runs thus:

“I have arrived in peace at my tomb, possessed of the favor of the Good God. I did the pleasure of the king in my time; I did not disregard a regulation which he commanded, I practiced no deceit against the people, in order that I might gain my tomb (*hr t*), upon the great West of Thebes.”

^aThese accompanying inscriptions are directly below the upper row, depicting the decoration, and belong with a lower band connected with the same incident. They are only in ink and very faded; I believe my copy of them is the first made. They have never been published.

^bSee similar idea, Kubbân Stela, l. 6 (III, 285).

But doubtless this language is only conventional, for the tomb was never finished, and there is at Amarna the tomb^a of a Ramose, perhaps the same man who has followed his king to the new capital.

948. This tomb at Thebes is in arrangement, style, and subject of reliefs exactly like those of Amarna, for which it doubtless served as a model. The rich gifts to Ramose which it depicts show how Ikhnaton gained his officials to his cause, while similar scenes upon the walls of almost every Amarna tomb show how he kept them faithful.

THE TELL EL-AMARNA LANDMARKS^b

949. Having finally broken with the Theban priesthood of Amon, Ikhnaton abandoned Thebes as capital and royal residence, and determined to found a new city devoted exclusively to the service of Aton, the new solar god. The site selected for the new residence and holy city was about one hundred and sixty miles above modern Cairo, on the east bank of

^aNo. 11 in Daressy's list (*Recueil*, XV, 50); I copied the inscriptions in the tomb (doorway, thickness, right hand), and they give this Ramose the titles: "*Commander of the army of the Lord of the Two Lands, Governor of the White House of Amenhotep III,*" which do not correspond with those of the Theban Ramose; but the rapid and sudden changes of the time may have transferred him to the head of the army. See also Wiedemann (*Recueil*, XVII, 9, 10) who opposes the identity.

^bThese fourteen landmarks are huge stelæ varying in size from K, which "is 5 feet wide and 8 feet 3 inches high," to U, which is "14½ feet wide and about 26 feet high." They are cut into the limestone cliffs, and the quality of the stone is such that they have suffered extremely from wind and weather. No one stela contains a completely preserved text, but by combining all those thus far published, a complete text of the second class of stelæ (the original six) was obtained. Professor Petrie has lettered all these stelæ on his map (*Tell el-Amarna*, Pl. XXXIV), and furnished the first complete account of them. I have followed his lettering. Of the fourteen stelæ (one more discovered since Petrie's map was made) I was able to secure copies of eight, as follows:

1. A (northwest corner); Prisse, *Monuments égyptiens*, XIV, ll. 20-25 (end); Daressy, *Recueil*, XV, 61.

2. B (middle, west side, Gebel Tûne); Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 91, a-f (only

the Nile, at a point where the cliffs, suddenly retreating some three miles from the river, and as suddenly approaching it again, over five miles lower down, thus with the river inclose a roughly semicircular plain about three miles wide by five miles long. In this plain he built his new city,^a called Akhetaton, "*Horizon of Aton*," but it was his design from the first to consecrate and devote to the city and its god's service a large domain around it.

950. For this purpose he established, above and below the two points where the cliffs leave the river, a northern and southern boundary line, the two being about eight miles apart, and running from cliff to cliff clear across the Nile valley, which here varies from twelve to seventeen and a half miles in width. The boundaries were then marked by fourteen splendid stelæ cut into the cliffs, some of them being as high as twenty-six feet. As the cliffs formed a natural boundary on the east and west, the northern and southern lines were of chief importance; hence the east and west ends of these two lines, where they struck the cliffs, were marked by four large stelæ cut in the rocks. But, probably owing to the irregularity of the cliff lines, another pair were placed opposite each other in the eastern and western cliffs, midway between the northern and south-

reliefs and accompanying names, date, etc.); Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 321 f.

3. F (southwest corner); hand copy by Petrie.

4. J (southernmost on river front, east side); hand copy by Petrie.

5. K (just north of J); Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 110, b.

6. S (southeast corner); best preserved of all; photograph and copy by Daresey, *Recueil*, XV, 52; Prisse, *Monuments égyptiens*, XIII.

7. U (middle east side); Prisse, *ibid.*, XII, and hand copy by Petrie.

8. X (close by Shekh Sa'id, matching K on the south); recently discovered by Mr. N. de G. Davies, to whose kindness I am indebted for a squeeze.

Professor Petrie kindly placed his copies of F, J, and U at my disposal.

^aThe modern name, "Tell el-Amarna," now universally applied to the locality, is a corruption of "El Amarieh;" see Petrie, *Tell el-Amarna*, 2.

ern lines^a (U and B). Finally, the irregularity of the cliffs forced the erection of no less than eight more, all on the east side, chiefly where the cliffs are broken by incoming valleys, across which the new stelæ carry the line (total, fourteen). It is not improbable that there are others yet undiscovered.

951. In form these stelæ are practically all of one design, showing at the top a relief scene in which appear the king, queen, and either two or three daughters, standing before an altar and adoring Aton, whose rays, terminating in hands, extend to them the symbol of life. All, including the god, are accompanied by their names in cartouches, and their titles. The inscription, beginning in the relief-field with a few vertical lines, continues below in horizontal lines. On either side of the stelæ were often altars with statues of the king and his family.

The stelæ (called "*landmarks*" in the translation) fall, according to content, into two classes.

952. The first class is represented by two stelæ,^b containing a detailed endowment of the god, probably not confined to the gift of Akhetaton. They were of great length, containing nearly eighty lines each, but are so fragmentary that only a few detached phrases in the first half can be discerned.

953. After the date,^c the introduction, the account of the king's first visit to Akhetaton; and the oblation, all being identical with the beginning of the stelæ of the second class

^aSee conclusion of Stela A (§ 971), which is different from that of the others, and clearly defines the position of the original six stelæ.

^bThese two stelæ (K and X) occupy important positions: one at the north and the other at the south end of the semicircle, where the cliffs approach to the river-bank above and below the city on the east bank.

^cThe date is lost on X; in K, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, has "*year 4*," with signs of weathering; but the month, which is the same as on all the second class of stelæ (which are all of year 4), shows that Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, has misread 6 as 4.

(§§ 959 ff.), these two stelæ proceed with a glorification of the king:

All [lands], all countries, the Haunebu [come to him] bearing their impost, their tribute upon their backs, [for] him who makes their life.

954. Then follows apparently the king's solemn asseveration, in which he proclaims the gift of Akhetaton to Aton:

His majesty raised his hand to heaven, to him who made him, even Aton, [saying: "This is my testimony"], forever, and this is my witness forever, this landmark I have made Akhetaton for my father as a dwelling for —. I have [demarcated] Akhetaton on its south, on its north, on its west, on its east. I shall not pass beyond the southern landmark of Akhetaton toward the south, nor shall I pass beyond the northern landmark of [Akhetaton toward the north].^a He has made its circuit for his own —; he hath made his [altar] in its midst, whereon I make offering to him; this is it."

955. Then follows the statement that Akhetaton shall be a new capital, where he will hold audience for all the land (cf. III, 63, Harmhab):

"The whole land [shall come hither] for the beautiful seat of Akhetaton shall be another seat, and I will give them audience,^b whether they be north, or south, or west, or east."

956. After a short break, the text proceeds with the building of the temple:

"I have made Akhetaton in this [place] — — — — that he may be satisfied therewith, forever and ever. I have made a temple of Aton for Aton, my father, in Akhetaton in this [place]. I have made — — [for Aton], my father, in Akhetaton in this place. I have made the 'Shadow-of-Re,' [for Aton, my father, in Akhetaton in this place]"^c

^aThe only two stelæ bearing this text stand at the extreme north and south.

^bLit., "hearing."

^cStill another of these phrases follows here, but the object made is lost; possibly each refers to a different temple at Akhetaton, of which there were at least three called "Shadow of Re" (see §§ 1017 ff.).

957. From here on the text is in such fragmentary condition that little can be made out. It is probable that these thirty-seven lines contained the decree endowing Aton with lands and revenues outside of Akhetaton. This is practically certain in the following fragment:

"As for my 'ground' in every town ('*dmṯ*') of the north, of the south, of the west, or of the east, it is my — —; it shall be brought — my — for Akhetaton."

In l. 45 "*Kush*" is mentioned, and it may be that the decree here passes from the gift of lands in Egypt to those in Kush.

958. The second class of stelæ, of which there are twelve,^a are not so long, but to them belong the original six, three on each side of the river, which were later increased to twelve. After the date and titulary they record the king's presence in Akhetaton on that day, on his first visit there (ll. 1-4), his exploration of the city, and oblation to Aton (ll. 5-8) in celebration of the foundation of the city, exactly as in the first class of stelæ (§§ 952 ff.). The king then proceeds to the southeastern stela (S), where, after a few words in praise of his queen and the princesses, his daughters, he declares the boundaries of his new city, marked by six stelæ, four at the eastern and western ends of the northern and southern boundary lines (§ 962 and § 964), and two more (§ 963), one in the eastern and one in the western cliffs, midway between the northern and southern boundary lines. The size of the inclosure is then indicated (§ 965),

^aThey occupy both sides of the river, three on the west and nine on the east bank. The three on the west are the three original stelæ, matching three original stelæ on the east side, which were later increased to nine on the east side. The northernmost of the original eastern three has never been found; X, at present the northernmost on the east side, belongs to the first class, and not to the second class, to which the original six belong. The six are: (1) on the west side: A, B, and F; (2) on the east side: S, U, and the northeast stela still undiscovered. A differs in its conclusion from the others (see §§ 970-72).

and the whole is solemnly conveyed as a permanent gift to Aton (§ 966), the other landmarks being appealed to as containing a similar record (§ 967), which will in all cases be renewed in case it has suffered defacement or erasure from any cause (§ 968). A later note (§ 969) in conclusion records an inspection by the king in the year 8.

Introduction

959. Year 6, fourth month of the second season, thirteenth day.

¹Live the Good God, satisfied with truth, lord of heaven, lord of Aton; live the great one who illuminates the Two Lands; live my father; live "Harakhte-Rejoicing-in-the-Horizon, in his name: Heat-Which-is-in-Aton," who is given life forever and ever.

Live Horus: Mighty-Bull, Beloved-of-Aton; Favorite of the Two Goddesses:^a Great-in-Kingship-in-Akhetaton; Golden Horus: Bearer-of-the-Name-of-Aton; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Living in Truth, Lord of the Two Lands: [Neferkhepru]re-Wanre;^b Son of Re, Living in Truth, Lord of Diadems: Ikhnaton (*Y³ ḥ-n-Yin*), great in duration, ²given life forever and ever; Good God — whose beauty Aton created, the really good-hearted toward Irsu,^c satisfying him with that which pleases his ka, doing that which is useful for him that begat him; ³offering the earth to him that placed him upon his throne, supplying his eternal house with millions and hundred-thousands of things, exalter of Aton, magnifier of his name; who causes that the earth should belong to Irsu, ⁴Ikhnaton.^d

^aIn Egyptian one word *nḥ'ty*, a feminine dual noun, with an adjectival ending, so that the whole means "*he who belongs to, or is protégé of, the two goddesses*," but the word for the latter is not as prominent as in English; hence Ikhnaton retained the old royal titulary without change, even including this somewhat compromising title, to preserve the old titulary complete. This is one of the few compromises with a traditional form by Ikhnaton. That he no longer retained a belief in the two goddesses is shown by the fact that the vulture, which regularly appears with wings outspread in protection over the heads of the other kings, is never found with Ikhnaton, but it is replaced by the sun-disk enveloping Ikhnaton in its rays.

^bThe first part is the *Napkhurfa* of the Amarna Letters; the whole means: "*Beautiful is the Being of Re; the Unique One of Re*."

^c*Yr-sw* = "*He that made him*."

^dLast two names of the titulary are repeated in full, as in l. 1.

Hereditary princess, great in the palace, lovely of face, beautiful in the double plume, lady of joy, abounding in favor, at the sound of whose voice there is rejoicing;^a the Great King's-Wife, his beloved, the Mistress of the Two Lands, Nefernefruatón-Nofretete.

Founding of the City

960. ⁵On this day one was in Akhetaton in the pavilion of 'woven stuff' which his majesty, L. P. H., made in Akhetaton, the name of which is: "Aton-is-Satisfied." His majesty, L. P. H., appeared upon a great chariot^b of electrum, like Aton, when he rises in the horizon; he filled the Two Lands with his loveliness. On beginning the goodly way to Akhetaton, at the first exploration of it^c which his majesty, L. P. H., made, in order to found it as a monument to Aton, according to the command ⁷of his father Aton,^d who is given life forever and ever; in order to make for him a monument in its midst. One caused that a great oblation should be offered, consisting of bread, beer, oxen, calves, cattle, fowl, wine, 'gold', incense, all beautiful flowers. On this day ⁸was founded Akhetaton for the living Aton, that favor and love might be received, on behalf of King Ikhnaton.^e

King Goes to Southeastern Landmark

961. As one proceeded ⁹southward, his majesty halted in his chariot in the presence of his father Aton, upon the southeastern^f mountain of Akhetaton, while the rays of ¹⁰Aton were upon him in satisfying life, making youthful his limbs every day. Vivat^g which the king, Ikhnaton,

^aCompare the description of Mutemuya (British Museum Boat, No. 43), "*Filling the hall with the fragrance of her dew.*" See also § 995.

^bS has: "*upon a span of horses (and) upon a chariot, etc.*"

^cLit., "*at the first time of finding it.*"

^dThe full double name is used here and later.

^eUnder the orthodox régime offerings were officially made "*on behalf of*" (*hr d> d'*) the king (see § 57). We see here that their specific object was "*favor and love*;" of course, those of the god. It is this which is referred to in the stereotyped form of the royal oath: "*As Re loves me, as Amon favors me.*" Cf. IV, 958D.

^fThis stela (S), from which this translation is made, is at the southeast corner. The other stelæ vary the text to suit their respective locations.

^gThis rendering of the word *nh* here is made certain by the introduction to the second date (l. 25): "*Repetition of the vivat (nh)*," followed by the date. The full vivat is the *nh*, followed by the entire titulary of the god, as we have it at the beginning of the inscription; but to save space the second date is introduced merely by the words: "*Repetition of the vivat*," which are thus a kind of abbreviation of the full introduction.

spake: "Live my father, ¹¹Aton, who is given life forever! My heart is joyous over the king's-wife and over her children, who bring long life for^a the Great King's-Wife, Nofretete, living forever and ever, ¹²with the myriad of years. She is under the hand of the Pharaoh, L. P. H., who brings long life; the king's-daughter, Meretaton; the king's-daughter, Meketaton, her children, being under the hand of the King's-Wife, ¹³their mother, forever and ever. It is my oath by the truth, (namely), that which my heart shall speak; (and) that which I do not speak is falsity; forever and ever.^b

East and West Ends of Southern Boundary Lines

962. ¹⁴As for the southern landmark, which is upon the eastern mountain of Akhetaton, it is the landmark of Akhetaton, as far as which I make a stand;^c I shall not pass beyond it toward the south, forever and ever.^d ¹⁵The southwestern landmark is made over against it, upon the [western] mountain of Akhetaton, opposite.

Middle of Eastern and Western Boundary Lines

963. As for the middle landmark which is upon the eastern mountain of Akhetaton, it is the landmark of Akhetaton, ¹⁶as far as which I make a stand,^c upon the eastern mountain of Akhetaton; I shall not pass beyond it toward the east, forever and ever. The middle landmark which is upon the western mountain of Akhetaton is made over against it, opposite.

East and West Ends of Northern Boundary Line

964. As for the northeastern landmark of Akhetaton, as far as which I make a stand;^c it is the northern landmark ¹⁷of Akhetaton;^e I shall not pass beyond it toward the north, forever and ever. The northern landmark, which is upon the western mountain of Akhetaton is over against it, opposite.

^aLit., "who cause that the great king's-wife N. should grow old," in a good sense, meaning attain old age.

^bThe divergent conclusion of Stela A begins here (see § 970).

^cOr a "halt."

^dThis formula, repeated on all the stelæ of the second class (except A), may be either a traditional one taken from the legal form used in establishing boundaries; or it may be an extraordinary statement peculiar to this remarkable king, asserting that he will never pass beyond the boundaries of Akhetaton, but remain within his god's domain all his life.

^eThe order of phrases differs slightly from that in the preceding two clauses.

Area Contained

965. ¹⁸Now, as for Akhetaton, from the southern landmarks to the northern landmarks measured between landmark and landmark upon the eastern mountain of Akhetaton, it makes 6 iter, ¹⁹1 khet, 1 half-khet, 1 quarter-khet,^a and 4 cubits. Likewise, from the southwestern landmark of Akhetaton to the [north]western landmark upon the western mountain of Akhetaton, it makes 6 iter, 1 khet, 1 half-khet, 1 quarter-khet, and 4 cubits; being the same on both sides.

Deed of Gift to Aton

966. ²⁰Now, as for the area within the four landmarks, from the [eastern] mountain [to the western mountain of^b] Akhetaton opposite, it belongs to my father, Aton, who is given life, forever and ever; whether mountains, ²¹or cliffs, or marshes, or [—]^c or uplands, or fields, or waters, or towns, or shores, or people, or cattle, or trees, or anything ²²which Aton, my father, has made, I have made it for Aton, my father, forever and ever.

Citation of the Other Landmarks

967. Moreover, ²³it is recorded upon the landmark of stone, at the southeastern limit, and at the northeastern limit of Akhetaton likewise. It is recorded upon the western landmark of stone, at the southwestern limit likewise — — ²⁴of Akhetaton.^d

^aThe khet (*ḫt*) contained 100 cubits, but the iter varies in different localities; here it can be computed, for it is clear that these measurements concern only the original six stelæ, the only ones known to the maker of this text. There is no doubt regarding which stelæ are meant, as some have averred. The discovery of the northeastern stela, high above the river at Shekh Sa'îd, by Mr. Davies, gives us the northern terminus on the east side for the first time. Previous calculations, starting at the next stela southward (V), have been based on too short a total measurement. The discovery of the Shekh Sa'îd stela makes the east and west sides of Akhetaton of about the same length as the stela states they were, viz., some 45,830 feet, roughly, over 8½ miles. This makes the iter here used equal some 4,400 cubits, or 7,587 feet = roughly, 1½ miles. This is longer than the iter as given by Griffith (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XV, 303-6), and Sethe (*Untersuchungen*, II, 3, 11) could now strike out his minimum of 1½ km. But these calculations antedate the discovery of the northeast stela, which was also unknown to Levy, *Recueil*, XVI, 162-72. See also Loret, *Sphinx*, VII, and Sethe, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 41, 58-60.

^bThe word "*opposite*" renders the restoration practically certain.

^c*M'wt*, a kind of land.

^dFor some reason, perhaps by oversight, the northwestern corner is omitted.

Permanence of the Record

968. It shall not be erased, it shall not be washed out, it shall not be abraded, it shall not be encumbered with detritus, [it] shall not be —. If it should disappear, if it should wear away, if ²⁵the stela upon which it is, should fall, I will restore it again anew in this place in which it is.

Inspection Two Years Later

969. Repetition of the vivat.^a In the year 8, in the first month of the second season, the eighth day, ²⁶one (i. e., his majesty) was in Akhetaton; the Pharaoh, L. P. H., halted, shining in the great chariot of electrum, while inspecting these landmarks of Aton, which are in the eastern mountain, at the southeastern limit of Akhetaton, established forever and ever for the living Aton.

970. The stela at the northwest corner (A) follows the conventional text of all the other stelæ of the second class for thirteen lines,^a but then proceeds with the position of the stelæ, the demarcation, etc., in a form quite different from all the others of the second class. It runs thus:

Landmarks and Boundaries

971. Said the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, [Neferkheprure-Wanre], Son of Re, living in truth, Ikhnaton, great in his duration, when setting up these landmarks ²¹— — — (cartouche) given life, forever and ever: "As for these [6^c landmarks] which I have set up at the boundaries of Akhetaton, the 3 landmarks upon the eastern mountain of Akhetaton, together with the 3 landmarks opposite them: ²²[the southern landmark which is upon the eastern mountain of]^d Akhetaton as far as the [landmark upon] the western [mountain] of Akhetaton shall be for the southern boundary of Akhetaton; the northern land-

^aSee above note on l. 10, § 961.

^bAs numbered on Stela S.

^cThe numeral is broken away, except two strokes.

^dThe restoration is clear from the word "*likewise*" at the end of the definition of the northern boundary (l. 23); Daressy has not left room for it in his publication, but the length of other lines (like 24) shows that enough is lost for this restoration. The northernmost and southernmost eastern and western stelæ form the eastern and western termini of the northern and southern boundaries.

mark which is upon the eastern mountain of Akhetaton, ²³going to the landmark [upon] the western [mountain] of Akhetaton, shall be the northern boundary of Akhetaton likewise; the middle landmark which is upon the eastern mountain of Akhetaton, likewise the middle landmark which is opposite it upon the western mountain of Akhetaton."^a

Deed to Aton

972. "Now, as for the width of Akhetaton, mountain to mountain ²⁴from its eastern horizon to its western horizon, it shall belong to my father, Aton,^b given life, forever and ever; whether its mountains, or its cliffs, — — —, or its —, or all its people, or all its cattle, or anything which Aton causes to exist, upon which his rays shine, ²⁵or anything — — — of Akhetaton, they shall belong to my father, the living Aton, for the temple of Aton in Akhetaton, forever and ever. They shall be offered to his ka, the beautiful rays receiving them ———."

ASSUAN TABLET OF THE ARCHITECT BEK^c

973. The presence of Ikhnaton's architect and master-sculptor at Assuan is, of course, to be explained by the fact of the quarries there, from which he was taking stone for the temples at Akhetaton.^d It therefore bears the same relation to the Amarna temple as the Silsileh quarry inscription bears to the Theban Aton-temple. The expungement of Ikhnaton's figure from the relief shows that the persecution of his memory was extended as far south as the cataract,^e and the fragments found at Memphis,^f Heliopolis,^g and

^aThis list gives the position of all the six stelæ and the limits thus marked; the territory thus inclosed is then taken up.

^bOnly the god's double cartouche is preserved.

^cCut on the rocks at Assuan; published by Mariette, *Monuments divers*, 26, u — de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, I, 40, No. 174. Neither is accurate, and the relief faces opposite directions in the two publications.

^dSee tomb of Hui, §§ 1016 ff.

^eSee also § 896.

^fSee "On Some Remains of the Disk Worshippers Discovered at Memphis," by Sir Charles Nicholson, *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature* (Read, May 20, 1868); and *ibid.*, VIII, 308; also Bouriant, *Recueil*, VI, 52, 53.

^gBouriant, *Recueil*, VI, 53.

the Delta cities, show the northern limit of the persecution. The temple for which his Amarna architect labored has been razed to the ground, like all of Ikhnaton's buildings at Amarna, as well as elsewhere. The tablet is as follows:

Relief Scene

974. Before an altar, embraced by the hands terminating the rays of the sun which is above it, stands Bek at the right in gala costume, with a large bouquet of flowers. The space before Bek, on the left of the altar, contained the figure of Ikhnaton, as the inscription over Bek shows; but this figure has been obliterated^a by the king's enemies. The scene is accompanied by the following inscriptions:

On Each Side of the Sun

975. ^b——— Living, great Aton, celebrator of jubilees, lord of heaven, lord of earth, lord of every circuit of Aton, lord of the house of Aton in Akhetaton.

Over Bek

Giving praise to the Lord of the Two Lands, obeisance to Wanre (Ikhnaton), by the chief of works in the Red Mountain,^c the assistant (*ḥr-ꜥ*) whom his majesty himself taught, chief of sculptors on the great and mighty monuments of the king, in the house of Aton in Akhetaton, Bek (*Bk*), son of the chief of sculptors, Men (*Mn*), born of the matron, Royenet (*Rꜥ-ym-t*).

976. Beside this relief appears Bek's father, "*Men, chief of works in the Red Mountain, chief of sculptors on the great and mighty monuments of the king,*" presenting a food-offering to a statue of Amenhotep III,^d under whom he, of

^aThe left half of the relief, which doubtless contained more inscriptions, and another figure is weathered off.

^bTwo cartouches, with content erased. They, of course, contained the god's two names.

^cSee I, 493, l. 15, note.

^dThis is not necessarily an apotheosis of Amenhotep III, as has been supposed, and is therefore not in conflict with the Aton cult.

course, held the offices which his son inherited. To the titles of these offices, when inherited by Bek, he added the necessary phrases to make them fit the new régime of Ikhnaton.

THE TELL EL-AMARNA TOMBS^a

977. Like all ancient Egyptian cities, the life of Akhetaton, so much of it as has survived, must be sought rather in the city of the dead than in the city of the living; and far more of Akhetaton has survived in its cemetery than in its streets. The tombs are themselves the product of the king's bounty, and we find frequent statement of this in such remarks as this of a relative of the deceased official: "*We see the good things which the Good Ruler hath done for his table-scribe (Ani), commanding for him goodly burial in Akhetaton.*"^b The tombs are themselves therefore tangible evidence of the royal favor in claiming which, each of the owners of these tombs has used so much space on their walls.

^aThese tombs are cut into the limestone cliffs surrounding the plain of Amarna on the east side of the river. They are twenty-five in number, and fall into two groups, a northern (six) and a southern (nineteen). See Petrie's map, *Tell el-Amarna*, Pl. XXXV; and excellent description, Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1902, 195-99. The hymns here translated are usually engraved on the thickness or edge of the doorway (see Mariette, *Voyage dans la haute Egypte*, I, Pl. V); Davies, *Amarna*, I, 47, 48). The relief scenes occupy the walls of the chambers. Neither scenes nor inscriptions have ever been completely published. Lepsius published twenty-one plates of selected material (*Denkmäler*, III, 91-111), the first basis for study of Amenhotep IV's reign. The French Mission Archéologique au Caire spent a few days there and published some new material (Bouriant, *Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, I, 1 ff.), but it is not reliable. Finally Daressy has furnished a useful sketch of the tombs with some new material (*Recueil*, XV, 36-50). Many scenes have also appeared in the old publications (see list in Davies, *Amarna*, I, 3 ff.). On the basis of the above publications I published a study of the hymns: *De Hymnis in Solem sub Rege Amenophide IV Conceptis* (Berlin, 1894). For the following translations, I had also my own copies of all the hymns at Amarna, made in the winter of 1894-95. A full and accurate publication of all the tombs has been begun by N. de G. Davies, for the Egyptian Exploration Fund, and two volumes have appeared.

^bTomb of Ani (*Recueil*, XV, 45). Such a practice is very old (see e. g. I, 242 ff.), but is nowhere so frequently mentioned as at Amarna.

978. But the walls also carry graphic evidence of that favor. Of the inscribed tombs at Amarna many show the owner standing before Ikhnaton and receiving rich decorations and gifts of gold. It is clear that Ikhnaton was holding all his great officials faithful to his reform, only by such means. These tombs contain, besides these scenes, many pictures from the life of the town, as illustrated in the functions of this or that official: the houses and gardens, the palaces and temples, even such a scene as that of the chief of the gendarmes bringing in prisoners.^a All such scenes have been studied, and their inscriptions as far as possible, or useful, translated below.

979. The long inscriptions contain all that we know of the Aton faith, in the form of hymns. These hymns are of two classes: (1) those recited by the king; (2) those recited by his officials. The hymns of the first class are of chiefly religious interest, and contain almost exclusively praise of Aton. Those of the second class, besides praise of Aton, contain also encomiums of the king and queen, mingled with an account of the reciter's faithfulness and favor with the king, prayers for the king, as well as for prosperity and "*goodly burial*" for the reciter himself. Facts of historical importance are thus brought out. These hymns, therefore, have been included herein as historical documents; but the hymns of the first class, although they contain the religious ideas which characterized a great historical movement, have not been translated here.^b

980. The following six hymns of the second class include all such hymns not too fragmentary for translation. Nu-

^aTomb of Mahu.

^bThe longer will be found in the author's *De Hymnis in Solem sub Rege Amenophide IV Conceptis*, with Latin translation, and thence translated by Griffith in Petrie, *History of Egypt*, II, 215-18, and in the author's *History of Egypt* (New York, 1905); and also in the section devoted to religion, which will later appear in this series.

merous short and mutilated hymns, not included here, have been studied and employed wherever applicable or useful. The relief scenes, wherever accompanied by historically important inscriptions, have likewise been employed.

Tomb of Merire II

981. One of the most important scenes^a at Amarna, unaccompanied by inscriptions, is in the tomb of Merire II. It shows Ikhnaton, his queen, and six daughters, in a kiosk, or covered dais. The king and queen enthroned side by side have just stepped from their sedan chairs, which are set down before the dais. With trumpet sounding, Egyptian troops defile before them, and on either side of the military appear foreign embassies with their tribute: Nubians, Syrians, Libyans, and especially Hittites, who are here depicted for the first time on an Egyptian monument. They bear elaborately decorated vessels, undoubtedly of gold and silver.

TOMB OF MERIRE I^b

982. The reliefs and inscriptions in this tomb are of unusual interest. The king, proceeding to the temple of Aton, is shown riding in his chariot, accompanied by four daughters, by soldiers and officials.^c Before its door are the priests, who greet him with cries of "*Welcome!*" and one

^aIn tomb No. 2 (northern group), belonging to a certain Merire (not to be confused with Merire of tomb No. 4, who is earlier: Davies, *Amarna*, I), whom we call Merire II. Published from a sketch by Nestor l'Hôte, in Amélineau, *Histoire de la sépulture*, Pl. XCVI; and in Davies, *Amarna*, II, Pls. XXXVII-LX, 38-42.

^bA cliff-tomb (No. 4) in the northern group of Amarna (Lepsius, No. 3); partially published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 92-97, d; superb sketches by Nestor l'Hôte, in Amélineau's *Histoire de la sépulture*, II, Pl. 85, 92.; plans, also Prisse, *Histoire de l'art égyptien*, and often, e. g., Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*. The entire tomb has been published by Davies, *Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, Part I, "Tomb of Meryra" (London, 1903). I had also my own copies.

Davies, *Amarna*, I, Pls. X-XX.

may distinguish a reference to "*the first impost of Aton in the Aton-temple in Akhetaton.*" The occasion is, therefore, the celebration of the reception of the first dues of the god in the new capital; hence the temple^a shows a richly crowded altar in the court and many chambers filled with food and drink. Such scenes are naturally depicted in the tomb of Merire, who was "*High Priest*" or "*great seer*" (*wr-m*²), of Aton—a title adopted from the sun-temple of Heliopolis. His appointment to this exalted office is recorded in the tomb. The king, with the queen and daughters, is shown upon the balcony^b of his palace before which appear Merire and his friends, acclaiming the praise of the king and queen:

983. "He trains^c the youth and the generations;^d the good ruler! As surely as the Aton rises, he shall be forever."

The "great seer" of the Aton in the Aton-temple in Akhetaton, Merire, triumphant, says: "How numerous are the things which the Aton is able to give, satisfying his heart."

984. A lady of the household of Merire, named Tenr, doubtless his wife, sings praise of Aton and the royal family:^e

"Thy rising is beautiful, O 'Living-Sun, Horizon-Ruler, Rejoicing-in-the-Horizon,^f ^gin his name: Heat-Which-is-in-Aton,'^g who is given life, forever and ever. O living Aton, beside whom there is no other, who heals the eyes with his rays, the maker of all things that are. When

^aFor an account of these representations of the Aton-temple, see especially Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 285 ff.

^bLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 97, b; only the edge of the balcony is shown in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, without the royal pair. The complete scene is published by Davies, *Amarna*, I, Pls. VI-VIII.

^c*Š hpr*, see III, 565.

^dOr: "*classes*" (*ḏ m mw*); see IV, 402.

^eLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 97, a; Davies, *Amarna*, I, xxxvi: she does not belong to the company before the king, but her words well suit the occasion, especially her reference to the queen's presence beside the king. Her hymn or song was common property, for much of it appears also verbatim on the tomb doorposts of Ahmose (§§ 1004 ff.), and assists in correcting the errors in this tomb of Merire. I had also my own copy, but the inscription has been much mutilated since Lepsius' day.

^fFirst cartouche.

^gSecond cartouche.

thou risest in the eastern horizon of heaven, to make live all that thou hast made, even men, cattle, them that fly and them that (only) flutter, and all reptiles that are in the earth, they live when they see thee, they sleep when thou settest. Grant thou thy beloved son, living in truth, Lord of the Two Lands, Neferkheprure-Wanre (Ikhnaton) that he may live with thee forever, that the Great King's-Wife, his beloved, Mistress of the Two Lands, Nefernefruaton-Nofretete, living forever and ever, may be by his side, doing that which pleases thy heart, seeing all that thou hast made every day. May he rejoice at the sight of thy beauty; grant to him eternity as king of the Two Lands."

The great favorite of the Mistress of the Two Lands, Tenr (*Ty-n-r*), triumphant; she says: "Praise to thee, O [fashioner] of years, creator of months, maker of days, reckoner of hours, lord of duration, by [whom] reckoning is made. [Grant] thou thy duration as Aton, to thy son, Wanre (Ikhnaton)."

985. The king proclaims from the balcony his appointment of Merire as High Priest ("*great seer*") of Aton thus:

King's Speech

^aSaid the king, living in truth, Lord of the Two Lands: Neferkheprure-Wanre, to the "great seer" of the Aton, Merire: "Behold, I am appointing thee for myself, to be 'great seer' of the Aton in the temple of Aton in Akhetaton, Irsu of thy beloved^b, saying: "O my hearer of the call (*šdm* ^c *š*), who hears the teaching. As for any commission with which thou art charged, my heart is satisfied therewith; I give to thee the office, saying: 'Thou shalt eat the food of Pharaoh, L. P. H., thy lord in the house of Aton.'"

986. In another scene^c the reliefs depict further honors received from the king by Merire. Leaning on his staff as he stands before one of the richly filled magazines of the temple, and accompanied by the queen and his daughters,

^aLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 97, b; Davies, *Amarna*, I, VIII.

^b"Irsu" (*Yr-sw*), or "he that made him," is a circumlocution for "father," often applied to a god; "thy beloved" is the king himself. The whole is therefore probably an epithet of the god meaning "father of the king." "Doing it for love of thee" is an attractive rendering, but forbidden by the grammar.

^cLepsius, *Denkmäler*, 97, c; Davies, *Amarna*, I, xxv, xxix-xxxiii.

the king commands that Merire be decorated with gold. The fortunate official stands in the royal presence with arms upraised in praise, while attendants hang golden collars upon his neck, and four scribes record the gifts. The inscriptions furnish us with the words^a of the king and his favorite:

Words of the King

987. ^bSpeech of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, living in truth, Lord of the Two Lands, Neferkheprure-Wanre, [to] the overseer of the silver-house, [concerning] the officer (*w³w*), "great seer" of the Aton in Akhetaton, Merire: "Put gold at his throat and at his back, and gold on his legs, because of his hearing the teaching of Pharaoh, L. P. H., concerning every saying in^c these beautiful seats which Pharaoh has made in the sanctuary^d in the Aton-house of Aton in Akhetaton, filled with every good thing, with much corn and southern grain, the Aton-offerings of the Aton."

Merire's Reply

988. "Great seer" of the Aton in the Aton-temple in Akhetaton, fan-bearer on the right of the king, favorite of the Lord of the Two Lands, Merire; he says: "Health —, the beautiful youthfulness of the Aton; grant that he may attain this age;^f set him forever and ever.

TOMB OF EYE^g

989. Eye, who afterward became king, has left a fine scene in his tomb, showing the royal family on the palace

^aLepsius, *Denkmäler*, *ibid.*; Davies, *ibid.*, xxx.

^bLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 97, *e*; Davies, *Amarna*, I, xxx.

^cPossibly "concerning" (*hr*). ^d*H³t-bnbn*.

^eThe old word, "god" (*ntr*), is evidently avoided here, for in the old term, "divine offerings" (*hṯp-ntr*), we have *ntr* replaced by Aton, thus: *hṯp-Ytn*. There was thus an evident attempt to introduce the word Aton in place of the old word for "god" and "divine;" this accounts also for the term, "Aton-house (*pr-Ytn*) of the Aton," where the old texts have *Hṯt-ntr* ("god's-house" = temple).

^fLit., "make this age," viz., the age of the god; that is, may he live as long a life as the god.

^gCliff-tomb (No. 25) at Amarna (No. 1) in the southern group; published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 103-6, *a*, and 107, *a*-109. (These scenes [107, *d*-109] are

balcony, throwing down collars and vessels of gold to Eye and his wife Tiy. Unfortunately, the inscriptions such as we find in a similar scene in Merire's tomb (§§ 982 ff.) are here wanting. Only the comments of Eye's servants in the rear of his house have been recorded.^a Eye had received a similar honor before his marriage with Tiy, and this is likewise depicted in his tomb, but without inscriptions. He was not an official of high rank, being only "*Fan-bearer on the right of the king, master of all the horses of his majesty, his truly beloved scribe, the divine father, Eye* (ꜥꜥ)." His favor was doubtless due to his zeal in the new faith and his marriage with Tiy, the "*great nurse, nourisher of the god, adorer of the king*," that is, she had been Ikhnaton's nurse in his childhood.

990. Further indications of his favor^b are thus recorded:

I was one favored of his lord every day, great in favor from year to year, because of the exceeding greatness of my excellence in his opinion. He doubled for me my favors like the number of the sand; I was the first of the officials at the head of the people I am a 'true' witness, devoid of evil; my name has penetrated into the palace, because of my usefulness to the king, because of my hearing his teaching.

O everyone that liveth upon earth, every generation that is to be, I will tell you the way of life. I bear you witness that I was praised for what I said, I was 'content' by reason of what I did; I was truthful upon earth, making praise to the living Aton.

given by Lepsius as from a second tomb [No. 3] of the same man; this is an error which has been perpetuated in the modern histories. Eye had but one tomb at Amarna; it contains all the material given by Lepsius as from two tombs. See Breasted, *The Dial*, Chicago, May 1, 1897, 283.) The two long hymns were published by Bouriant, *Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, I, 2-5, and Daressy, *Recueil*, XV, 46, 47; both are excessively incorrect. The following translation (of Daressy's hymn) is based on my own copy of the original. Unfortunately, I had not yet made these copies when I published my *De Hymnis in Solem sub Rege Amenophide IV Conceptis*.

^aErman gives an excellent description of the whole scene, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 119-21.

^bLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 107, d.

Hymn to Aton and the King

991. ^{2a}Praise to thee! When thou risest in the horizon, O living Aton, lord of eternity. Obeisance to thy rising in heaven, to illuminate every land, with thy beauty. Thy rays are upon thy beloved son. Thy hand ³has a myriad of jubilees for the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Neferkheprure-Wanre, thy child who came forth from thy rays. Thou assignest to him thy lifetime and thy years. Thou hearest ⁴for him that which is in his heart. He is thy beloved, thou makest him like Aton. When thou risest, eternity is given him; when thou settest, thou givest him everlastingness. Thou begettest him in the morning like thine own forms; thou formest him as thy emanation, ⁵like Aton, ruler of truth, who came forth from eternity, son of Re, wearing his beauty, who offers to him the product of his rays; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, living in truth, Lord of the Two Lands, Neferkheprure-Wanre; the Great King's-Wife, Nefernefruaton-Nofretete; living forever and ever.

Hymn to Aton and the King

992. ⁶The divine father, favorite of the Good God, fan-bearer at the right of the king, master of all the horses of his majesty, truly beloved scribe of the king, Eye. He saith: "Praise to thee! O living Aton, rising in heaven. He inundates the hearts, and all lands are in festivity because of his rising; their hearts ⁷are happy with the joy of their lord, Irsu^b who shineth upon them. Thy beloved son presents truth before thy beautiful face; thou rejoicest when thou seest him, (for) he came forth from thee; son of eternity, who came forth from ⁸Aton, spirit of his spirit, gratifying the heart of Aton. When he rises in heaven, he rejoices in his son; he embraces him with his rays; he gives to him eternity as king, like the ⁹Aton; Neferkheprure-Wanre, this god, who made me, who caused my ka to be. Grant that I may be satisfied with seeing thee without ceasing; this lord who forms like Aton; rich in possessions ^{10a}a full Nile every day, making Egypt live. Silver and gold are like the sand of the shore; the land awakens to mighty rejoicing in his ka, the offspring of the Aton. Thou art eternal, Neferkheprure-Wanre; living and sound art thou, for he begat thee."

*L. 1 contains the usual title: "*Praise of Aton, the king and the queen*," indicating the content of the hymn.

^bSee § 985.

Self-Praise

993. ¹¹The divine father, etc., Eye; he saith: "I am the truthful one of the king whom he created, the upright one of the Lord of the Two Lands, useful to his lord, following the ka of his majesty, like his favorite, who sees ¹²his beauty when he 'appears' in his palace. I am at the head of the princes, the companions of the king, the first of all the followers of his majesty. He put truth in my body, and my abomination is lying. I know that Wanre rejoices in it (truth), this lord, ¹³wise like Aton, knowing the truth. He doubles to me my favors in silver and gold; I am first of the officials, at the head of the people (*rhyt*). [] ¹⁴the lord [] me. I have carried out his teaching."

Prayer for Self

994. "May I live praising his ka, may I be satisfied following him; (for) my breath of life is in him, this north wind, this myriad of high Niles every day, Neferkheprure-Wanre. ¹⁵Grant me long life in thy favor. How prosperous is thy favorite, O son of the Aton! All that he does endures and prospers, and the ka of the Lord of the Two Lands is with him forever, so that he is satisfied with life, when he reaches ¹⁶old age. O lord, who forms the people, and creates duration, who performs the pleasant obligation to his favorite, (whose) heart is satisfied with truth, whose abomination is lying. How prosperous is he who hears thy teaching of life, of life; he is satisfied with seeing thee without ceasing, ¹⁷and his two eyes see Aton every day. Grant to me a good old age like thy favorite; grant to me goodly burial by thy command in my house, wherein thou commandest me to rest, in the mountain of Akhetaton, the place of the favorite. May I hear thy sweet voice ¹⁸in the sanctuary^a when thou performest the pleasant ceremonies^b of thy father, the living Aton."

Prayer for King and Queen

995. "May he set thee forever and ever; may he endow thee with jubilees like the numbers of the shore, when measured with an ipet-rod; like reckoning the sea when measured with ¹⁹zawets, (or) a statement of the numbering of the mountains when weighed in balances; (or) the feathers of the birds, ²⁰(or) the leaves of the trees, in jubilees for the king, Wanre (Ikhnaton), forever and ever as king; and ²¹for the Great

^a*Ht-bnbn*.

^bLit., "doest the pleasing things."

King's-Wife, his beloved, abounding in her beauty;^a her who sends the Aton to rest^b with ²²a sweet voice, and with her two beautiful hands, bearing ²³two sistrums, the Mistress of the Two Lands, Nefernefruatón-Nofretete, living forever and ever. May she be by the side of ²⁴Wanre (Ikhnaton) forever and ever as the heavens abide ²⁵under that which is in them. Thy father Aton rises in heaven, to protect thee ²⁶every day, for he begat thee."

Prayer for Self

996. Grant me to kiss the pure ground, to come forth in thy presence with ²⁷offerings for thy father, Aton, of that which thy ka gives. Grant that ²⁸my mortuary priest may abide and flourish for me, (as) for one who is on earth following thy ka, ²⁹who has been exalted¹ for 'my¹ name's sake, to the place of the favorites, wherein thou makest one to rest. My mouth ³⁰is full of truth, my name is mentioned because of it, for thou hast commanded that I be like thy every favorite who follows thy ka. May I go on, enjoying thy favor after old age.

For the ka of Eye^c the revered, who lives again.

TOMB OF MAI^d

997. Mai was one of the most powerful officials at the Amarna court, as is shown by his titles:

Hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, — — his Two Lands, commander of the army of the Lord of the Two Lands, overseer of the "House-of-Sending-Aton-to-Rest;" king's-attendant in his august barge, master of the suite behind the Lord of the Two Lands, chief of all works of the king.

^aSee § 959, l. 4.

^bThere was a "*house for sending Aton to rest*," at Amarna, of which Mai was overseer (*mr*). Here doubtless the vesper service in the daily ritual was held at sunset.

^cHis titles, as usual in the original, are omitted above.

^dCliff-tomb (No. 14) in the southern group at Amarna (not numbered by Lepsius); published by Daressy, *Recueil*, XV, 38-41, where the name of the owner of the tomb is stated to be illegible. I found his name twice; it is certainly Mai (*Mꜥ y*). Daressy's copy is inaccurate; I have used my own for the translation. The tomb is unfinished, but it contains, besides the above hymn (left doorpost), an address by Mai (right doorpost), beginning: "*Hear ye my speech, all ye people*," in five columns, very faint, and still unpublished; and two prayers published by Daressy, from which some of above titles of Mai are taken.

998. He has left a long hymn, containing some of the most interesting references to the king and his "*teaching*" which have survived to us.

Hymn to Aton

999. ^{3a}Thy rising is beautiful in the horizon of heaven, O living Aton, beginning of life. When thou risest in the horizon, thou fillest the earth with thy beauty. Thou art beautiful, great, brilliant, high over every hand. Thy rays ⁴embrace the lands, even all that thou hast made. Thou art Re, and thou takest them all captive; thou bindest them for thy beloved son.

Praise of the King and Akhetaton

1000. Thy rays are upon thy glorious emanation, the ruler of truth, who came forth from eternity. ⁵Thou grantest to him thy lifetime and thy years; thou hearest for him that which is in his heart. He is thy beloved; thou makest him^b like Aton; thy child, who came forth from thy rays, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Neferkheprure-Wanre, who hath made for thee the mighty Akhetaton, ⁶great in loveliness, mistress of pleasant ceremonies, rich in possessions, the offerings to Re in her midst; at the sight of her beauty there is rejoicing. She is lovely and beautiful; when one sees her, it is like a glimpse at heaven; her number cannot be calculated. When the Aton rises in her, he fills her with his rays, ⁷and he embraces his beloved son, son of eternity who came forth from Aton, and offers the earth to him who placed him on his throne, causing the earth to belong to Irsu.^c

Praise of Aton and King

1001. Every land is festive at his rising; they assemble, making oblations to his ka, to Aton, rising in the horizon every early morning. ⁸Thy^d son presents truth to thy beautiful face; thou rejoicest when thou seest him, (for) he came forth from thee. Thou settest ¹him¹ as king like the Aton, Neferkheprure-Wanre, living and sound, like the Aton.

^aLl. 1 and 2 contain the usual title ("*Praise of Aton, the king and queen*"), which characterizes the content; although this does not contain any praise of the queen, as in Eye (§§ 989 ff.).

^bRead *sw*, as in Eye, § 991, l. 4.

^cSee § 985, note.

^dOriginal has "*his*."

Selḫ-Praise

1002. Hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, ⁹— his Two Lands, commander of the army of the Lord of the Two Lands, overseer of the house of sending [the Aton] to rest, [Mai (*M^c y*)]; he saith:

"I am his servant, whom he created; upright for the Lord of the Two Lands, one useful to his lord, who put truth in my body; (my) abomination is lying. ¹⁰I know that the son of the Aton, Neferkheprure-Wanre, rejoices because of it, (for) he hath doubled to me my favors like the numbers of the sand. I am the head of the officials at the head of the people (*rhy' t*). ¹¹My lord has advanced me, (because) I have carried out his teaching, and I hear his word without ceasing. My eyes behold thy beauty every day."

Prayer for Selḫ

1003. "O my lord, wise like Aton, satisfied with truth. How prosperous is ¹²he who hears thy teaching of life! May he be satisfied with seeing thee, when he reaches old age. Grant me goodly burial, of that which thy ka gives, in the house wherein thou commandest me to rest, [in] the mountain of Akhetaton, ¹³the place of the favorites. O thou Myriad of full Niles every day, Neferkheprure-Wanre, god, that madest me, through whose ka 'T' live; grant that I may be satisfied with following thee without ceasing, O ¹⁴child of the Aton. Thou art for eternity, O thou Myriad of — beseeching Wanre (Ikhnaton). How prosperous is he ¹⁵who follows thee! Grant him, that all that he does may abide forever. May his lord give him burial, (for) his mouth was full of truth."

TOMB OF AHMOSE^a

1004. Ahmose was "*real king's-scribe, his beloved, jan-bearer on the right of the king, master of the judgment-hall. steward of the estate of Neferkheprure-Wanre (Ikhnaton).*"

^aCliff-tomb (No. 3) at Amarna, northern group (Lepsius, No. 4); the hymns are on the doorposts: left-hand, Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, Pl. VII (very bad), and my own copy. I found this doorpost much mutilated since Sharpe's time, and could not check all he copied. Right-hand: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 98, a; this doorpost is now so mutilated that I made no attempt to copy, in view of the short time at my disposal.

He has left the usual composite hymn upon the doorposts of his tomb.

1005. The two portions of this hymn, one introduced by praise to the rising, the other by praise to the setting, sun, form really one hymn, of the usual character above described (§ 979). The introductory praise of the god, the king, and the queen, is verbatim identical with the hymn of Tenr (§ 984), to which the reader is referred for the translation. Ahmose's hymn then proceeds with a tribute to the universality of the king's power, as follows:

Praise of the King

1006. — — — 'the praise' of all that thou hast encircled. ——— presenting them to thy ka. ⁵Thy child whom thou thyself didst beget — — — —. The south, as well as the north, the west and the east, [and the isles] in the midst of the sea ⁶are in jubilation to his ka. His southern boundary is as far as the wind, and (his) northern as far as the shining of Aton. All their princes make supplication, whom his fame has cowed ⁷through his beautiful ka, who makes festive the Two Lands, who supplies the needs of the whole land. Place him with^a thyself forever, according as he has loved to behold thee. ⁸Grant him very many jubilees of peaceful years. Grant him the love of thy heart, like the sands of the shore, like the scales of the ⁹fish in the river, (or) the hair ¹⁰of the cattle. May I be a follower of the Good God until he assigns the burial which he gives.

Hymn to Aton

1007. ^bThy setting is beautiful, O living Aton, lord of lords, ruler of the Two Lands, — — — in the peace of the Two Lands. The people are in rejoicing before thee, giving praise to him who formed them, doing obeisance ['to him who created'] them, ['—'] to thy beloved son, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, living in truth, Neferkheprure-

^aRead *hn c -k*.

^bThe second portion (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 98, a, right doorpost) begins here. It is clearly the second half of one hymn, the first half containing the praise of god, king, and queen; the second chiefly the prayer of the deceased as usual.

Wanre (Ikhnaton). The whole land, every country in thy every circuit, at thy appearance shall make jubilee to thy rising and to thy setting likewise, O god, living in truth before the eyes. Thou art the maker of that which is not, the maker of all these things that come forth from thy mouth.

Prayer for Self

1008. Grant to me advancement before the king every day, without ceasing; goodly burial after old age, on the highland of Akhetaton, when I have finished life in prosperity. May I be a follower of the Good God, when he treads any place he desires; may I be the companion of his two feet, for he trained me, when I was a child, until [I] attained revered age in peace and joy, a follower of the ruler, when he was at the feast, every day.

TOMB OF TUTU^a

1009. Tutu (*Tw-tw*) was an imi-khentit (*ymy-ḥnty·t*) in Akhetaton. He was decorated with gold, like most of his colleagues, and has recorded some remarkable statements concerning his king in the following hymn:

Hymn to Aton and the King

1010. 1— — —^b O Aton, given life forever and ever. As for thy son, the king, living in truth, Lord of the Two Lands [Neferkhep-*rure-Wa]nre*, thy child, who came forth from thy rays, thou establishest him in thy office of King of Upper and Lower Egypt, as ruler of the circuit of Aton. Thou givest him eternity, as thou hast made thyself, (for) thy son is thy emanation; spending for [thee] thy lifetime; Son of Re, great in duration; Great King's-Wife [Nefernefru]aton-[Nofretete], living forever. 2— — — forever, Lord of the Two Lands. Thy rays

^aCliff-tomb (No. 8) in the southern group at Amarna (Lepsius, No. 2); Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 107, a; Lepsius' squeeze of the same text; and my own copies of the original. The tomb contains, besides the above hymn, also a long and magnificent text (too long to be copied in the time at my disposal) and the short form of the great hymn.

^bThis beginning is apparently not a title, as in the other hymns, but a direct address.

are upon thy beloved son; thy hand carries satisfying life. Thy love is great, immense, '—', by thy august skin, when thou floodest heaven and earth with thy beauty. (Then) thy son, who came forth from thy limbs, adores thee, thou hearest for him that which is in his heart, (and) thou doest according to that which comes forth from his mouth. He is thy beloved, thou makest him like Aton. Although thou art in heaven, thy rays are upon [earth].^a ³As thou begetteth thyself every day without ceasing, (so) thou hast formed him out of thine own rays to spend the lifetime of Aton. When thou sailest the heavens, his eye [sees] thy beauty, rejoicing with joy at beholding thee, O living Aton, (for) he is thy favorite. Those who are under the heavens, even all that see thy rays, — — —, for thou hast made them, that he might satisfy thy heart therewith. ⁴— — — — great in duration.

Hymn to Aton

1011. I come with praise to Aton, the living, the only god, lord of radiance, who makes light when he rises in heaven, who illuminates the Two Lands. When he made to live all that he created, he drove away the darkness. When he sends out his rays, every land is filled with his love. The herbage and the trees start up before thee; the denizens of the water spring up at thy shining; all people arise in their places. (When) [their limbs]^b are washed [they take]^b their clothing, [they do]^b all work, they make their products. Thou hast awakened the Two Lands, when thou risest in thy form of living Aton. Their mouths are filled with that which thou givest. All small cattle rest upon their herbage; thou expellest evil and hast given health. Every one lifts himself up because thou risest: they have seen their lord (when) he appears

Praise of the King

1012. As for thine only son who came forth from thy body, thou embracest him with thy beautiful rays. ⁶— — — — — in thy form of Aton, every land trips to thy rising. Thy rays bear a myriad of jubilees for thy son, living in truth, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Neferkheprure-Wanre, my god, my fashioner, and my creator.

^aRestored from Eye's great hymn (see my *De Hymnis in Solem sub Rege Amenophide IV Conceptis*, 19, v. 11).

^b*Ibid.*, 34 and 36.

Prayer and Self-Praise

1013. Grant me that my eye may see him, that [my] hands may adore him, that my ear may hear his voice, that his ka may be before me without ceasing. I am the favorite servant, who [hears¹] his teaching, and his marvelous things are in my body without ceasing. I will speak truth to his majesty, (for) I know that he lives therein⁸. I do not that which his majesty hates, (for) my abomination is lying in my body, [— — —]. I have sent up truth to his majesty, (for) I know that he lives therein. Thou art Re, begetter of truth; thou hast given ⁹———. My voice was not [lifted up] in the king's house, nor was my step too broad in the palace. I took not the reward of lying, nor expelled the truth for the violent; but it was the truth [which] I executed by his (the king's) might before me; I was mighty through the ka of Wanre, I was honored with reward — — ¹⁰— — I set not lying in my body He glorified my teachableness every day, because I so fully carried out his teaching, not transgressing by any evil thing ¹¹. May I be one who may adore his majesty; may I be his follower. Grant that I may be satisfied with seeing thee and assign to me — burial ¹²after old age — — in the mountain of Akhetaton.^a

TOMB OF HUY^b

1014. In Huy we have the usual favorite of Ikhnaton. His offices were responsible and important ones; for he was "*Overseer of the royal harem, overseer of the White House, steward in the house of the* [—]^c *great king's-wife, Tiy (Tyy).*" The events depicted in his tomb are naturally those connected with his offices. As "*overseer of the White House*" he had charge of incoming tribute. A scene^d in the tomb shows the king on a splendid throne-chair, borne

^aLl. 12-15 are mere fragments, showing that the prayers usual in these hymns form the conclusion.

^bCliff-tomb (No. 1) at Amarna, in the northern group (No. 7); published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 100-102; sketches by Nestor l'Hôte in Amélineau, *Histoire de la sépulture*, Pls. 100-103; and my own copies.

^cSee § 1017.

^dLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 100, b.

on the shoulders of eighteen soldiers, and accompanied by fan- and shade-bearers. The fragmentary inscription shows that he is going to inspect the incoming foreign tribute of the twelfth year.

1015. Year 12, second month of the second season, day 8. Live my father, [Aton],^a given life forever and ever; [live] the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, [Ikhnaton] and the Great King's-Wife, Nefernefruaton-Noftetete, living forever, at the arrival — — — — the tribute of Kharu ($\text{ḫ}^{\text{r}} -rw$) and Kush, the west and east — — united in one head, the isles [in the midst] of the sea — on the side —, the tribute — — — the great storehouse of Akhetaton for receiving the impost of —, [that he may give to] them the breath of life.

1016. As steward of the queen-mother Tiy, we see him in charge of a feast,^b doubtless in her house, at which she entertains the king, his queen, and three daughters. On another occasion Huy stands in the door of a temple ushering into it the king, who is leading the queen-mother Tiy, followed by the princess Bekateton and the court. Before them are the words:

Conducting the great king's-wife, [—], Tiy, to show to her her "Shadow-of-Re."

1017. This sanctuary, called here "*Shadow-of-Re*,"^c is the queen-mother's temple; for besides being called "*hers*" above, the titles of Aton in the same temple have twice appended to them the words:^d "*in the 'Shadow-of-Re' of [—],^e the Great King's-Wife, Tiy.*" It is perhaps the smaller of the two temples^f found by Petrie at Amarna. As the relief shows, it was magnificently equipped with colonnades, statues, and cultus materials. Another temple of Aton, erected by the king's-daughter Meretaton, is similarly

^aTwo cartouches, contents erased.

^bLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 100, c.

^cSee *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XV, 213, 214.

^dLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 102.

^eUncertain title of the queen, also in the preceding inscription and in § 1014.

^fPetrie, *Amarna*, 7 and Pl. XXXV.

referred to on an altar (?) block^a dedicated by the princess. It refers to Aton "*in the 'Shadow-of-Re' of the king's-daughter Meretaton in the chamber (called): 'Rejoicing-of-the-Aton' in the Aton-temple in Akhetaton.*"

1018. What was probably another sanctuary is referred to in an unpublished hymn^b from the tomb of Merire:

The singers and musicians are rejoicing with joy in the broad-hall (*wsḫ·t*) of the house: "Shadow-of-Re," thy temple in Akhetaton, the place wherein thou art pleased.

This is probably the king's own official sanctuary, and "*Shadow-of-Re*"^c is thus not a proper name, but a designation of any Aton-temple.^d The temple of Aton at Heliopolis was called "*Exaltation-of-Re-in-Heliopolis.*"^e This was perhaps the first of the Aton-temples. Another Aton-temple erected at Hermonthis,^f was called: "*Horizon-of-Aton-(y³ ḥw·t-n-ytn)-in-Hermonthis (ynw šm^c).*" Still another, in Memphis, was called simply: "*The-House-of-the-Aton.*"^g

^aBritish Museum, 1000; from my own copy; published by Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 48; also *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, 2d Ser., I, Pl. II; and *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XV, 209-11.

^bMy own copy; this passage is also found in the tomb of Apy, which fact enabled me to correct the Merire passage, which is corrupt. The Apy passage uses "*ḥ·t-bnbn*" in place of "*Shadow-of-Re*," as given in Merire's tomb. (Piehl, *Inscriptions*, 1st Ser., Pl. CXCI = Bouriant, *Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, I, 11, 12, ll. 6 and 7.) These passages show clearly that "*Shadow-of-Re*" is the name of the Akhetaton temple, and not of the god's statue, as supposed by some.

^cTemples called "*Shadow-of-Re*" were found in the sacred districts of all the divinities of Egypt in the Twentieth Dynasty (IV, 363). Such a temple is known under Ramses II and also in the Twenty-first Dynasty; see Spiegelberg (*Recueil*, 17, 159, 160), who thinks these later ones were in the necropolis.

^dOn the Aton-temples at Amarna and elsewhere, see my article in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 40, 106 ff. [Later—too late for insertion above, I have received the discussion of Davies (*Amarna*, II, 20-28) on the Amarna temples.]

^e*Ts-R^c-m-Ynw*, possibly also "*Re-is-Exalted-in-Heliopolis*" (*Recueil*, XVI, 123, CIX).

^f*Recueil*, 23, 62.

^gSpiegelberg, *Rechnungen*, Taf. XVI, l. 4; Mariette, *Monuments divers*, 56 = Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 54; fragments of inscriptions from this temple are in Mariette, *ibid.*, 34, e.

REIGN OF TUTENKHAMON

TOMB OF HUY^a

1019. So little is known of the immediate successors of Ikhnaton that the tomb of Huy, viceroy of Kush under Tutenkhamon, is of the greatest importance. We know that this king marked the transition from the Aton faith back to Amon, having changed his name from Tutenkhaton to Tutenkhamon;^b but on returning to Thebes he extended the temple of Aton.^c Nevertheless, he was forced by the priestly party to begin the restoration of the monuments defaced by Ikhnaton, and to recut the inscriptions and dedications to Amon, which they bore.^d We might infer that the Egyptian power in Asia was not wholly broken by Ikhnaton's reform, in view of the rich tribute of Syria shown in the following document; but see the remarks below. That of Nubia naturally continued without interruption,^e as the scenes in this tomb likewise indicate. These scenes fall into three series:

- I. Investiture of the Viceroy of Kush.
- II. Tribute of the North.
- III. Tribute of the South.

^aHewn into the cliff of Kurnet-Murrai on the west side at Thebes; published partially by Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 477-80; by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 115-18; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 301-6; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1133-41; and Piehl, *Inscriptions*, Pls. 144, A-145; a good account of the scenes, Baedeker, *Egypt*, 288, 289. These scenes are among the most gorgeous and elaborate of the Empire.

^bThe old form, Tutenkhaton, occurs on a Berlin stela, No. 14197 (*Ausführliches Verzeichniss des Berliner Museums*, 128); see Erman, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 38, 112.

^cFragments of his extension are now rebuilt in the pylon of Harmhab at Karnak, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, a-b; Bouriant, *Recueil*, VI, 51 ff.; and Piehl, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1884, 41. The name of Eye is found on similar reused blocks also.

^dSee II, 896.

^eSee also II, 896.

I. INVESTITURE OF THE VICEROY OF KUSH^a

1020. The interesting and important ceremony depicted in this series of scenes throws light on a number of obscure points in the administration of Kush by the Pharaohs. We here learn its limits, viz., from El Kab on the north to Napata on the south. For Napata appears (§ 1025) the important variant Karoy, thus locating this otherwise unknown region, designated by the Eighteenth Dynasty kings as their southern boundary.^b

Scene

1021. King Tutenkhamon is enthroned at the left in a kiosk; before him are two lines of men in groups, representing successive incidents in the ceremony:

Reception of Huy

1022. An officer standing with back to the king receives Huy as he advances, accompanied by several courtiers. The inscriptions are these:

Over the Officer

The overseer of the White House; he says: "This is the seal^c from the Pharaoh, L. P. H., who assigns to thee (the territory) from Nekhen to Napata."

Over Huy

1023. King's-son of Kush ———.

Words of Courtiers

"Thou art the Son of Amon ———,^d he causes that the chiefs of all countries come to thee, bearing every good and choice thing of their countries."

^aScenes and inscriptions copied by Erman, and published from his notes by Brugsch (*Thesaurus*, V, 1133-41).

^bThis had been already noticed by Erman (*Aegypten*, 666), and was not new, as I supposed when I called attention to it in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 40, 108.

^cReading the *my*-sign as the usual determinative of *hm*, "seal;" see Piehl (*Inscriptions*, I, 112, n. 5).

^dCartouche with name illegible.

Investiture of Huy

1024. Huy stands before an officer who holds a small object, perhaps an étui containing the seal, which is to be delivered to Huy. No inscriptions. Immediately beside this scene appears an official who extends to Huy the seal of office. The inscriptions are:

Over Official

1025. [‘Take’] the seal of office, O king’s-son of [Kush].

Over Huy

The office is assigned to the king’s-son of Kush, Huy, from Nekhen to Karoy.

1026. Another scene shows Huy’s reception by his family and officials (among whom are the “inspectors” (*rwd·w*)), as he issues from the palace.

Over Huy

The coming forth, favored, from the court, having been appointed in the presence of the Good God to be king’s-son and governor of the southern countries, Huy. He accounts Khenthennofer, included under his authority, to offer it to the Lord of the Two Lands, like every subject of his majesty.

II. TRIBUTE OF THE NORTH

1027. It is evident in this series that the administration of Kush now requires two viceroys, for Huy’s brother, Amenhotep, here appears as “King’s-son of Kush.” For reasons not evident in the inscriptions, these two viceroys of the South appear presenting to the king the tribute of the North. This circumstance looks suspicious. What should the viceroy of Kush have to do with the tribute of the North? Moreover, we know from the Amarna Letters that Egyptian power in Asia was at an end under Ikhnaton. One might be inclined to think, therefore, that the frequent

representation of the tribute of the South and North in earlier Theban tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty induced Huy to add the tribute of the North as a pendant to the tribute of the South which he actually collected. But it should not be forgotten that one of Ikhnaton's successors carried on war in Asia (III, 20), and this can hardly have been any other than Tutenkhamon. He may thus have been able to collect some northern tribute.

Scene

1028. King Tutenkhamon is enthroned at the left under a splendid kiosk. Before him bows the viceroy of Kush, Huy, behind whom comes a second viceroy of Kush, Huy's brother, Amenhotep, bearing gifts. These two officials are introducing four lines of Asiatics who bring a magnificent array of tribute, chiefly gold and silver vessels, costly stones, and horses.

1029. The following inscriptions accompany the scene:

Over Huy

King's-son of Kush, governor of the south countries, fan-bearer at the right of the king, Huy (*Hwy*), triumphant; he says: "May thy father, Amon, protect thee during myriads of jubilees (*hb-sd*). May he give to thee eternity as king of the Two Lands, everlastingness as ruler of the Nine Bows. Thou art Re, and thy emanation is his emanation. Thou art heaven,^a abiding like its four pillars, the earth sits beneath thee, because of thy permanence, O good ruler."

With Amenhotep

1030. Bringing in all the tribute to the Lord of the Two Lands, the presents of Retenu (*Rtmw*) the wretched; by the king's-messenger to every country, the king's-son of Kush, governor of the southern countries, Amenhotep, triumphant.

^aMeaning, as enduring as heaven.

With Vessels

1031. Vessels of all the choicest of the best of their countries, in silver, gold, lapis lazuli, malachite, every splendid costly stone.

With an Official Receiving Asiatics

1032. All the chiefs of the 'north' countries '— —'; they say: "How great is thy fame, O Good God! how mighty thy strength! there is none living in ignorance of thee."

The chiefs of [all countries] that knew not Egypt since the time of the god, are craving peace from his majesty that it may not be. "Give to us the breath which thou givest, etc., (as below)."

Over Asiatics

1033. The chiefs of Retenu (*Rtnw*) the Upper, who knew not Egypt since the time of the god, are craving peace from his majesty. They say: "Give to us the breath which thou givest, O 'lord'. Tell us^a thy victories; and there shall be no revolvers in thy time; but every land shall be in peace."

III. TRIBUTE OF THE SOUTH^b

1034. In this series the two viceroys present to the king the tribute of the lands under them. This ceremony took place in the temple, from which Huy then goes forth to embark for Nubia, and is received on his dahabiyeh by his local officials, who have accompanied him to Thebes.

Scene

1035. King Tutenkhamon is enthroned as in the previous scene, with Huy before him. In the king's presence a magnificent array of tribute; chiefly commercial gold and silver, gold and silver vessels, a chariot, shields, and furniture.

^aThe two *n*'s (dative ?) are probably an error for one, viz., "*that we may tell, etc.*"

^bSee Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 301-6; where the inscriptions are much more accurate than in the folio of Lepsius.

A second part of the scene shows Huy receiving three lines of Negroes, and a line of Egyptians below. In the top line of Negroes are children of the Kushite chiefs, among them a princess in a chariot drawn by oxen. The negro chiefs wear Egyptian clothing;^a they bring similar tribute, and also curiously decorated cattle. Behind all, we see six Nile boats landing. With the exception of the king's names, the inscriptions are confined to the second part of the scene.

Before Huy

1036. The arrival in peace — from the house of the hereditary prince, count, (*mry-ntr-*) priest, king's-son of Kush, Huy [having received] the favor of the Lord of the Two Lands, [who ordered] gold [to be put] upon his neck and his arms. 'How many are the³ examples^b of thy favor, O Nebkheprure (Tutenkhamon)! One mentions them (one) time (each) by its name; they are too numerous to put them into writing.

Over the Upper Line of Negroes

1037. The chief of Miam^c (*My^c m*), good ruler.^d The chiefs of Wayet (*w³ y' t*).^e The children of the chiefs of all countries.

Over the Middle Line of Negroes

The chiefs of Kush, they say: "Hail to thee, O king of Egypt, Sun of the Nine Bows! Give to us the breath which thou givest. Men live by thy love."^f

Over the Egyptians

1038. The coming forth of the people of the king's-son, to receive him, when he received the favor of the Lord of the Two Lands; ('from')

^aUnder Thutmose III they still wore native costume; see tomb of Rekhmire.

^bLit., "*Examples upon very many examples, and great is thy favor, etc.*"

^cCountry around Ibrim; see tomb of Penno (IV, 474).

^dThe presence of these chiefs shows that the country was still under its native rulers, and that the Egyptian administrative officers were not in sole control.

^eAs in Champollion (*Notices descriptives*, I, 478).

^fVery much the same inscription is over the lower row of Negroes (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 303).

the house^a of the king's-son of Kush, king's-scribe, Amenhotep — — living again.

They say: "O ruler, L. P. H., good, mighty in creation, for whom the sun rises; many are the things [which] ¹his two hands¹ [accomplish]."

Over the Boats

Arrival from Kush bearing this good tribute of all the choicest of the best of the south countries. Landing at the city of the South (Thebes) by the king's-son of Kush, Huy.

Scene

1039. Huy leans on his staff; behind him are the members of his family; before him a richly decorated dahabiyeh with sail spread, and another with sail furled, bearing a chariot and horses. On the boats approaching Huy, are four rows of officials under Huy, followed by sailors and women with tambourines. The inscriptions show that the presentation ceremonies depicted above have just been completed in the temple, and Huy is now doubtless embarking for his post. The inscriptions are these:

Over Huy

1040. The coming from the temple of Amon after the pleasing ceremonies before him, to offer this land to thee;^b by the hereditary prince, count, sole companion, great in [his office], great [in his rank], great —, — king's-scribe, ——— Amenhotep — —.

Over Huy's Family

The inscriptions are nearly vanished, but the words: "His son" (twice); "his mother," and "his sister," may be distinguished.

^aThe door of the house from which they come is seen behind them; on it are the cartouches of Tutenkhamon.

^bThe change of person is difficult.

Over Officials

1041. 1. Deputy of Kush. 2. Mayor of Khammat (Soleb) 3. Overseer of cattle. 4. ———. 5. Deputy of the fortres: (called): "Neb[khepr]ure^a-Satisfier-of-the-Gods,"^b Penno. 6. Mayor of "Satisfier-of-the-Gods." 7. His brother, 'prophet' of —^c ['in'] the fortress; "Satisfier-of-the-Gods," Mermose; 8. Priest of —,^c residing in the fortress: "Satisfier-of-the-Gods." 9. ———.

^aTutenkhamon's throne-name.

^b*S' htp-ntr w.*

^cCartouche.

REIGN OF EYE

LANDMARK OF EYE^a

1042. Documents of this king are rare. This stela shows the king, in relief at the top, offering flowers to "*Hathor, mistress of Hotep*." The exclusive worship of Aton had therefore been abandoned by him at this date, year 3. The inscription records a gift of land by the king to one of his officials, whose name is no longer visible, and to the latter's wife, Mutnezmet.

1043. Year 3, third month of the third season (eleventh month), first day, of King Eye,^b given life, while he was in Memphis.

His majesty commanded to endow him with lands, a reward for the king's —, —,^c and for his wife, Mutnezmet. It was laid out in the district called: "Field¹ of the Kheta," in the fields of the "House-of-Okheperkere (Thutmose I)" and the "House-of-Menkheprure (Thutmose IV)," a field of 154 stat.

The south is the "House-of-Menkheprure (Thutmose IV);" the north is the "House-of-Ptah" and the "House-of-Okheperkere (Thutmose I)," between his 1—1; the west is [the "House-of-Okheperkere (Thutmose I)"]^d; the east is the "House-of-Menkheprure (Thutmose IV)" between his 1—1.

There came^e the chief king's-scribe, the steward, Ramose; the scribe, Merire; — Thay. Command was given to the — attendant, Re, to transfer it.^f

^aStela now in Cairo; found by the Great Pyramid, in the chapel of Pesibkhenno; published by Daressy (*Recueil*, 16, 123) and from Daressy by Spiegelberg (*Rechnungen*, 36).

^bFull fivefold titulary is used in the original.

^cThe lacuna contained the remainder of a royal official's title, and his name, which latter ended in *nj*.

^dThe land, as already stated, lay in the fields of the House-of-Thutmose I and the House-of-Thutmose IV; the southern and eastern boundaries were formed by the House-of-Thutmose IV, and the northern boundary by the House-of-Thutmose I. Hence it is probable that the western boundary was also formed by the House-of-Thutmose I, and that Daressy has overlooked it in his copy, owing to its identity with the preceding boundary.

^eAs witnesses? Spiegelberg renders "those who came," but the *nt* which he renders as the relative pronoun occurs above, with the first, "*his* 1—1 (*nwy*)," and must therefore belong to *nwy* here.

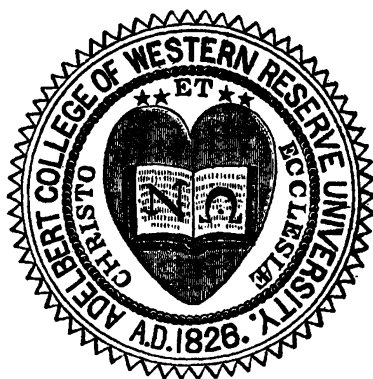
^fThe land.

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EDITED AND TRANSLATED WITH COMMENTARY

BY

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IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

VOLUME III

THE NINETEENTH DYNASTY

CHICAGO
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
1908

LONDON: LUZAC & CO.

LEIPZIG: OTTO HARRASSOWITZ

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Published May 1906

A. C. S.

Composed and Printed By
The University of Chicago Press
Chicago, Illinois, U. S. A.

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EXPLANATION OF TYPOGRAPHICAL SIGNS AND SPECIAL CHARACTERS

1. The introductions to the documents are in twelve-point type, like these lines.

2. All of the translations are in ten-point type, like this line.

3. In the footnotes and introductions all quotations from the documents in the original words of the translation are in *italics*, inclosed in quotation marks. *Italics* are not employed in the text of the volumes for any other purpose except for titles.

4. The lines of the original document are indicated in the translation by superior numbers.

5. The loss of a word in the original is indicated by —, two words by — —, three words by — — —, four words by — — — —, five words by — — — — —, and more than five by —————. A word in the original is estimated at a "square" as known to Egyptologists, and the estimate can be but a very rough one.

6. When any of the dashes, like those of No. 5, are inclosed in half-brackets, the dashes so inclosed indicate not lost, but uncertain words. Thus [—] represents one uncertain word, [— —] two uncertain words, and [————] more than five uncertain words.

7. When a word or group of words are inclosed in half-brackets, the words so inclosed are uncertain in meaning; that is, the translation is not above question.

8. Roman numerals I, II, III, and IV, not preceded by the title of any book or journal, refer to these four volumes of Historical Documents. The Arabic numerals following such Romans refer to the numbered paragraphs of these volumes. All paragraph marks (§ and §§, without a Roman) refer to paragraphs of the same volume.

9. For signs used in transliteration, see Vol. I, p. xv.

THE NINETEENTH DYNASTY

REIGN OF HARMHAB

TOMB OF HARMHAB^a

1. This splendid limestone tomb was built by the general, Harmhab, who afterward became King Harmhab. His career before he gained the throne is openly narrated in his Coronation Inscription (§§ 22 ff.); but the first step in the study of his life is the demonstration of the identity of the general and the king. This was first proved by the observation that the Vienna fragment may be fitted upon the Leyden blocks^b (§§ 2-13). The construction of the tomb and execution of the reliefs belong to a period either just before or just after the Aton heresy of Ikhnaton; for Harmhab, in praising King Ikhnaton, states that he owes his kingdom to Amon^c (§ 8); furthermore, the gods of Heliopolis—Horus, Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, and Hathor—are mentioned. As Amon is not erased in the tomb, this, with the mention of the other gods, would indicate that the tomb was constructed under Ikhnaton's weak successors, after the resumption of the Amon-worship, at a time when the commemoration of Harmhab's favor under Ikhnaton was not yet a political *faux pas*. But this is not certain.

^aIt originally stood in Sakkara, but has been ruthlessly destroyed. The few fragments which have survived are now in six different museums.

^bSee my remarks, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 38, 47 ff.

^cThis has little or no bearing on the date of the event depicted in the relief, but only on the date of the execution of the relief. The later insertion of the uraeus shows that an anachronism like the assumed mention of Amon in Ikhnaton's presence might easily be perpetrated after the worship of Amon had been resumed.

I. LEYDEN FRAGMENTS^aI. STELA WITH ADORATION SCENE^b

2. The hawk-headed Re, enthroned, is worshiped by the deceased, standing, who "shows in his body exactly those deformities by which the king Chu-en-Aten is to be recognized. The belly projects forward prominently, and heavy masses of fat are distributed along the entire body. His hair is curled, and about the neck he wears the braided necklace with which Chu-en-Aten was accustomed to reward his most faithful servants." The inscription of twelve very short vertical lines over the heads of the figures, is as follows:

Over the God

3. 1. Harakhte! Great god, lord of heaven, lord of earth; who cometh forth from the horizon. He illuminateth the Two Lands, the sun of darkness, as the great one, as Re.

Over Harmhab

4. Praise to thee! Re, lord of truth, great god, sovereign of Heliopolis! May he grant a fortunate life, "—" in eternity, glory in heaven, favor in earth, for the ka of the commander in chief of the army, Harmhab, triumphant.

5. The content of the inscription, like the reliefs, shows plain traces of the influence of Ikhnaton's movement; although Aton is not mentioned. The following reliefs show clearly the relation of Harmhab to Ikhnaton.

^aThese fragments have never been published entire.

^bLeyden Museum, V, 29; a rectangular tablet, the text of which was published by Wiedemann (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1885, 80, 81) without the reliefs of which he offers the above description.

2. REWARD OF GOLD^a

6. These reliefs are in two series,^b both representing Harmhab receiving the reward of gold from his king.

7. In the first series, the figure of the king (at the extreme right) is lost. Harmhab, wearing the uraeus, and with hands raised in rejoicing, is loaded with collars of gold; behind him (at the left) approach two long double lines of Asiatics, each pair led by two Egyptians; over these were lines of horsemen!^c

8. In the second series, the lower portion of the king's figure (at the extreme left) is preserved and shows unmistakably the peculiar characteristics found only in the representations of Ikhnaton. His queen stands behind him, as in the similar scenes at Amarna, and showing the same peculiarities of style. Below is Harmhab alone,^d his neck loaded with golden collars, having before him the lower ends of three lines of inscription, as follows:

¹[Speech] ——— in his presence, by the hereditary prince, count, sole companion, king's-scribe, Harmhab, triumphant. He says, while he answers ²[the king] ——— [‘The kingdom is thine’] forever and ever; Amon has assigned it to thee. They muster [every] country ³——— in their heart as one. Thy name is a fire ⁴———.

9. Adjoining this scene on the right is a continuation,

^aThese reliefs have never been published. I secured photographs of them through the kindness of Dr. Pleyte. They are described by Leemans, *Description raisonnée des monuments égyptiens*, 40-41, C, 1-3; see also Leemans, *Monuments du Musée d'Antiquités*, I, 31-34.

^bThe upper portion, containing the inscriptions in each series, is unfortunately lost, and the extreme lower ends of a few lines remain.

^cOnly a long line of prancing horses' feet are visible; as there are no chariot wheels among them, and no human feet of men leading them (except at the extreme front), we may suppose that we have here a unique scene on an Egyptian monument—a troop of Asiatic horsemen. That the horses are being driven in a loose herd in the presence of the king is also possible.

^dThe head is lost, but of course it would show the uraeus, as everywhere else in the tomb.

showing Harmhab (on the left) received with acclamation by his household servants^a (on the right), as he returns wearing his newly received collars of gold. Besides his two Egyptian servants appears a group of Asiatics,^b like those in the first scene, all in postures of extravagant joy.^c

II. VIENNA FRAGMENT^d

10. The block contains a text of eight vertical lines above a relief scene, representing a group of Egyptian officials bowing (toward the left) to their superior, Harmhab (his figure is lost on the left), who is giving them instructions regarding the disposition of certain Asiatics, whose town has been attacked, plundered, and destroyed. The whole description shows that we have in these Asiatics, fugitives from the conditions in Palestine described in the Amarna Letters at this time. The arrival of these people must have fallen under the reign of Ikhnaton or his immediate successors. They desire a home in Egypt, as they say, "*after the manner of your fathers' fathers since the beginning.*" This, with the letter in Papyrus Anastasi^e (VI, 4, 13 ff., and 5, 1 ff.), makes quite certain the custom of allowing the Asiatic Bedwin the privilege of settling in Egypt, to pasture their herds in the eastern Delta in times of distress, and is

^aThe same in the tomb of Eye at Amarna.

^bTwo Libyans are among them.

^cOne of them is on his back, and one on his belly. This explains the greeting in the Amarna letters: "At the feet of my lord the king seven times and seven times with breast and back, I throw myself" (ed. Winckler, p. 285, No. 158, ll. 9-13). No. 157 has: "with belly and back."

^dIn the imperial collection; published by Wiedemann, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XI, 425; and Bergmann, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, XXVII, 125-27. Neither publishes the reliefs, for which I had my own photograph and collation of the original. I have published the photograph showing the relief in *ibid.*, 38, 47.

^e§§ 637 ff.

an interesting parallel to the similar favor shown to Abraham and the kindred of Joseph.

11. These seven lines read:

1————^a Asiatics; others have been placed in their abodes
2———— they have been destroyed, and their town laid waste, and fire
has been thrown 3————;^b [they have come to entreat] the Great in
Strength to send his mighty sword before 4————. Their countries
are starving, they live like goats of the mountain, [their] children^c 5————
saying: "A few of the Asiatics, who knew not how they should live,
have come 6[*begg*]ing [a home in the domain]^d of Pharaoh, L. P. H.,
after the manner of your^e fathers' fathers since the beginning, under
7————. Now, the Pharaoh, L. P. H., gives them into your^e hand,
to protect their borders."

12. Behind the officials receiving these instructions stood the Asiatics mentioned, as is shown by the fragment of one line of their inscription still surviving. It reads:

———— their boundaries — — [Lord] of the Two Lands. They
give praise to the Good God, the Great in Strength, Zeserkheprure
(Harmhab).

Now, as this Vienna block has been shown to belong to the Leyden reliefs,^f the conclusion would be that the royal figure in the Leyden reliefs must be King Harmhab. But the royal figure is clearly that of Ikhnaton. The difficulty is solved by the explanation of another incongruity in the tomb. Throughout its reliefs the figure of the general, Harmhab, wears the uraeus. This uraeus, as has been

^aAn uncertain amount is lacking at the beginning of each line; this is left unindicated by Wiedemann.

^bProbably, "*fire has been thrown [into their grain];*" see I, 658, ll. 15, 16.

^cAn obvious emendation.

^dThe restoration is exceedingly uncertain, but something similar must be supplied.

^ePlural.

^fI have published the Vienna block and the adjoining Leyden fragments in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 38, 47.

clearly proved,^a is a later insertion after the reliefs were finished. Hence the name of King Harmhab is a similar later insertion, and the Asiatics bowing, of course, like the officials, originally to the general Harmhab, are now represented as giving praise to the king Harmhab. The identity of the general and the king is thus demonstrated.

III. ALEXANDRIA FRAGMENTS^b

13. The text recounted a journey of Harmhab to the upper Nile, as messenger of some king—a journey from which he returned successfully, bringing tribute which the king publicly inspected. Under this text is the figure of Harmhab wearing the uraeus and leaning on a staff.

1. ——— 2f. — He was sent as royal messenger as far as Aton shines, coming 3f. ——— no land stood before him; 4he captured it in the passing of a moment. His name shall be remembered in 5the land of f — — — He sailed northward. Behold, his majesty 6appeared upon a dais (used) at the bringing^c in of tribute 7and the [tribute] 8of south and north was brought in. 9Behold, the prince, 10Harmhab, triumphant, 11stood by the side of ———.

IV. BRITISH MUSEUM FRAGMENTS

I. DOORPOSTS^d

14. These monuments are chiefly of a religious nature, but the movement of Ikhnaton was so largely religious that

^a*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 38, 49, 50. The fan which Harmhab carries in his hand, has been shifted to one side and distorted. The old lines still visible show that in its original position, the top of the fan would have interfered with the uraeus; hence it was shifted aside to insert the uraeus.

^bIn the Collection Zizania; published by Wiedemann, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XI, 424; it contains portions of eleven lines, the first and last very broken, and the beginning of all the lines wanting.

^cEgyptian idiom, "a dais of the bringing in of tribute."

^dNos. 550 and 552; Birch, *Guide to the Egyptian Galleries*, 36; Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 92; excellent photographs by Clark and Davies, London; I had also my own copy.

such texts from the transition period are historically important. Furthermore, the titles of Harmhab which they contain indicate unusual powers and connect the owner of this tomb with the Harmhab of the Turin inscription (§§ 22 ff.), thus confirming the identity of the general and the king, Harmhab.

15. Each of the doorposts has below a figure of Harmhab in adoration, wearing the uraeus as usual, and having strapped to his back his fan, as insignium of his office. His form clearly shows traces of the style of art which prevailed under Ikhnaton, e. g., the thin ankles, above which the limbs thicken too suddenly.

16. The texts are in six vertical lines above and before the figures, one being a Sun-Hymn, as follows:

Utterance of the hereditary prince, Harmhab, triumphant, when he worships Re at his rising, saying:

"Praise to thee! who becomest^a every day,

"Who begetteth thyself^a each morning,

"Who comest^a forth from the body of thy^a mother without ceasing.

"The two regions come to thee bowing down,

"They give to thee praise, when thou risest,

"When thou hast illuminated the earth with brightness.

"²Thy divine limbs flame as a mighty one in the heavens,

"Excellent god, eternal king,

"Lord of brightness, ruler of light,

"Upon his throne in the Morning-Barque,

"Great in brilliance in the Evening-Barque,

"Divine youth, heir of eternity,

"Who begetteth himself, who generateth himself.

"The great ennead worship thee,

"³The lesser ennead exult to thee;

"They praise thee in thy beautiful forms,

"With thy brilliance in the Evening-Barque,

"As when the sacred apes spy thee.

^aThe Egyptian idiom requires third person here.

"4Rise thou, thy heart glad,
 "With thy diadems in the horizon of heaven;
 "Grant thou glory in heaven,
 "Power in earth,^a
 "That I may go forth among thy followers 5of every day;
 "That my heart may be satisfied with all offerings,
 "May receive flower-offerings, from the sanctuary (*h' t-bnbn*),
 "Upon the table of the lords of Heliopolis."

6By the hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, privy councilor of the palace, superior in the whole land, fan-bearer at the right of the king, general of the Lord of the Two Lands, real king's-scribe, his beloved, the hereditary prince, Harmhab.

17. The other doorpost bears the usual prayer to Osiris (but is important for the titles of Harmhab), as follows:

1Praise to thee! Presider over the west; Osiris, ruler of eternity; Wennofer, lord of Tazoser; Anubis, lord of Rosta; the gods, lords of the necropolis. May they grant bread, beer, oxen, fowl, libations of water, wine and milk for the hereditary prince, the general in chief of the Lord of the Two Lands, king's-scribe, 2scribe of recruits, fan-bearer at the right hand of the king, overseer, giving satisfaction in the whole land, great in his office, great in rank, the two eyes of the king in the Two Lands, favorite of Horus in the palace, satisfying the heart of the king, 3with all monuments, overseer of works in the mountain of grit-stone,^b deputy of the king, presiding over the Two Lands, Harmhab, triumphant; he saith: "Homage to thee! Presider over the west, Osiris in the midst of Abydos. 4I have come to thee (extending) my two hands in adoration of the beauty of thy majesty. Set thou me among thy followers, like the glorious ones who enter 5the nether world, who live in truth every day. May I be one among them, (for) my abomination was lying, I executed 6truth upon earth without neglecting it.

"For the ka of the hereditary prince, real king's-scribe, his beloved, deputy of the king in the whole land, general in chief, Harmhab, triumphant."

^aCf. the prayer on the second Leyden fragment.

^bCf. Inscription of Amenhotep, son of Hapi (II, 917, l. 40).

2. STELA WITH THREE HYMNS^a

18. Above, occupying about one-third of the stela, is a relief showing the divinities Harakhte, Thoth, and Mat, standing, before whom stands Harmhab worshipping. His head is (in the photograph) almost wholly destroyed, and the uraeus, if present, cannot be discerned. Over Re are the words: "*Harakhte, only god, king of the gods; he rises in the west, he sendeth his beauty — —.*" Thoth and Mat bear the usual titles, while before Harmhab is a magical prayer.

19. The text of twenty-five lines addresses one after the other, Re, Thoth, and Mat, with the usual praise and prayers. These show clearly that the old traditional views are in full sway, although Aton is mentioned in l. 2: "*Thou art beautiful, youthful, as Aton before thy mother Hathor.*" The hymn is very interesting, but not historically important.

V. CAIRO FRAGMENTS

20. Two blocks,^b apparently doorposts, contain the following important titles of Harmhab above his figure on each block seated at an offering-table and wearing the uraeus. Each column begins with: "*Hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion;*" and then proceeds with the further titles:

¹Privy counselor of the palace (*pr-stny*), great in love with his lord, chief prophet of Horus, lord of Sebi (*Sby*);^c for the ka of the general in chief, Harmhab. ²Prince of the greatest of the companions, confidant of especial confidants (conclusion as in l. 1); ³king's-follower on his expe-

^aPublished by Meyer, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1877, 148 ff.; photograph by Clark and Davies; I had also my own copy from the original.

^bMariette, *Monuments divers*, 74 = Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, CVII-CVIII.

^cThe place is unknown, but is probably connected, if not identical, with Alabastronpolis, the patron deity of which was also Horus; this Horus is the one whom the king claims as his special patron at his coronation (§ 27). The title, "*chief prophet*," is an old nomarch title, and of course descended to Harmhab from his ancestors at Alabastronpolis.

ditions in the south and north country (conclusion as in l. 1). ⁴Greatest of the great, mightiest of the mighty; great lord of the people (conclusion as in l. 1). ⁵King's-messenger at the head of his army, to the south and north country (conclusion as in l. 1). ⁶Chosen of the king, presider over the Two Lands, in order to carry on the administration of the Two Lands, general of generals of the Lord of the Two Lands; for the ka of the real king's-scribe, his beloved, Harmhab. ⁷Giving satisfaction in the entire land, privy councilor of the palace, unique in his qualities, recorder of the troops; for the ka of the chief steward, Harmhab. ⁸Companion of the feet of his lord upon the battlefield on that day of slaying the Asiatics (*St' tyw*)^a (conclusion as in l. 1).

21. Several other fragments in Cairo contain the conventional mortuary prayers^b and show Harmhab wearing the uraeus^c and kneeling before various divinities, chiefly Osiris, Isis, and Nephthys. Finally there are two fragments in Bologna not noted heretofore; one^d shows him wearing the uraeus, and plowing in the fields of Yaru in the hereafter; the other^e contains part of an historical scene, showing the presentation of Negro captives, and mentioning the tribute of Palestine.

CORONATION INSCRIPTION

22. This important inscription relates: (1) the youth (ll. 1-5); (2) career at court (ll. 5-12); (3) coronation in

^aIt is impossible to suppose that Ikhnaton is the king meant here; it must be one of his successors, probably Tutenkhaton, by whom tribute was received from the north.

^bRougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, CIV-CVI.

^cMariette, *Monuments divers*, 75 = Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, XXXVI f.

^dNo. 1885. The fragment does not bear the name of Harmhab anywhere, but is identical in style with the known fragments of his tomb, and as the uraeus is clearly a later insertion throughout the fragment (six lines), it is undoubtedly another hitherto unnoticed wanderer from Harmhab's tomb.

^eNo. 1165. The style is unquestionably sufficient to identify this piece as belonging to the same tomb.

^fEngraved "on the back of a black granite group of two seated statues in the

Thebes (ll. 12-21); and (4) the early reign (ll. 21-26) of Harmhab. It shows clearly this king's obscure origin and his rise, through continued favor at court, to the kingship. The king who favored him is not mentioned; but the Leyden tomb reliefs (§§ 2 ff.) show that he was a favorite of Ikhnaton. It is possible that he is to be found among Ikhnaton's favorites at Amarna as Patonemhab.^a He also enjoyed the favor of Tutenkhamon,^b and it must have been one of these two kings of whom he speaks; probably the latter. He was the descendant of an old nomarchical house at Alabastronpolis. Rising from such beginnings, throughout the precarious reigns of Ikhnaton's successors, Harmhab skilfully maintained himself, and gradually gained a position of such power that by conciliating the priestly party of Amon, which was then again in the ascendant, he finally succeeded in seizing the throne. Thus, after their long struggle with the Aton heresy, we see the Amonite priests seating a second Pharaoh on the throne, as they had seated Thutmose III. From his home in Alabastronpolis he is led by Horus, as the piously veiled language of the inscription puts it, into the presence of Amon at Thebes, where he is crowned and his

Museum of Turin," representing Harmhab and his wife, Mutnezmet. The two sides also contained texts, which have disappeared, with the exception of nineteen signs on the lady's side, among which her name occurs. The statues are described by Birch (*Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, III, 486 ff.), who gives other references. The text of twenty-six lines was published by Birch (*ibid.*, facing p. 486) from a sketch by Bonomi, which the latter made from a squeeze taken by himself. It is very inaccurate, as Birch evidently worked from the squeeze in translating, and did not revise Bonomi's sketch. It was published again by Brugsch (*Thesaurus*, V, 1073-78), also very inaccurately. I have copied the original in Turin and collated the copy with the Berlin squeeze (No. 1253). This I again collated with the original in Turin.

^a*Recueil*, XV, 50. The tomb of this man is at Amarna. Such a change of name, involving the substitution of Aton for Horus (Har), is common at this time. But I am more inclined to find in Patonemhab the man who was won to Harmhab's cause and became high priest of Re at Heliopolis, with the name Premhab (*Recueil*, XVI, 123 f.).

^bSayce, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXI, 141.

titulary fixed by the gods. To make his claim on the crown legitimate, however, he next proceeds to the palace of the princess, Mutnezmet, the sister of Ikhnaton's queen, Nefernefruatón-Nofretete, who, although advanced in years, was a princess of the royal line, and is there recognized as her husband.

23. After the celebration of a feast in Luxor, the king proceeds northward, to restore the temples of the gods—an interesting indication of the destructive work of Ikhnaton's reform, in abolishing the old cults. Thus the old order and, particularly, the unchecked domination of Amon are restored. The calendar of feasts was immediately resumed and before he left Thebes, he celebrated the Feast of Ptah in his Theban temple. He left a record^a of it in the Ptah-temple there:

Year 1, fourth month of the first season, day 22, of the King Harmhab,^b the day of the feast of "Ptah-South-of-His-Wall," lord of "Life-of-the-Two-Lands" in Thebes; at his feast were founded [the offerings] of the ancestors ————."^c

This record enables us to determine that Harmhab remained in Thebes at least two months; for it is to be inferred that he was present at the above feast, which is about two months later than the Feast of Opet, during which he arrived at Thebes for his coronation.

Youth

24. ————^d [Horus: Mighty Bull, Ready in Plans; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Great in Marvels in Karnak; Golden Horus: Sat-

^aMariette, *Karnak*, Pl. 47, D; Legrain, *Annales*, III, 100.

^bDouble name.

^cDoubtless a list of the restored offerings followed. A stela commemorating Harmhab's pious works in this temple has suffered too much to discern its content (*Annales*, III, 111, 112).

^dThe lacuna contained either: (1) the date, followed as usual by "*under the majesty of*" and the royal titulary; or (2) the frequent opening formula, "*Live the Horus,*" followed by the titulary.

is]^afied with Truth, Creator of the Two Lands;^b King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Zeserkheprure, Setepnere;^c Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Beloved of Amon, Harmhab,^d [Beloved of] Horus, lord of Alabastronpolis^e — ^f 2 — ^g Bull of his mother, Amon, king of gods, was the one who brought him up; Har-si-ese, his guardian was the protector of his limbs. He came forth from the body, clothed with strength; the hue of a god was upon him; he made — ^h 3 — the arm was dropped to him as a child, obeisance among great and small, ⁱ 4 — him food and eatables, while he was a child, without his counsel ^j 5 — great before all the land; the form of a god was in his color, before the beholder of his form, the strength of his father, Horus. He set himself behind him; he that created him exerted his protection. The people brought all ^k 6 — ^l 7 — he knew the day of his satisfaction, to give to him his kingdom.

Appointment to Office

25. Behold, this god exalted his son before all the land;^k he desired to extend his steps, until the coming of the day of his receiving his office, that he might give ^l 8 — of his time. The heart of the king was satisfied with his affairs; (he) rejoiced at his choice; he appointed him to be chief (*r^o-hry*) of the land, to administer the laws of the Two Lands as hereditary prince of all this land; he was unique, without his second. The plans ^m 9 —. [He astonished] the people, by that which came out of his mouth. When he was summoned before the king, the palace, it began to fear. When he opened his mouth, when he replied to the king, he pleased him with that which came out of his mouth. The only excellent one, without ⁿ 10 [his 'second'] —.

^aThe lacking portion of the full titulary is restored from the Karnak pylons of Harmhab, cf. Brugsch-Bouriant, *Le livre des rois*, 56, 57.

^bIncorrectly copied as a *t* by Birch.

^cMeaning: "*Splendid (is) the being of Re, Chosen of Re.*"

^dMeaning: "*Horus at the feast.*"

^eThis shows that the statue came from Alabastronpolis; it is omitted by Brugsch.

^fBirch adds "*Good God*," but it is not in his text.

^hAbout one-third line.

^gAbout one-third line.

ⁱOver one-quarter line.

^jOver one-quarter line. The subject of the verb is some god, as is evident from the next sentence.

^kWith the determinative of people.

^lOver one-quarter line.

^mAbout one-quarter line.

His every plan was in the footsteps of the Ibis.^a His decisions were^b in accord with^b the Lord of Hesret;^a rejoicing in accustomed usage like Thoth, pleased of heart therewith like Ptah. When he woke in the morning, he presented her 'due'; 'the way'⁹————^c his affairs. As for one who walks in her^d way, it is she who protects him on earth forever.

Appointed Deputy

26. Behold, he administered the Two Lands during a period of many years; there reported [to him]^e 10————^c there [bowed down] to him the council in obeisance at the front of the palace, there came to him the chiefs of the Nine Bows, South as well as North; their hands were spread out in his presence, they offered praise to his face as (to) a god. All that was done was done under command 11[from him]^f —————^c. When he came, the fear of him was great in the sight of the people; prosperity and health^g were besought for him; he was greeted: "Father of the Two Lands, excellent counsel of divine gift,^h in order to administer 12—————"^c

Coronation in Thebes

27. [Now, when many days had]ⁱ passed by, while the eldest son of Horus was chief and hereditary prince in this whole land, behold, this august god, Horus, lord of Alabastronpolis, his heart desired to establish his son upon his eternal throne, and [he] commanded 13———— of the —^j of Amon. Horus proceeded with rejoicing to Thebes, city of the lord of eternity, (and with) his son in his embrace to Karnak, to introduce him before Amon, to assign to him his office of king, to pass his life (as such). Behold, 14————^k [they came] with rejoicing at his beautiful feast in Luxor. He^l saw the majesty of this god, Horus, lord of Alabastronpolis, his son being with him as king, introduced in

^aThoth. ^bLit., "a part of." ^cAbout one-quarter line.

^dThe feminine pronoun in this passage refers to "usage" (l. 8).

^eCompare the duties of the vizier, Rekhmire, § 692, l. 22, and § 706, l. 29.

^fOr only the suffix, "his." ^gA greeting accorded only to royalty.

^hLit., "of that which the god gives."

ⁱThe phrase so common in the folk-tales.

^jBirch has "house," but it is not to be gotten from his text.

^kAbout one-eighth line. ^lAmon.

order to give to him^a his office and his throne. Behold, Amon-Re was filled^b with joy when he saw ¹⁵[him coming] on the day of giving his offerings. Then he presented himself to this prince, the hereditary prince, head (*hr-d ʿ d ʿ*) of the Two Lands, Harmhab.

Marriage to Mutnezzmet

28. He proceeded to the palace, he brought him before him to the shrine^c of his revered eldest daughter ¹⁶— —. [She did] obeisance to him, she embraced his beauty, and placed herself before him.

Rejoicing of the Gods

The gods, the lords of the 'fire-chamber' were in exultation because of his coronation; Nekhbet, Buto, Neit, Isis, Nephthys, Horus, Set, all the ennead of gods who preside over the great throne ¹⁷lifted praises to the height of heaven, rejoicing at the satisfaction of Amon: "Behold, Amon hath come, his son before him, to the palace, to set his crown upon his head, to lengthen his whole life. We have gathered together, that we might establish for him ¹⁸—. Let us count for him the adornments^d of Re; let us praise Amon on his behalf: "Thou hast brought to us our protector; grant to him the royal jubilees of Re, the years of Horus as king; for it is he who shall satisfy thy heart in the midst of Karnak, likewise Heliopolis and Memphis; it is he who shall make them splendid."

The Gods Fix the Titulary

29. ¹⁹Let the great name of this Good God, and his titulary be made like (that of) the majesty of Re, as follows:

1. Horus: Mighty Bull, Ready in Plans;
2. Favorite of the Two Goddesses; Great in Marvels in Karnak;
3. Golden Horus: Satisfied with Truth, Creator of the Two Lands;
4. King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Zeserkheprure, Setepnere;
5. Son of Re: Mernamon, Harmhab, given life.

^aThe ambiguity of the pronouns in this and following sentences is also in the original.

^bLit., "*permeated*."

^c*Pr-wr*. There was, therefore, a shrine or chapel of the "*Divine Consort*" in the king's palace.

^dWhich Re once wore as King of Egypt.

Festival in Luxor

30. Then came forth to the ²⁰rear¹ in the palace the majesty of this august god, Amon, king of gods, his son being before him. He embraced his beauty crowned with the royal helmet, in order to assign to him the circuit of the sun.^a The Nine Bows are beneath his feet. Heaven is in festivity, earth hath joy. The ennead of gods of Egypt, their hearts are happy. ²¹Behold, all the land was in joy, they cried out to heaven; great and small, they took up the jubilation; the whole land was rejoicing. After the completion of this feast in Luxor, Amon, king of gods, returned in peace to ²²Thebes^b (*W³ s̄ t*).

Restoration of the Temples

31. His majesty sailed down-stream as the image of Harakhte. Behold, he organized this land; he adjusted according to the time of Re. He restored the temples (from) the pools of the marshes^c to Nubia (*T³ -pd̄ t*). He shaped all their images ²³in number¹ more than before, increasing the beauty in that which he made. Re rejoiced when he saw them, which had been found ruined aforetime. He raised up their temples. He fashioned 100 images with all (their) bodies correct, and with all splendid costly stones. ²⁴He sought the precincts^d of the gods, which were in the districts in this land; he furnished them as they had been since the time of the first beginning. He established for them a daily offering every day; all the vessels of their temples ²⁵were wrought of silver and gold. He equipped them with priests (*w^c b̄ w*), with ritual priests, and with the choicest of the army. He transferred to them lands and cattle, supplied with all equipment.

Prayer for the King

32. They rise early to sing to Re in the morning ²⁶every day: "Mayest thou exalt ^efor us^e the kingdom of thy son who satisfies thy heart, Zeserkheprure, Setepnere (Harmhab). Mayest thou give to him a

^aAton.

^bThe palace was therefore at Luxor; the god has been at Luxor during the feast; he went in procession to the palace, and now returns from Luxor to Karnak.

^cIn the Delta; hence, from the Delta to Nubia. These temples had been neglected since the reform of Amenhotep IV.

^dThis rare word (*b̄ k̄ ȳ t*) will be found applied to the sacred precinct of the cemetery at Abydos (Mariette, *Abydos*, I, Pl. 19, e).

^eBirch has *m* (for *nn*), but as he also renders "for us," it shows clearly that he never revised Bonomi's text of the inscription for publication.

myriad of royal jubilees, and cause him to be victorious over all lands, like Har-si-ese, according as he satisfied thy heart in Heliopolis, united with thy divine ennead."

GRAFFITI IN THE THEBAN NECROPOLIS^a

32A. The significance of these graffiti does not consist alone in the light which they throw upon the history of the robbery of the royal tombs at Thebes, showing that their violation began at least two centuries earlier than we had supposed; but they reveal to us also the state of anarchy which followed the religious revolution of Ikhnaton. It is only at that time that such an act could have taken place at Thebes, and we thus discern the turbulent conditions from which Harmhab rescued the country.

32B. Year 8, third month of the first season (third month), day 1, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Zeserkheprure-Setepnere, Son of Re, Harmhab-Mernamon.

Command of his majesty, L. P. H., to commission the fan-bearer on the king's right hand, king's-scribe, overseer of the treasury, chief of works in the "Eternal Seat" (necropolis), leader of the feast(s) of Amon in Karnak, Meya (*My*), son of the judge, Yui (*Ywy*), born of the matron, Weret, to restore the burial of King Menkheprure (*Mn-hprw-R*^c, Thutmose IV), triumphant, in the august house^b on the west of Thebes.

32C. Beneath is the name of Meya's assistant and the latter's parents:

His assistant, steward of the Southern City (Thebes), Thutmose, son of Hatey (*H²-t-y²y*). His mother, Yuh (*Ywh*), of the City (Thebes).

^aWritten with ink on the wall of one of the lower chambers in the tomb of Thutmose IV in the Valley of the Kings' Tombs at Thebes; published in *The Tomb of Thutmose IV* (Mr. Theodore M. Davis' excavations), by Carter and Newberry, London, 1904, pp. xxxiii-iv, Figs. 7 and 8.

^bHis tomb.

THE WARS OF HARMHAB

33. Very little is recorded of Harmhab's relations with the foreign world. The scattered references on the surviving monuments are gathered here, recording his wars: I, in the North (§§ 34-36); II, in the South (§§ 37-44).

I. IN THE NORTH

34. The character and extent of these wars are very uncertain. The only sources are: (1) a list^a of names, of which remains of eleven are preserved, among which appears Kheta; and (2) a relief ^bshowing Harmhab leading three lines of captives and presenting them to Amon, Mut, and Khonsu. The costumes of the captives and their physiognomy indicate Asiatics. The inscription^c with the middle^d row is as follows:

35. The wretched princes of the Haunebu; [they say: "Hail to] thee! Thy name has encircled the two ends of the earth, among all lands; every land fears because of thy fame; thy fear is in their heart."

36. The lower row has the following:

The wretched princes of —; [they] say: "Hail to thee! like the great ———; [fear] has entered into their bodies, terror is in their hearts."

II. IN THE SOUTH

37. An expedition to Punt, probably of a peaceful nature, is recorded on the wall connecting Harmhab's two Karnak pylons.^e A relief shows the king at the right, holding

^aOn the north side of Karnak Pylon XI; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 178, and *Recueil*, XVI, 42. See Müller, *Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1897, III, 276-78.

^b*Recueil*, XVI, 42 f.

^cPublished also by Wiedemann, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XI, 423.

^dThat of the upper row is lost.

^eRelief and inscriptions on the inside (west side) of the wall north of the door in the middle.

audience, receiving the chiefs of Punt approaching from the left, bearing sacks of gold dust, ostrich feathers, etc.^a Their words are given in an accompanying inscription^b as follows:

38. Speech of the great chiefs of Punt: "Hail to thee, King of Egypt, Sun of the Nine Bows! By thy ka! We knew not Egypt; our fathers had not trodden it. Give us the breath which thou givest. All lands are under thy feet."

39. Another scene^c represents Harmhab presenting the newly acquired products of Punt to Amon, as indicated in the accompanying inscription:

Bringing the tribute, by his majesty, to his father Amon; being the tribute of Punt. "———^d by thy victorious might. Thou hast set their chiefs in tumult, because of thy terror ——— bearing all their tribute upon their backs. Great is thy might in every country."

40. A campaign in Kush is recorded in a series of superb reliefs in the temple which the king had cut in the rocks at Silsileh.

Scene^e

41. The king, accompanied by a fan-bearer and two sunshade-bearers, is seated on his throne, which is borne upon the shoulders of six soldiers. Before him march a priest offering incense, the Negro captives, and three lines of soldiers, whose trumpeter blows a fanfare in salutation of the king.

^aOnly the line of Puntite chiefs is published (Mariette, *Monuments divers*, 88).

^bMariette, *Monuments divers*, 88; Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, II, 57, 3 = *Recueil*, XVII, 43.

^cNowhere published; Wiedemann (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XI, 424) says: "a fragment lying quite near the wall alludes to them [Harmhab's victories], showing flowers and other gifts." He then adds the lower ends of the inscription long ago published, Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 180, but without comment. It is translated above, § 39.

^dAn address of Amon to the king begins in the lacuna.

^eLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 121, a-b.

Words of the Bearers

42. "All health is with thee, O Lord of the Two Lands! Re is the protection of thy limbs."

Description of the Scene

The Good God comes, he triumphs over the princes of every country. His bow is in his hand like the lord of Thebes (Montu), puissant king, mighty in strength, who carries away the princes of wretched Kush, King Zeserkheprure (Harmhab),^a given life. His majesty came from the land of Kush, with the captives which his sword had made, according as his father Amon commanded him.

Scene^b

43. The king stands before Amon, both grasping a wand between them.

Inscription: Words of Amon

I have given to thee triumph over the South, victory over the North.

Scene^c

44. A line of Negro captives advancing toward the first scene.

Words of the Negroes

"Hail to thee, King of Egypt, Sun of the Nine Bows! Thy name is great in the land of Kush, thy battle-cry is in their abodes. It is thy might, O good ruler, that makes the countries into heaps, O Pharaoh, L. P. H.! Thou Sun!"

 EDICT OF HARMHAB^d

45. This is the most important edict which has come down to us from ancient Egypt, and it is much to be regretted

^aUsual double name and titles.

^bBelow at the left, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 20, b.

^cBelow at the right; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 120, a.

^dA large stela discovered by Maspero in February or March, 1882. It is, or when complete was, about five meters high by three wide, and stands against one

that its very fragmentary state, together with the execrable manner in which it has been published, has deprived us of so many of its important data.

The edict contains the practical legislation of Harmhab by means of which he intended to prevent the oppressive abuses connected with the collection of taxes from the common people, who were continually robbed and impoverished by the fiscal officers. This legislation consists of a series of enactments, each of the following form:

a) Statement of the abuse as it existed before this legislation and the king's displeasure at it.

b) Statement of a hypothetical commission of the offense by the officials concerned.

c) Declaration of the penalty to be inflicted.

46. A very interesting question is whether these enactments have preserved on the stela the form and language of the original edict in the royal archives. It seems probable that, beginning with l. 13 (§ 50), we have the *ipsissima verba* of the original document, and that it continued to and included l. 2 (§ 62), although Müller is doubtful on this point.^a

47. The content of the entire inscription is as follows:

of the pylons of Harmhab at Karnak. Over a third of the stone has broken off. The inscription occupies the face and the side edges. It has been copied and published very inaccurately by Bouriant, *Recueil*, VI, 41 ff.; important corrections, which unfortunately include only part of the inscription, by Piehl, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1885, 86 f.; see also *Revue égyptologique*, VIII, 106-9. I am greatly indebted to my friend, Mr. A. H. Gardiner, for a careful copy of the original on the spot. His copy corrects the incredibly numerous errors of Bouriant's publication, and fills out many of the lacunæ therein, though the stone shows loss since Bouriant's copy. Some fragments still surviving when Bouriant made his copy, Mr. Gardiner states, are now missing entirely. An exhaustive study by Müller, with translation and notes, in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1888, 70-94. The present translation owes much to Müller, for which I make general acknowledgment here.

^a*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1888, 75.

Front

Above was an adoration scene,^a showing Harmhab worshipping before Amon.

I. Introduction (ll. 1-10, § 49).

II. Introduction: the king's zeal for the relief of the people (ll. 10-14, § 50).

III. Enactment against robbing the poor of dues for the royal breweries and kitchens (ll. 14-17, § 51).

IV. Enactment against robbing the poor of wood due the Pharaoh (ll. 17, 18, § 52).

V. Enactment against exacting dues from a poor man thus robbed (ll. 18-20, § 53).

VI. Enactment against robbing the poor of dues for the harem or the gods by the soldiers (ll. 20-22, § 54).

VII. Enactment against unlawful appropriation of slave service (ll. 22-24, § 55).

VIII. Enactment against stealing of hides by the soldiers (ll. 25-28, §§ 56, 57).

IX. Enactment against connivance of dishonest inspectors with thievish tax-collectors for a share of the booty (ll. 28-32, § 58).

X. Enactment against stealing vegetables under pretense of collecting taxes (ll. 32-35, § 59).

XI. Enactments too fragmentary for analysis (ll. 35-39; right side, ll. 1, 2, §§ 60-62).

XII. Narrative of the king's reforms, containing also an enactment against corrupt judges (ll. 3-7, §§ 63-65).

XIII. Narrative of the king's monthly audiences and largesses (ll. 7-10, § 66).

XIV. Laudation of the king, and conclusion (left side, § 67).

^aVery fragmentary; it is the only source from which we gain the name of the king who issued the edict; Pl., *Recueil*, VI. Mr. Gardiner states that it is now missing.

48. In the translation it has been necessary to indicate the connection between the beginnings of the lines, a large portion of the ends having been lost.^a These connecting insertions contain only what was probably the intervening thought, without any attempt to reproduce the lost words.^b

I. INTRODUCTION

49. 1. 10.^c

II. INTRODUCTION: THE KING'S ZEAL FOR THE RELIEF OF THE PEOPLE (LL. 10-14)

50. His majesty took counsel with his heart [how he might]¹ ————^d 11[exp]el evil and suppress lying. The plans of his majesty were an excellent refuge,^e repelling violence behind ————^d [and delivering the Egyptians from 12the oppressions¹] which were among them. Behold, his majesty spent the whole time seeking the welfare of Egypt and searching out instances 9[of oppression in the land].^g ————^d [came the scribe¹] 13of his majesty. Then he seized palette and roll; he put it into writing according to all that his majesty, the king himself said. He spoke as follows: "[My majesty] commands ———— [concerning all¹] 14instances of oppression in the land.

*Bouriant says: "Des lignes visibles aujourd'hui les quatre premières ne présentent plus que quelques signes très mutilés et ne pouvant fournir aucun sens; les vingt-deux suivantes ont perdu environ les deux tiers de leur longueur primitive, quelques-unes même ont perdu plus encore. A partir de la vingt-sixième, les lignes gagnent en longueur mais elles sont coupées de lacunes fréquentes." This is verified by Mr. Gardiner's scale copy. After l. 31 they rapidly decrease in length, and become so fragmentary that a coherent rendering is impossible.

^bThey often follow Müller, but I have carefully verified his conclusions in every case.

^cSee Bouriant's remark above (note a); the lines contained the usual eulogistic introduction with names and titles of the king. Its length, one-fourth of the entire inscription, is unusual.

^dAbout two-thirds of a line.

^eSame phrase applied to Amenhotep III (II, 916, l. 35).

^fMüller inserts here a fragment containing the ends of three lines, which should conclude ll. 11, 12, and 13. These ends fit 13 very well, 11 fairly, and 12 not at all; for some reason Müller has ignored the end of l. 12, or it would have been apparent that the alleged fragment of the end of l. 12 does not connect with the beginning of l. 13.

^gRestored from l. 14.

III. ENACTMENT AGAINST ROBBING THE POOR OF DUES FOR THE ROYAL BREWERIES AND KITCHENS (LL. 14-17)

51. If the poor man made for himself a craft with its sail, in order to be able to serve the Pharaoh, L. P. H., [loading it with the dues for the breweries and kitchens of the Pharaoh, and he was robbed of the craft and]¹⁵ the dues, the poor man stood reft of his goods and stripped of his many labors¹. [This is wrong, and the Pharaoh will suppress it by]¹⁶ his excellent measures. If there be^a a [poor man]¹ who pays the dues of the breweries and kitchens of the Pharaoh, L. P. H., to the two³ deputies, [and he be robbed of his goods and his craft, my majesty commands: that every officer who seizeth the dues]¹⁷ and taketh the craft of any citizen (^c *nh*) of the army or of any person who is in the whole land, the law shall be executed against him, in that his nose shall be cut off, and he shall be sent to Tha[ru].^b

IV. AGAINST ROBBING THE POOR OF WOOD DUE THE PHARAOH (LL. 17, 18)

52. [Furthermore, concerning the impost of wood, my majesty commands that if any officer find]¹⁸ a poor man without a craft, then let him bring to him a craft for his impost from another, and let him send him to bring for him the wood; thus he^c shall serve [the Pharaoh].

V. AGAINST EXACTING DUES FROM A POOR MAN THUS ROBBED (LL. 18-20)

53. [Furthermore, my majesty commands that if any poor man be oppressed by]¹ [robber]y, ¹⁹his cargo be emptied by theft of them, and the poor man stand reft of his goods, [no further exactions for dues shall be made from him]²⁰ when he has nothing. For it is not good, this report of very great injustice. My majesty commands that restitution be made to him; behold, ———.

^aText has "stand."

^bThis is a remarkable corroboration of Strabo, who mentions Rhinocolura as "so called from the colonists, whose noses had been mutilated. Some Ethiopian invaded Egypt and, instead of putting the malefactors to death, cut off their noses and settled them at Rhinocolura. . . ." (XVI, II, § 31; translation of Hamilton and Falconer, III, 176). See also Herodotus, II, 137, and Diodorus, I, 60 and 65; and Müller, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1888, 81.

^cThe ambiguity of the pronouns is also in the original.

VI. AGAINST ROBBING THE POOR OF DUES FOR THE HAREM
OR THE GODS BY THE SOLDIERS (LL. 20-22)

54. [Furthermore, as for those who¹] ———— ²¹and those who bring to the harem, likewise for the offerings of all gods, paying dues to the [two] deputies of the army and ———— [my majesty commands that if any officer is guilty of extortions or thefts¹], ²²the law [shall be executed] against him, in that his nose^a shall be cut off, and (he) shall be sent to Tharu [T² -rw] likewise.

VII. AGAINST UNLAWFUL APPROPRIATION OF SLAVE
SERVICE (LL. 22-24)

55. When the officers (*sgm'w*) of the Pharaoh's house of offerings have gone about tax-collecting in the towns, to take [katha (*k² -t²*)-plant], [they have seized the slaves of the people, and kept them at work¹] ²³for 6 days or 7 days, without one's being able to depart from them [afar¹], so that it was an excessive detention indeed. It shall be done likewise^b against them¹. If there be any place [where the stewards shall be tax-collecting, and any one¹] ²⁴shall hear, saying: "They are tax-collecting, to take katha-plant [for themselves,¹] and another shall come to report, saying: "My man slave (or) my female slave has been taken away [and detained many days at work by the stewards;" it shall be done likewise against them¹].

VIII. AGAINST STEALING OF HIDES BY THE SOLDIERS
(LL. 25-28)

56. ²⁵The two divisions^c of troops which are in the field, one in the southern region, the other in the northern region, stole hides in the whole land, not passing a year, without applying the [brand^{1d} of [the

^aSee note on l. 17.

^bThe same punishment inflicted as in §§ 51 and 54; this is not the place for the penalty, which heretofore has followed, not after the narrative of the crime, but after a second, hypothetical statement of the crime. It is therefore anticipatory, and hence the full statement of the penalty, as in §§ 51 and 54, may have been repeated in the lacuna at the end.

^cThis important statement defines the two great divisions of the army, and shows that Herodotus' division of the Egyptian army of his time into Kalasiries and Hermotybies is not a late arrangement. See Müller, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1888, 82-84, and Wiedemann, *Herodots Zweites Buch*, 573-77.

^dText has "fire."

royal house to cattle which were not due to them, thereby increasing¹ ²⁶their¹ number, and stealing that which was stamped from them. They went out from house to house, beating and 'plundering¹ without leaving a hide for ['the people ———. Then the officer¹] of Pharaoh went about 'to each one,¹ ['to collect the hides charged against him, and came to the people demanding¹] ²⁷them¹, but the hides were not found with them ('although¹) the 'amount charged¹ against them could be established. They satisfied them,^a saying: "They have been stolen from us." A wretched case is this, 'therefore¹ it shall be [done] likewise.^b

57. When the overseer of the cattle of Pharaoh, L. P. H., goes about to attend to the loan-herds^c in the whole land, and there be not brought to him the hides of the —^d which are on the 'lists¹,^e ['he shall not hold the people responsible for the hides if they have them not, but they shall be released by command of his majesty,¹] ²⁸according to his just purposes.^f As for any citizen (^c *nh*) of the army, (concerning) whom one shall hear, saying: "He goeth about stealing hides," beginning with this day, the law shall be executed against him, by beating him a hundred blows, opening five wounds, and taking from him by force the hides which he took.^g

IX. AGAINST CONNIVANCE OF DISHONEST INSPECTORS WITH THIEVISH TAX-COLLECTORS, FOR A SHARE OF THE BOOTY (LL. 28–32)

58. Now, as for this other instance of evil which the ['official staff^h were accustomed to commit, when they held inspection¹] ⁱ in the land, of that which happenedⁱ ['against the law¹], [the table-scribe of] ²⁹the queen and the table-scribe of the harem went about after the official staff,

^aThe officers, here pluralized.

^bThe same punishment inflicted as in §§ 51 and 54.

^cHerds of the Pharaoh which were contracted to be maintained by private individuals; see also Amen (I, 522, ll. 16, 17; cf. Müller, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1888, 85–86).

^dOnly the determinative of the fallen enemy or criminal is preserved.

^eOnly an *r* is visible; perhaps to be read *rh·t*, "list."

^fThe meaning probably is that the cattle loaned on contract by the Pharaoh sometimes died, in which case the people must show the hides. These the corrupt officials often stole before the overseer of cattle arrived.

^gLit., "thievishly," but see Spiegelberg, *Studien*, 68.

^h*Knb·t?*

ⁱFragment placed by Müller.

punishing^a them and investigating the 'affair'^b — — of the one who sailed down- or up-river. One investigated it among the officials in the time of the King Menkheperre (Thutmose III).^c Now, when the one who sailed down- or up-river whom they took; and when ['the superior officials of'] [the king],^d Menkheperre, went about^d ['after these officials'] ³⁰'each year,' [that they might make an'] expedition to the 'city,' and that these superior officials might come to these officials, saying: "Give thou [to us] the consideration for the careless expedition;"^e then, behold, the Pharaoh, L. P. H., made the expedition at the feast of Opet^f each year without carelessness. One prepared the way before the Pharaoh [and questioned the local magistrate, wherever he¹] landed,^d ['concerning the ³¹corrupt official'] causing him to '—' what he (the corrupt official) was like. As for the one who goes about again, afterward, to seek the consideration — —, then these officials shall go about with the expedition^g concerning the affairs of these poor people ——— ³²———. ^h My majesty commands to prevent that one shall do thus, beginning with this day ———ⁱ the landing; he is the one against whom one shall prosecute it.

X. AGAINST STEALING VEGETABLES UNDER PRETENSE OF COLLECTING TAXES (LL. 32-35)

59. Likewise the 'collection' of vegetables for the breweries [and kitchens of the Pharaoh and] ——— ['Extortion was practiced, ³³and the officials plundered'] the poor, taking the best of their vegetables, saying: "They are for the impost [of the Pharaoh]." [Thus they] robbed the poor of their 'labors,' so that a double ['impost was levied. Now, my majesty commands that as for any officials who come to'] collect vegetables [for] the impost of Pharaoh, L. P. H., in the

^aRead "cc" and see Gardiner, *Inscription of Mes*, 21, note 59; also p. 40.

^bMüller supplies *nkt*, "affair," which is exceedingly probable.

^cThe following is a description of the conditions under Thutmose III.

^dFragment.

^eThe meaning is: "We have gone about carelessly, intentionally overlooking your extortions; now divide with us."

^fEarly in October, when he had returned from the summer's campaign in Syria (see II, 409, 410).

^gMeaning perhaps the expedition of the king, thus preventing collusion.

^hAbout ten or twelve words.

ⁱEight or ten words.

arbors,^a and the — houses of the estates of Pharaoh, L. P. H., and the — of Pharaoh which contain vegetables,^b (concerning whom^c) one shall hear, saying: "They — for any [—]^d of any citizen (^c *nḥ*) of the army, or [any] people, [beginning with this day, the law shall be executed against them]^e ——— 35 — — transgressing commands.

XI. ENACTMENTS TOO FRAGMENTARY FOR ANALYSIS (LL. 35-39, AND RIGHT SIDE, LL. 1 AND 2)

60. The fragmentary condition of ll. 35-39 makes any coherent rendering impossible. They contain, however, a new enactment of the greatest interest regarding taxation of grain, in which there is an apparent contrast between the property owners, or citizens of the city, and the poor, thus:

61. Now as for these officials of the [herds]¹, who go about [—] in the southern region or the northern region collecting grain from the [citizens]^f of the city^g.³⁶. going about in the southern region or northern region collecting^g from the poor. . . .^h

62. ⁱ ——— going about taking possession to bring every citizen,^j to cause them to see ——— (concerning whom) one shall hear, (saying) "^a ——— a crime, ——— collectors of the harem who go about in the [towns tax-collecting]¹ ——— the [—] of the fishermen ——— carrying the ——— .

^aDoubtless to be read: *wt n(t)-ḥt*, like the *t-nt-ḥt* of IV, 194, 264; and IV, 1021.

^bVegetable products in general are thus designated.

^cThe antecedent is "*officials*" (end of l. 33); see l. 28.

^dJudging from l. 28, one would expect: "They steal vegetables, etc.," but Mr. Gardiner's copy clearly forbids.

^eAfter l. 28. ^fThe following context shows that we must read *nḥ*.^w.

^gIndications of measurements are given here, which need special study.

^hFragments of three lines more are visible.

ⁱProceeding to the right side (miscalled left by Bouriant). This text is so fragmentary that I have made no attempt to indicate the length of the lost portions, or my own omissions.

^j*T'w*.

XII. NARRATIVES OF THE KING'S REFORMS, CONTAINING
ALSO AN ENACTMENT AGAINST CORRUPT JUDGES
(LL. 3-7)

Appointment of Two Judges

63. ³I have improved this entire land — — — I have sailed it, as far as south of the wall,^a I have given ———, I have learned its whole interior, I have traveled it entirely in its midst,^b I have searched in ——— ⁴[[and I have sought two officials¹]^c perfect in speech, excellent in good qualities, knowing how to judge the innermost heart,^d hearing the words of the palace, the laws of the judgment-hall. I have appointed them to judge the Two Lands, to satisfy those who are in ———. [[I have given to each one¹] his seat; I have set them in the two great cities^e of the South and the North; every land among them cometh to him^f without exception; I have put before them regulations in the daily register [of the palace]^g ——— ⁵— — ¹I have directed [them] to the way of life, I lead them^h to the truth, I teach them,^h saying: "Do not associate with others of the people;ⁱ do not receive the reward of another, not hearing — — — —. 'How, then, shall those¹ like you judge others, while there is one among you committing a crime against justice.

Now, as to the obligation of silver and gold — ⁶— — [my] majesty remits it, in order that there be not collected an obligation of anything from the official staff (*knb·t*) of the South and North.^j

^aProbably not a reference to Ptah, but to some southern limit of the kingdom.

^bSee similar statements by Amenemhet III (I, 482, ll. 10, 11).

^cThe reference to "*him*" (in l. 4) shows that there were but two of these judges, one in each of the two cities. The two viziers must be meant. Mr. Gardiner, however (*Inscription of Mes*, 34), regards the passage as referring to the two great courts of the South and North (*knb·t c·t*).

^dLit., "*that which is in the body*" (Coptic *maht*, "viscera"), meaning the thoughts of a man.

^eThebes and either Memphis or Heliopolis, probably the latter.

^fThat is, every man with a complaint comes for redress to the official in whose jurisdiction he lives.

^gRestored from Annals, (year 31, II, 472, l. 13).

^hOmitted by Müller.

ⁱJust what misdeed is implied in this first admonition is not clear. See l. 35 of the front, and Müller, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1888, 92.

^jMüller thinks this refers to a percentage paid the state by the judges from the income of their office. (This is shown to be a fact by the inscriptions of Rekh-

Punishment of Bribery

64. Now, as for any official or any priest (concerning whom) it shall be heard, saying: "He sits, to execute judgment among the official staff (*ḳnb·t*) appointed for judgment, and he commits a crime against justice therein;" it shall be against him a capital crime.^a Behold, my majesty has done this, to improve the laws of Egypt, in order to cause that another should not be — — ^{b7}———.

Appointment of Local Courts

65. [Behold, my majesty appointed¹] the official staff (*ḳnb·t*) of the divine fathers, the prophets of the temples, the officials (*ḥ² tyw*) of the court (*ḥmw*) of this land and the priests of the gods who comprise the official staff (*ḳnb·t*) out of desire that they shall judge the citizens (*ḥ^c nḥ·w*) of every city. My majesty is legislating for Egypt, to prosper the life of its inhabitants; when he^c appeared upon the throne of Re. Behold, the official staffs (*ḳnb·t*) have been appointed in the whole land — all — to comprise the official staffs (*ḳnb·t*) in the cities according to their rank.

XIII. THE KING'S AUDIENCES AND LARGESSES (LL. 7-10)

66. ⁸——— They^d went around — times a month, [which¹ he 'made¹ for them like a feast; every man sat down at a portion of every good thing, of good bread, and meat of the storehouses, of royal provision ———;^e their voices reached heaven, praising all benefits — the heart of all the soldiers of the army. ⁹[The king appeared to the people¹] — — throwing (gifts) to them from the balcony^f while every man was called by his name by the king himself. They came forth from the presence rejoicing, laden^g with the provision of the royal

mire, II, 716 ff.) Owing to the strict prohibition of bribery, the king now remits this payment, allowing the judges to keep all their income from the people.

^aLit., "a great crime of death."

^bSee Spiegelberg, *Studien*, 50 f.

^cAs the king is speaking, the first person is to be expected here.

^dThese must be the inspecting officials who are thus so liberally provided for that they have no occasion to accept bribes, etc.

^eFive or six broken words.

^fThe palace balcony; cf. Great Karnak Inscription of Merneptah (§ 587, l. 48, and note).

^gLit., "victualled."

house; yea, they took [grain-heaps¹] in the granary, every one of them [bore¹] barley and spelt, there was not found one who had nothing ——— to their cities. [If¹] they did not complete the circuit therein within three days, [— —] their khetkhet-officers hastened after them to the place where they were immediately. They were found there ———.

XIV. LAUDATION OF THE KING, AND CONCLUSION^a

67. Little can be made out of these nine lines. In line 9, the conclusion of the whole edict can be discerned:

Hear ye these commands which my majesty has made for the first time governing the whole land, when my majesty remembered these cases of oppression^b which occur before this land.

TOMB OF NEFERHOTEP^c

68. This beautiful tomb, so well known to the tourist visitors at Thebes, contains wall scenes and inscriptions of great importance for the study of religious and mortuary customs. But it also contains one scene of historical importance, depicting the honors received by Neferhotep at the hands of his king, Harmhab.

Scene

69. At the right, in a balcony, stands King Harmhab, wearing a helmet, and carrying the royal scourge. He is accompanied by two attendants. Before him is a court

^aNine lines on the left side (incorrectly called right by Bouriant). According to Mr. Gardiner, there were originally ten lines.

^bSee ll. 12 and 14 (front), § 50.

^cIn the cliff of Assasf at Thebes; published by Bénédict in *Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, V, 489-540, and Pls. I-VI; partially by Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, xl, to xl, e, and *Flotte*, XXX and XXXIII; and Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, I, Pl. 37. This tomb is not to be confused with that of another Neferhotep in the cliff of Shekh Abd-el-Kurna, and published by Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 546-51, 853 f.; Champollion, *Monuments*, 172 ff.; Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, 130, 131, 134; and Wilkinson, *Manners*.

marshal, accompanied by the two viziers, and behind these Neferhotep, with arms uplifted in rejoicing, is being decorated with golden collars by two attendants. Golden collars and bracelets, also intended for him, are lying on a table before the balcony. The accompanying inscriptions are these:

Over King's-Attendants

70. Superintendent of a royal domain, king's-butler, king's-attendant in every place.

Before King

71. Year 3 under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Zeserkheprure-Setepnere (Harmhab).

Lo, his majesty appeared, like the sun in his palace of satisfying life, after offering bread to his father, Amon. At his coming forth from the Gold-House, acclamation passed through the whole land; and rejoicing, it reached heaven. The divine father of Amon, Neferhotep was summoned to receive the favor of the king's-presence: myriads of everything, of silver, gold, garments, ointment, bread, beer, meat, and cakes, at the command of my lord Amon, who secures my favor in the (royal) presence.

72. The ritual priest, pleasing the heart of Amon, Neferhotep; he says: "How many are the possessions of him who knows the gifts of that god, the king of gods. Wise is he who knows him, favored is he who serves him, there is protection for him who follows him, he is the sun of his body, the Aton who is his, [forever]^a and ever.

73. After the presentation, Neferhotep, wearing his collars of gold, is met by his brother, Amenemyenet. Over his head is his name with the words: "*Rewarded with silver and gold by the king himself.*" He is followed by another priest, wearing similar collars, and accompanied by the following words:

Arrival in peace, bearing the favor of the king, by the divine father of Amon, Perennefer, triumphant.

^a*Nhh* must have fallen out here, but it is lacking in both publications.

REIGN OF RAMSES I

WADI HALFA STELA^a

74. This stela was erected by Ramses I in commemoration of his pious works at the temple of Horus of Bohen (Halfa). These works consisted of new offerings, an increase in the number of priests and servants, and an addition to the temple building. Seti I, in recording on a second stela his own works in this temple, uses the identical form and words of his father's stela,^b with the exception of the new building record which Seti, who built nothing here, omits. The occurrence of Seti I's name as king at the bottom shows that he was coregent with his father in the latter's second year. His father died not more than six months after the erection of this stela (§ 157), and reigned a maximum of two and a half years.

75. The reference to the "*captivity of his majesty*" (l. 8) would indicate that Ramses I had somewhere in Nubia carried on war; but as the inscription places him in Memphis, the occurrence of Seti I's name at the bottom may indicate that he (Seti) carried on the campaign, evidently in Nubia.

Introduction

76. ¹Year 2, second month of the second season, twentieth day. Live the Horus: Mighty Bull, Flourishing in Kingship; Favorite of the

^aDiscovered by Champollion in 1829 in the southernmost of the two temples at Wadi Halfa (Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 32), and published by him (*Monuments*, I, 1, No. 2, and partially, *Notices descriptives*, I, 32-34); again by Rosellini (*Monumenti Storici*, 45, No. 1), and finally by Brugsch (*Thesaurus*, V, 1233 f.). Now in the Louvre (C 59), where I made the copy of it used in the accompanying translation.

^bAs both monuments are fragmentary, it is possible to fill up all the lacunæ in Ramses I's monument by reference to Seti's, except one. The brackets in the translation therefore represent restorations from Seti's stela.

Two Goddesses: Shining as King, like — [Golden Horus]: ———
²in the Two Lands; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Menpehtire;
 Son of Re: Ramses (I), beloved of Amon, lord of Thebes and Min-
 si-ese, ³appearing upon the Horus-throne of the living, like his father,
 Re, every day.

Establishment of Offerings

77. Lo, his majesty was in the city [of Memphis (*H' t-k' -Pth*)] performing the ceremonies ⁴of his father, Amon-Re, Ptah-South-of-His-Wall, lord of "Life-of-the-Two-Lands," and all the gods of Egypt (*T' -mry*), according as they gave to him [might and victory over all lands], ⁵united with one heart in praising thy ka. All lands, all countries, the Nine Bows are overthrown ———. ⁶His majesty, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Menpehtire (Ramses I), given life, commanded to establish divine offerings for his father, Min-Amon, residing in B[ohen, the first^a of] his [establishment] ⁷in his temple: 12 (*pr' t-s*) loaves; 100 (*by' t*) loaves; 4 (*ds*) jars of beer; 10 bundles of vegetables.

Establishment of Priests

78. Likewise [this temple was filled with prophets, ritual priests] ⁸and priests (*w' b*); his storehouse was filled with male and female slaves, of the captivity of his majesty, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menpehtire (Ramses I), [given life, like Re, forever and ever].

New Building

79. ⁹His majesty was — watchful, he was not slothful in seeking excellent things to do them for his father] ¹⁰Min-Amon, residing in Bohen (*Bhny*), making for him a temple like the horizon of heaven, wherein Re [rises].

Here follows the double name of Seti I without connection with the preceding; it concludes the inscription.

^aThis was possibly not "first" in Ramses I's inscription; but it probably was so, or the number of his establishment would not be mentioned at all.

REIGN OF SETI I

KARNAK RELIEFS^a

80. These reliefs form the most important document surviving from Seti I's reign, being practically our only source for his wars. Unfortunately, their function was a religious one; they furnish us a series of scenes presenting the wars of Seti I in their religious aspect, accompanied by a few meager explanatory inscriptions annexed to the principal actors in each scene. These scenes, like the Annals of Thutmose III, again illustrate the nature of the compact between the Pharaoh and his god: on the one hand, the god grants the Pharaoh the might which prevails over all the nations; on the other, the Pharaoh offers to the god the captives and the plunder thus gained. According to these scenes, the wars of Seti have but one aspect, and that is religious. Even in the arrangement of the scenes on the wall this is evident. Distributed symmetrically on each side of the temple door (see Fig. 1), the action of the suc-

^aThis, the most extensive series of war reliefs in Egypt, occupies the exterior of the entire northern wall of the great hypostyle hall in Karnak, and extends also eastward around the corner onto the eastern face of the eastern wall of the hall. The reliefs are arranged in three rows, one above the other, all of the top row being lost except one scene (see Fig. 1). They have been often published, and a statement of the publications will be found inserted in each scene (Fig. 1). But none of the publications meets the demands of modern epigraphic accuracy. I arranged all the inscriptions as given by the several publications in parallel columns, and checked these to some extent by photographs; but my photographs were unfortunately made after the lower row was again encumbered by débris. What purports to be an accurate publication of the inscriptions collated with photographs is given by Guieysse (*Recueil*, XI, 52-77). I collated over half of Guieysse's publication, and found it so excessively inaccurate that it was useless to insert its variants, and I did not employ it further. (See my note, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 37, 139, n. 5.) On the princes in these reliefs, see my remarks, *ibid.*, 37, 130-39.

cessive scenes converges on that door, until the final scenes on each side of it represent the culminating sacrifice in the temple itself in the presence of the god. At the two extreme ends, as far from the door as possible, are the battles and marches of the war in distant lands; moving toward the door follow the capture and deportation of prisoners, the arrival in Egypt, the presentation of prisoners and spoil to Amon, and finally on either side of the door itself the slaying of captive princes, who are thus sacrificed in the temple by the king himself in the presence of Amon.

81. The only date in these reliefs is that of the year 1, which occurs only with the reliefs of the Shasu campaign. It is absurd to suppose that Seti I completed a war with the Libyans, a campaign against the Shasu, the conquest of Palestine and some of southern Syria, and a war with the Hittites, and finally accomplished the return to Thebes, all in one year.

In the opinion of the present writer, the arrangement above described indicates at least two great periods of war, each made by the artist to culminate in a human sacrifice before Amon.^a The first (east of the door, Scenes 1-11) is a war in the year 1^b against the Shasu, followed by a

^aThis does not overlook the fact that the geographical list accompanying each sacrificial scene is identically the same. The whole series of scenes was planned after the completion of Seti's conquests, and the total territory gained could not, of course, then be cut up and assigned to different campaigns. Moreover, these two lists are only intended to convey the impression of vast conquest, and are so full of mistakes and repetitions as to show clearly that their compiler had no definite idea of the territory covered.

^bThis date occurs only on the east side of the door (thrice, Scene 3, Scene 8, and Scene 9, all in the Shasu row), and dates both beginning and end of of Seti's first campaign. There is no more reason for supposing that the Syrian campaign on the west side of the door, which bears no date, necessarily took place in year 1, than that two contiguous undated campaigns of Thutmose III must belong to the same year.

East Face of Wall.		3rd Row Lost.					North Door of Hypostyle	
3rd row								
2nd row	Submission of Chiefs of Lebanon. CND 87-88; CM 290; RMS 461		4 89-90 Capture of Yenoam CND 88; RMS 46, 2.		6 95-7 Binding Prisoners. CND 88; RMS 47, 1.		7 95-7 Carrying away Prisoners. CND 88-89; CM 291; RMS 47, 2.	
1st row	3 87-8 Capture of Pekanan CND 86; CM 290; RMS 46, 2; LD 126a.		1 83-4 March through Southern Palestine. CND 90; RMS 49, 1; LD 126b.		2 85-6 Battle with the Shasu. CND 90-91; RMS 49, 2; LD 127a; BR 48c.		8 98-103 Reception in Egypt. CND 91-94; CM 292; RMS 50-51 LD 128ab; BR 48d-49ab. Burton, Exc. Hier. 36.	
							10 109-12 Presentation of Syrians to Amon. CND 89; RMS 48, 1; LD 127b; BR 49cd.	
							11 113-9 Slaying Prisoners before Amon. CND 95-97; CM 294; RMS 60-61; BR 50c-d.	

I. Campaigns against Shasu and Syria. Scenes 1 to 11; East of Door.

North Door of Hypostyle.

Lost		16 140-1 Capture of Kadesh. CND 97; CM 295; RMS 53; BR 45 a.		3rd row	
20 Slaying Prisoners before Amon. CM (list only) 289; CND 106-112; LD 129; BR 50b.	15 135-9 Presentation of Libyans to Amon. CND 100-101; CM 299; RMS 56; BR 47 abcd-48ab.	14 133-4 Return from Libyan War. CND 99-100; CM 298; RMS 55; BR 45de.	13 123-3 Second Battle with Libyans. CND 98-99; CM 297, 2, RMS 54, 2.	12 120-2 First Battle with Libyans. CND 98; CM 297, 1; RMS 54, 1.	2nd row
	19 149-51 Presentation of Hittites to Amon. CND 104-106; CM 302; RMS 59; BR 47efg.	18 145-8 Carrying off Hittite Prisoners. CND 103-104; CM 301; RMS 58; LD 130b; BR 46 a-e.	17 142-4 Battle with the Hittites. CND 102-103; CM 300; RMS 57; LD 130a; BR 45bc.		1st row

II. Campaigns against Libyans and Hittites. Scenes 12 to 20, West of Door.

FIG. I.—Plan of the Reliefs of Seti I, on the North Wall of the Great Hall of Karnak (each scene is numbered in the middle at the top; the numbers in the upper right-hand corners are the paragraphs of the translations herein. The abbreviations of the publications are: CND=Champollion, *Notices descriptives*; CM=Champollion, *Monuments*; RMS=Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*; LD=Lepsius, *Denkmäler*; BR=Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*).

campaign to the north as far east as the Hauran;^a thence westward along the Phœnician coast, perhaps as far as Simyra, and Ullaza; the second, preceded by a subordinate campaign against the Libyans, is the further prosecution of the Syrian conquest. The method pursued is exactly that of Thutmose III in his conquest of 130 years before (II, 396), viz., first to gain control of the Phœnician coast, and thoroughly establish connection with Egypt by sea, so that reinforcements and supplies for the next campaign might land at one of the Phœnician harbors from which as a base he could move upon the interior of Syria, especially the Orontes valley.^b From the coast the war was now carried inland and northward between the Lebanons, where the Egyptians met the Hittites for the first time in battle.^c It

^aProfessor G. A. Smith discovered a monument showing Seti I worshipping Amon and Mut in the Hauran, in 1901, at "Tell-esh-Shihâb" (*Athenæum*, July 6, 1901; *Académie des Inscriptions*, October 18, 1901). But see § 140.

^bThat Seti follows the method of Thutmose III is evident at every step. His first campaign, like that of Thutmose III, is through southern Palestine; then, like Thutmose III, he moves northward through Palestine and subdues the Lebanon. Before Thutmose III can move upon Kadesh, he secures the Phœnician coast (fifth campaign), and attacks Kadesh the next season. It can be no accident that the campaign of Seti's first year subdues Lebanon and the Phœnician coast, while the (undated) campaign west of the door shows him in the Hittite country on the Orontes. The undated Hittite campaign here clearly bears the same relation to the coast campaign as in the case of Thutmose III.

^cA glance at Fig. 1 will show that the arrangement of the wars on each side of the door strikingly indicates that they fall into two groups. One row on each side is a preliminary campaign near home, while the other rows on each side are the more important distant battles and conquests, thus:

Lost	Door	Lost	Kadesh
Syria (without date)		Libya (without date)	
Shasu (year 1)		Hittites (without date)	

We thus get two groups of wars: (1) Shasu-Syrian wars; (2) Libyan-Hittite wars. The further question now arises, whether each row does not represent a separate war. This is clearly the case with the two lower rows on the right-hand

is possible that Seti at this time reached even as far north as Naharin, as he claims in his lists;^a but the Hittite power was evidently not broken, and Seti could not push his permanent northern boundary beyond an east-and-west line running through the Phœnician coast (probably well south), eastward into the Hauran, and his son, Ramses II, was obliged to spend long years in the struggle for the upper Orontes valley (§§ 294 ff.).^b

82. 1. In harmony with the supposition of several campaigns in Asia is the fact that Seti numbered his campaigns, or at least began to do so. Furthermore, on returning from the campaign of the year 1, a rebellion is announced to him, as in the case of Thutmose IV (II, 826) for example, calling for a further campaign. A stela,^c erected in the Ptah-temple at Karnak in his first year after his return from the first campaign, runs thus:

side of the door; on the left-hand side it is probable, for only the Shasu war is dated, and he returns from that war (Scene 8) by land, of course, whereas he would more probably return by sea (as did Thutmose III), had he pushed on directly from the Shasu war into Syria, and gained possession of the Phœnician coast. If, therefore, each row represents a different war, Seti fought at least four Asiatic campaigns (besides the Libyan war), of which one is in the south and three in the north.

^aIt must not be forgotten that, with the exception of the scene of the capture of Kadesh (Scene 16, Fig. 1), the entire uppermost row of Seti's reliefs (that is, about one-third of them) is lost. As the capture of Kadesh shows, this uppermost row dealt with his northernmost advance inland. We may therefore have lost in this row full corroboration of the northern advance claimed in the lists.

^bOther references to Seti's conquests are few in number: (1) The Wadi Halfa Stela (§§ 157 ff.). (2) The stela of Hori from Abydos (Mariette, *Abydos*, II, 51, which is incorrectly numbered 57), where Seti is seen before Osiris saying: "*I have made for thee great herds of cattle from the captivity of my might.*" Hori's titles were: "*Overseer of herds of the house (h't) of Menmare, (named:) 'The-Heart-is-Satisfied-in-Abydos,' and mayor, Hori, belonging to 'The-Tower (bhn)-of-Ramses.'*" The last is some fortified place (cf. Scene 3) established or named by Seti's father, Ramses, from which Hori came. (3) The Elephantine Stela (§§ 203, 204); (4) He is called: "*Slayer of Palestine, smiler of Kush,*" in a rock inscription at Silsileh (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 141, g). (5) The list on the north wall, Karnak (*loc. cit.*, III, 144; see note on Scene 11, § 114, note).

^cLegrain, *Annales*, III, 112, 113.

¹Year 1 under the majesty of Seti I⁵ . . .^a His majesty returned with glad heart from his first victorious campaign, ⁶when his onset passed over every country, and he took captive the rebellious countries by the puissance of his father, Amon, who decreed to him victorious might. He puts himself before him with glad heart ⁷furnishing ¹protection¹ for his son, assigning to him South, North, West, and East. They who invade his border are gathered together and delivered into his hand. There is none that thrusts aside his hand, carrying away their chiefs ⁸as living captives, with their tribute upon their backs, presenting them to his august father, Amon, and his associate gods, in order to fill their storehouse with male and female slaves, ⁹the captivity of every country. Lo, his majesty was at the Southern City (Thebes), performing the pleasing ceremonies of his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes ———.

2. The announcement of hostilities,^b by a messenger who found the king thus engaged, unquestionably followed. This cannot be the announcement of the Shasu invasion of the year 1, which is already past. It can only be that of the Libyans, who are now invading the Delta. This supposition becomes extremely probable, if not a certainty, when we note that Seti I spent the next year in the Delta, as proved by the bills^c for the maintenance of his court during year 2 and part of year 3. They show that Seti spent practically the whole of the year 2 in the Delta,^d Memphis, or Heliopolis. This would indicate that he fought the Libyan war in that year.

^aFull title and several lines of conventional encomium.

^bAs so frequently in such inscriptions, e. g., II, 826.

^cPapyri in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, published by Spiegelberg, *Rechnungen aus der Zeit Seti I.* The numbers used are his.

^dIn year 2 he was at Memphis from the second to the fourth of the first month (Bill 2); in the eastern Delta on the seventh, and in the same place from the fourteenth of the first month to the thirtieth of the fourth month (Bill 2), with the exception of the twenty-third and twenty-eighth of the fourth month, when he was in Memphis (Bill 5). On the sixteenth of the sixth month he was in Heliopolis (Bill 7); and from the seventh of the fourth month (with the above exceptions) to the seventeenth (?) of the eleventh month he was in the eastern Delta (Bill 3).

In the following treatment each scene is numbered as in Fig. 1, where its position on the wall can be instantly determined.

SCENE 1. MARCH THROUGH SOUTHERN PALESTINE^a

83. On leaving Tharu, his last station in Egypt, Seti strikes into the desert south of and merging into Palestine. Here he finds only fortified water stations^b at intervals along the way, which are depicted (Fig. 2), each with its name added, in the relief. The interspersed inscriptions are these:

Over King, Left of Sun

Lord of the Two Lands: Menmare; Lord of Diadems [Seti-Mer-neptah].

In Fortress

84. Town (*dmy*) —.

Over Horses

Great first span of his majesty: "Amon-Assigns-to-Him-the-Victory," also called: "Anath (*c n-ty-t*)-is-Satisfied."

Over Horses Each Side of Fortress

¹The Good God achieving with his arms, an archer like Montu, residing in Thebes, ———, smiting ²the Asiatics, making his boundary as far as his desire places it; his arm is not repulsed ³in all the lands; the king who protects ⁴Egypt, who pierces ⁵the wall ⁶in the rebellious countries. ⁷He causes the chiefs of Kharu (*H² -rw*) ⁸to cease every contradiction of their mouths. His mighty sword ⁹is his^c valor; his might is like the son of Nut.

Over Princes, behind Chariot

———— every country beneath [thy] sandals ———.

^aBibliography in Fig. 1.

^bSee Müller (*Asien und Europa*, 134).

^cThe second arm is probably to be corrected to the possessive */*, as Guieysse has done.

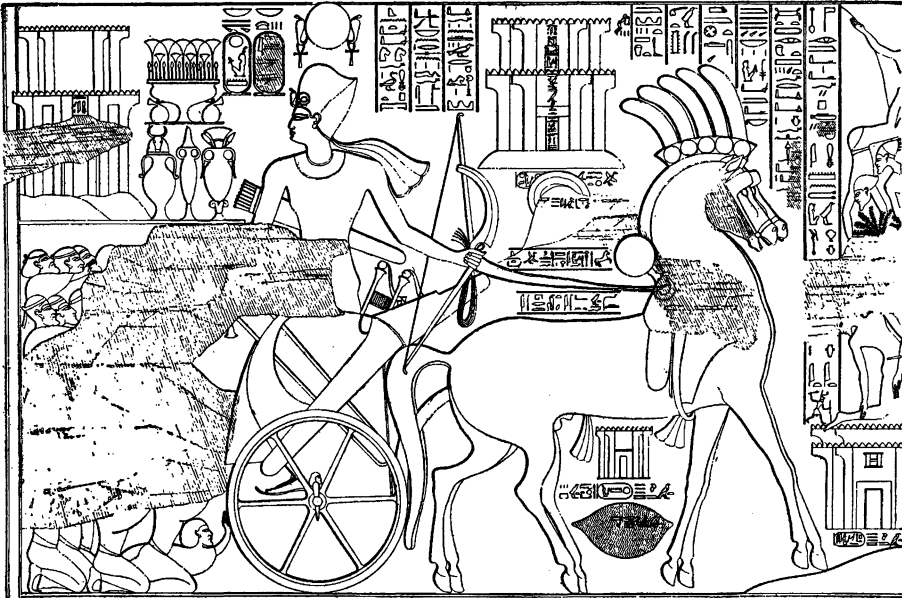


FIG. 2.—Seti I on the Route through Southern Palestine (Scene I, §§ 83, 84).

(This example may serve to illustrate the character of this series of reliefs.)

In Fort, over Horses

Town [*dmw*], which his majesty built anew at the well of Hu — ti (*Hw — ty*).^a

Under Fort, over Horses

The victory ——— Menmare, heir of Re.

———— [H]arabat ([*H*]² -*r*² -*b*² -*ty*, with determinative of a well.)

Under Fort, under Horses

The well: "Menmare-is-Great-in-Victory."

In Pool, under Horses

The pool: "Sweet."

SCENE 2. BATTLE WITH THE SHASU^b

85. Pushing along this road in the Negeb, the king scatters the Shasu, who from time to time gather in sufficient numbers to meet him. One of these actions is depicted in this relief as taking place on the desert road, with the neighboring fortified stations indicated as in the preceding scene (§§ 83, 84).

In King's Bow

86. Menmare, Seti-Merneptah.

In Fortress, Right End

The stronghold (*bhn*) of Menmare (called): "The — His-Protection."

Under Same

"The Fortress (*nhtw*) of Seti-Merneptah."

^aThe restoration of Guieysse, viz., *bw-r*² between *Hw* and *ty*, is merely a guess. It is more likely we should restore according to the broken line under the fort, where a word of which the beginning is lacking has also the determinative of a well (like the broken word in the fortress), thus: [*H*]² -*r*² -*b*² -*ty* (and determinative of well). The *H* is uncertain, but exceedingly probable. Thus our word in the fortress is probably *Hw* - [*r*² -*b*²] - *ty*, though two of the copies (Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, and Lepsius, *Denkmäler*) show the beginning of a bird with a stroke (*b*²?), as the sign after *hw*. This is surely 𐀀𐀁𐀂𐀃, "desert" or "ruin."

^bFor bibliography, see Fig. 1.

Middle Fortress

Town (*dmy*) which [his] majesty [buil]t a[*new*].

In Pool

The pool: "Ibsekeb" (*Yb-s ʿ -k ʿ -b ʿ*).

Under Fortress, Left End

The well of Seti-Merneptah.

Over Battle

The Good God, Sun of Egypt, Moon of all lands, Montu in the foreign countries; irresistible, mighty-hearted like Baal, there is none that approaches him on the day of drawing up the battle-line. He has extended the boundaries of Egypt as far as the heavens on every side. The rebels, they know not how they shall [flee];^a the vanquished of the Shasu, who were —, — — his majesty; [becoming like] that which exists not.

SCENE 3. CAPTURE OF PEKANAN^b

87. The fighting with the Shasu, as depicted in the preceding scene, continued until Seti reached Canaan. Somewhere on the frontier, not far into Asia, Seti apparently meets a fortified town, to which the relief gives the name "*Pekanan*" or "*the Canaan*." Exactly what this name means here is not certain. *Pekanan* is used in the text (§ 88) to indicate the limits of the war with the Shasu since the king has left Tharu, his last stop in Egypt. "*The town of Pekanan*" would seem, therefore, to indicate the place of his arrival in Canaan, as Müller thinks (*Asien und Europa*, 205); but this is not certain. The Egyptians called the entire west of Syria-Palestine "*Canaan*,"^c and it

^aDeterminative of legs is preserved.

^bFor publications, see Fig. 1, to which may be added Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 48.

^c*Pekanan*; "*Pe*" is the article, the whole being "*the Canaan*" as we say "the Levant."

is only certain that Seti is now fighting somewhere in that country.

Over King

88. King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Menmare, Son of Re: Seti-Merneptah, given life, like Re, beloved of Menhyt.

Fortress

Town (*dmy*) of Pekanan ($P^{\circ} -k^{\circ} -n^{\circ} -n^{\circ}$).

Over Horses

Great first span of his majesty: "Victory-in-Thebes."

Over Enemy

¹Year 1. King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menmare (Seti I). The destruction ²which the mighty sword of Pharaoh, L. P. H., made among the ³vanquished of the Shasu ($\check{S}^{\circ} -sw$) from ⁴the fortress of Tharu ($\check{T}^{\circ} -rw$) to ⁵Pekanan ($P^{\circ} -k^{\circ} -n^{\circ} -n^{\circ}$), when his majesty ⁶marched against them like a fierce-eyed lion, ⁷making them carcasses in their ⁸valleys, overturned in their blood like ⁹those that exist not. Everyone that escapes his fingers ¹⁰says: "His might toward distant countries is ¹¹the might of his father, Amon, who hath assigned to him^a ¹²victorious valor in the countries ($h^{\circ} s^{\circ} wt$)."

SCENE 4. CAPTURE OF YENOAM

89. Seti has now traversed the entire length of Palestine. His lists (§ 114) show that after crossing Carmel he captured Peher and Bethshael, both in the plain of Jezreel, and then proceeded to Akko, whence he marched along the Phœnician coast to Tyre and Othu. Our relief represents the capture of Yenoam, which lies a short distance inland from the last two cities. It is depicted surrounded by forest, as we should expect.

Name in Fortress

90. Town of Yenoam ($\check{Y} -nw -^{\circ} -mw$).

^aGuieysse, "to thee."

SCENE 5. SUBMISSION OF THE CHIEFS OF LEBANON^a

91. Leaving Tyre and Othu, Seti now pushed northward, and advanced along the coast of Phœnicia, as indicated by his lists (§ 114). As he passes Lebanon, he receives the submission of its local dynasts, and secures cedar^b for his temples in Egypt. This the Syrians are depicted as felling, while one of Seti's officers assures him of their submission. The name of this officer is not given, but he has been identified by Wiedemann with the prince appearing in the Libyan campaign, for which there is no evidence.^c

92. According to Seti's lists (§ 114), he advanced northward along the coast past Simyra and Ullaza, but the upper row of reliefs, which contained the northernmost conquests,^d has unfortunately been lost, and we are unable to control the lists or trace this coast march in detail. If Seti really reached Simyra and Ullaza, it was only the intervening mountains on the east which prevented a collision with the Hittites.

93. Having secured the coast,^e as did his great ancestor, Thutmose III, Seti returned home with his plunder. He was now certain of a harbor for his sea connection with Syria on the next campaign—a connection which would greatly facilitate future operations in the North.

In Fortress

94. Town (*dmy*) of Kader (*K³ -dw-rw*) in 'Pemehtem (*P³ -mh-t³ -m³*)^f

^aFor bibliography, see Fig. 1.

^bSee my *New Chapter*, 28, 29.

^cSee my remarks, "Ramses II and the Princes in the Karnak Reliefs of Seti I," *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 37, 136, 137.

^dAs shown by the one scene (the capture of Kadesh) preserved in this uppermost row.

^eIt is difficult to say just where Seti attempted to fix his northern boundary in Phœnicia; if Ramses II's stelæ at Beyrut are boundary marks, as seems probable, then Seti's boundary is almost certain to have been south of Beyrut, as Ramses would probably not mark off less than his father held.

^fSo Guieysse, but Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, omits *t³*, and Champol-

Before and behind King

[Inspection of the chiefs of] Lebanon, who are cutting down [cedars for]^a the great barge of the "Beginning-of-the-River," ——— likewise for the great flagstaves of Amon, ——— building ——— with satisfying life ——— [like] Re, every day ———, Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Uhem-mesut. ——— Mightiest of Bows ——— Seti-Merneptah, given life.^b ——— satisfied with victory; the chiefs ——— his might ——— his ——— [he loves an hour of battle] more than a day [of rejoicing] ——— he sees [them], his lord ——— his heart is satisfied, making the boundaries of Egypt ——— to fill the storehouses ——— heir ——— in —.

Before Egyptian Officer

Said the fan-bearer at the right of the king in his answer to the Good God: "It shall be done according to all that thou hast said, O Horus, Vivifier of the Two Lands. Thou art like Montu in every country; when the chiefs of Retenu (*Rṯnw*) see thee, the fear of thee is in their limbs.

Over Chiefs of Lebanon

The great chiefs of Lebanon; they say in praising the Lord of the Two Lands, in magnifying his might: "Thou seemest like thy father, Re; there is life in seeing thee."

SCENES 6 AND 7. BINDING AND CARRYING AWAY PRISONERS^c

95. The return to Egypt has begun, and we see the king in two symbolical scenes binding and carrying away the captives.

Before and behind King

96. 6. ——— all countries; he carries them off as living captives ——— Hartema, Lord ——— felling ——— his enemies.

lion, *Monuments*, and Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, have *P³-hn-m³*. On Kader, which is the Hebrew "Gader," a "stockade" or "inclosure," see Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 202, 203.

^aFor the restorations, see my *New Chapter*, 29, note a.

^bThese fragments of Seti I's complete titulary may be restored from Redesiyeh (§§ 169, l. 1).

^cFor bibliography, see Fig. 1.

Over Horses

97. 7. Great first span of his majesty: "Great-in-Victory."

Over Prisoners

Great chiefs of Retenu (*Rṯnw*), whom his majesty carried off as living captives.

SCENE 8. RECEPTION IN EGYPT^a

98. Seti has now reached Egypt, and nears the frontier city, Tharu, driving and leading his prisoners. On the Egyptian side of the canal which passes by the city stands a body of officials acclaiming the victorious Pharaoh.^b

99. The most important item in this scene is the long inscription (§ 101), which informs us of the reason of Seti's chastisement of the Shasu. It was reported to him that the Bedwin (Shasu) were making common cause against the Palestinians (Kharu), and that this invasion had resulted in the complete overthrow of all authority in Palestine. That these Bedwin are the Khabiri^c of the Amarna Letters there can be no doubt. The conditions which confronted Seti I in Palestine are exactly those which we should expect in view of what we learn from the letters of Abdkhibu of Jerusalem. There is also further evidence of the same conditions, in the tomb of Harmhab (§§ 10 ff.). The attempt of the Hebrews to gain a footing in Palestine is undoubtedly involved in the larger movement of the Bedwin, which Seti here records.^d

^aFor bibliography, see Fig. 1, to which may be added Brugsch, *Geographische Inschriften*, I, Pl. 48.

^bThe prince who marches behind the Pharaoh whose name is lost (§ 102 *infra*), has been identified by Wiedemann with the crown prince of Scene 13; for which there is no evidence, and against which there is conclusive evidence. See *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 27, 136, 137.

^cSee Ed. Meyer, *Festschrift für Georg Ebers*, 75, 76.

^dSee Meyer, *loc. cit.*

Over King

100. King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands. Menmare; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Seti-Merneptah, given life, like Re.

Under Vulture

Nekhbet, the white goddess of Nekhen, may she give life, stability, and satisfaction, like Re.

In Canal

The bridge.

In Fort, by Canal

The fortress (*htm*) of Tharu (*T³-rw*).

Fort under Horses

The store-chamber: "The Lion."

In Fort behind Horses

The Tower (*M-k-ty-r²*) of Menmare.

Beside Pool of Fort

The Pool of Hepen (*Hw-p²-n²*).^a

Fort behind Horses

Buto of Seti-Merneptah.

Pool under Fort

The pool of the water-¹supply¹.

Over Horses

Great first span of his majesty, L. P. H.: "Amon-He-Giveth-Might."

Over Horses at Top

101. Year 1 of Uhem-mesut^b King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Menmare, given Life.

^aThis occurs in two places according to Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, and Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, 128, but the one placed by these two authorities on the right side of the canal is not to be found in my photograph. The reading *Hw-t²-y-n²* (Anast., 1, 27) would indicate that we should read *Hw-t²-na* here, but the texts all have *p²*. See Müller (*Asien und Europa*, 134), who, however, has not gone back of the publications.

^bPart of the second name in Seti I's fivefold titulary, see *infra*, Redesiyeh, § 169, l. 1.

³One came to say to his majesty: ⁴"The vanquished Shasu ($\text{Ṣ}^{\text{2}}\text{-sw}$), they plan ⁵rebellion¹. Their tribal chiefs ⁶are gathered together, rising^a against the Asiatics of Kharu^a ($\text{Ḫ}^{\text{2}}\text{-rw}$). ⁷They have taken to cursing, and quarreling, each of them ⁸slaying his neighbor, and they disregard the laws of the ⁹palace."

The heart of his majesty, L. P. H., was glad on account of it. ¹⁰Lo, as for the Good God, he rejoices ¹¹to begin battle, he is delighted to ¹²enter^b into it, his heart is satisfied ¹³at seeing blood, he cuts off ¹⁴the heads of the rebellious-hearted, he loves ¹⁵an hour of battle more than a day of rejoicing. His majesty slays them at one time. He leaves not a limb among them, and he that escapes his hand as a living captive, is carried off to Egypt.

Over Prince^c behind Chariot

102. Following the king on his marches in the countries of Retenu ($\text{R}^{\text{1}}\text{nw}$), by the hereditary prince, great in invocation^d by ———— real king's-scribe, his beloved ———— king's-son, of his body, his beloved ———— ^e

Over Rejoicing Egyptians

103. Prophets, nobles, and officials ($\text{ḫ}^{\text{2}}\text{-tyw}$) of the South and North, coming to acclaim to the Good God, at his return from the country of Retenu ($\text{R}^{\text{1}}\text{nw}$) with very numerous captivity. ²Never was seen the like of it, since ³the time of the god. They say, in ⁴praising his majesty, in magnifying ⁵his might: "Welcome art thou, from ⁶the countries which thou hast subdued; ⁷thou art triumphant, and thy enemies are ⁸beneath thee. Thy duration as king ⁹is like Re in heaven, while gratifying thy heart ¹⁰on the Nine Bows. When Re made thy

^aOr: "standing (gaining a foothold) in the Kharite (Horite) regions of Asia."

^bOr: "when one transgresses against him."

^cSee also Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 19.

^dMy explanation in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* (XXXVII, 136, n. 5) is incomplete, if not incorrect; *sh*, or *sw* ², means "to bless or curse," these meanings being derived from a common idea, viz., "to invoke divine powers," a meaning used in magical texts.

^eThis fragmentary name contained the syllable *nb* or *hb*; hence Lefebure restores Harmhab (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XII, 447); while Wiedemann at first favored Nebwa (Nb-w^{2}) (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XII, 258 ff.), and later thinks it was Amon-nefer-nebef (*Recueil*, XVIII, 121). See my note, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* (37, 137, note 1).

boundary, his two arms ¹⁰were a protection behind thee. Thy sword was in the midst of ¹¹every land, and their chiefs fell by thy blade."

SCENE 9. PRESENTATION OF SHASU PRISONERS AND
PRECIOUS VESSELS TO AMON^a

104. Seti appears before Amon presenting him with slaves and costly vessels from his campaign against the Shasu, though the victories are stated to have been in Retenu, and the upper row of captives is affirmed to be from Retenu.

Over Amon

105. Utterance of Amon-Re, Lord of Thebes: "O my beloved son, Lord of the Two Lands: Menmare, I have caused that thou shouldst be [victorious] over every country, that thou shouldst rule over their chiefs, so that they come to thee, gathered together with a burden (tribute) upon their backs, for fear of thee."

Over Tribute

106. [Presentation of the tribute by his majesty to his father, Amon],^b at the return from the country of Retenu (*Rtñw*). The chiefs of the country are living prisoners, their tribute upon their back, consisting of every vessel, the choicest of their countries, of gold, silver, lapis lazuli | — — which thou givest me in every country — —.

Over Prisoners, Upper Line

107. Chiefs of countries which knew not Egypt, which his majesty carried away, from his victories in the country of Retenu (*Rtñw*) the wretched. They say, in magnifying his majesty, in acclaiming his victories: "Hail to thee! How great is thy name, how mighty thy power! The countries rejoice to be subject to thee, and they that transgress thy boundary are bound. By thy ka! We knew not Egypt, nor had our fathers trodden it. Give to us the breath that thou givest."

Over Prisoners, Lower Line

108. Captivity which his majesty carried off from the Shasu (*Š³ -sw*), whom his majesty himself overthrew, in the year 1 of Uhem-mesut (Seti I).

^aFor bibliography, see Fig. 1.

^bRestored from Scene 10.

SCENE 10. PRESENTATION OF SYRIAN PRISONERS AND
PRECIOUS VESSELS TO AMON

109. A scene like that in the preceding relief, but with Syrians in place of Shasu.

Over Amon

110. Utterance of Amon-Re, lord of Thebes: "Thou comest in peace, O Good God, Lord of the Two Lands: Menmare, I have set thy might in every country, thy fear in the hearts of the Nine Bows. Their chiefs come to thee as one man, with a burden (viz., tribute) on their backs. I have placed for thee the lands under thy fear, bowing down in terror of thee."

Over Vessels

111. Presentation of the tribute by his majesty, to his father, Amon, at his return from the country of Retenu (*Rṯnw*), the wretched; consisting of silver, gold, lapis lazuli, malachite, '—', and every splendid, costly stone. The chiefs of the countries are inclosed in his grasp, in order to fill the storehouse of his father, Amon, by the might that thou hast given to me (sic!).

Over Prisoners, Upper Row

112. Arrival of his majesty from Retenu (*Rṯnw*) the Upper, ex[te]nding the boundaries of Egypt ———.

Over Prisoners, Lower Row

Chiefs of countries that knew not Egypt, whom his majesty carried off as living captives.

SCENE 11. SLAYING PRISONERS BEFORE AMON^a

113. This bloody ceremony, which is of very ancient origin, is the king's final recognition of his power as coming from the god, before whom he now sacrifices a number of the foes, whom the god has enabled him to vanquish. The fulsome praise and promises of the god are taken from earlier sources. The first portion (§ 116) is plagiarized

^aFor bibliography, see Fig. 1.

from the great stela of Amenhotep III recounting his buildings (II, 891, 892). Seti I had restored this splendid stela after its defacement by Ikhnaton (II, 878), and apparently at its restoration it was found to be so pleasing by Seti that he appropriated its form for his own use, but with many changes. Seti's form of it was then again used by Ramses III on his Medinet Habu temple (IV, 137). The other part of Amon's discourse (§ 117) is taken from a still earlier composition, the great Hymn of Victory of Thutmose III (II, 658 ff.), but again with some changes.

114. The title over the captive towns and countries led by Amon and a Theban genius, is restored from Scene 20, where it is repeated. This list of the towns and countries gained in these conquests was appended to each of the two sacrificial scenes (11 and 20) concluding the two great series. Both lists are totally confused, even the stereotyped "Nine Bows" being broken up into two fragments. Evidently little reliance can be placed upon them, as they are placed here to serve a conventional function, viz., merely to convey the idea of vast conquests. Fortunately, a more careful list of Seti's conquests is preserved upon a sphinx in his temple at Kurna,^a which is as follows: 1-9, the "Nine Bows;" 10, Kheta (*ḫt*); 11, Naharin (*N-h-r-ny*); 12, Alasa (*ʿ-rʿ-s*); 13, Akko (*ʿ-k*); 14, Simyra (*ḏʿ-my-^brʿ*); 15, Peher (*Pʿ-h-rʿ*); 16, Bethshael (*Bʿ-ṯ-ṣʿ-rʿ*); 17, Khamehem (*ḫʿ¹-my-h-mw*); 18, Yenoam (*Y-nw-^c-mw*); 19, Ullaza (*ʿn-n-rʿ-ṯ*); 20, Kemed (*Kʿ-my-dw*); 21, Tyre (*ḏʿ-rw*); 22, Othu (*Yw-ṯw*); 23, Bethanath (*Bʿ-ṯ-^c-n-ṯ*); 24, Keremim (*kʿ-rʿ-my-mw*);^c The remaining

^aLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 131, a. See Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 191-95.

^bText "ṯy," which is clearly to be corrected to *rʿ* (Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 187, n. 2).

^cPerhaps to be corrected, as Müller does (*Asien und Europa*, 195), to *Kʿ-rʿ-ṯ-^c-n-ṯ*.

names (25-43) are haphazard selections^a of the famous towns and districts, chiefly of Asia, familiar to the Egyptians from earlier conquests. Only the towns in the northern plain of Jezreel, and in Phœnicia are grouped together (Nos. 13-24), but within the group they occur at haphazard. Not even such a grouping can be discovered in the aimless, confused conclusion (Nos. 25-43).^b

115. In harmony with the claims of these lists the words accompanying the king's action claim for him the great domain of his predecessors of the Eighteenth Dynasty, viz., from the "*Horns of the Earth*,"^c on the south, to the "*marshes of Naharin*," (§ 118) on the north. This is still literally true for the southern boundary, but is unquestionably an exaggeration in the case of the northern boundary. If Seti ever carried his arms as far as Naharin, he was unable to establish his boundary there, or hold anything inland, north of Galilee.

Over Amon

116. 1Utterance of Amon-Re, lord of Thebes: "O my son, of my body, 2my beloved, Lord of the Two Lands: Menmare, lord of might in every country! 3I am thy father; I set thy terror in Retenu, the Upper and 4the Lower. The Nubian Troglodytes are slain beneath thy feet.

I bring 5to thee the chiefs of the southern countries, that they may

^aThey do not seem to be taken from Scenes 11 and 20, as Müller states (Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 191, n. 1), but are equally orderless and methodless selections from the names known to the compiler.

^bA relief on this same north wall of Karnak shows Amon presenting to an uncertain king a series of thirty captured towns. Müller (*Asien und Europa*, 164-66) has shown that this list includes some towns in the west of central Palestine. He has attributed the relief to Ramses II, but the location of the document, where only Seti I's inscriptions are found would indicate that it belongs to the latter.

^cA stela at Ibrim contains similar references (Sayce, *Recueil*, 16, 170 f.); the southern boundary is given as the "*Horns of the Earth*," and, referring to the northern, the king is called the "*crusher of Retenu, carrying off their chiefs as living prisoners*." Then follow the conventional references to the submission of South and North.

make thee to receive the tribute, being ⁶every good product of their countries, to hasten ⁷——.

[I turn] my face to the north,^a I work a wonder ⁸[for thee] — — — snaring the rebels in their nests by the power of thy might. I bring to thee ⁹countries that know not Egypt, with their tribute borne, consisting of silver, gold, lapis lazuli, every splendid costly stone of God's-Land.

¹⁰I turn my face to the east, I work a wonder for thee, I bind them all for thee, gathered in thy grasp. I gather together all the countries ¹¹of Punt, all their tribute, of gum of myrrh (^c *nty*), cinnamon, and all the pleasant sweet woods of God's-Land, ¹²[fragrant] before thee, and thy uraeus.

I turn my face to the west, I work a wonder for thee, consuming for thee every land of Tehenu (*Tyḥnw*). ¹³They come bowing down [to thee],^b falling upon their knees for terror of thee. The chiefs of ¹⁴—— to give to thee praise.

I turn my face to heaven, I work a wonder for thee; the gods of the horizon of heaven acclaim ¹⁵to thee, when Re is born every morning; thou flourishest like Re, when he has brought midday.

I turn my face to the earth, ¹⁶[I work a wonder for thee, I appoint for thee victories in every country]. The gods rejoice in thee, in their temples; thou shalt spend eternity as king upon the throne of Keb.

Before Amon

117. ¹I have caused them to see thy majesty as lord of radiance, so that thou hast shone in their faces like my image.

²I have caused them to see thy majesty, arrayed in thy regalia, when [thou] takest the weapons of war in the chariot.

³I have caused them to see thy majesty like a circling star, which scatters its flame in fire and gives forth its dew.

⁴I have caused them to see thy majesty as a young bull, firm of heart, ready-horned, irresistible.

⁵I have caused them to see thy majesty as a crocodile, terrible on the shore, unapproachable.

^aThe god should first face south, as in the original text of Amenhotep III (II, 891), from which our text of Seti I is plagiarized.

^bCorrected from Medinet Habu; Guieysse has totally confused the two texts, his Medinet Habu text being incorrect.

⁶I have caused them to see thy majesty like a flame of fire, like the very being of Sekhmet, in her temper.

⁷I have caused them to see thy majesty as [a fierce-eyed lion, so that thou makest] them corpses in their valleys.

⁸I have caused them to see thy majesty as a —, great in strength, irresistible in heaven or in earth.

Before Amon's Sword

Take to thyself the sword (*ḥpš*), O mighty king, whose mace smites the Nine Bows.

Before the King

118. Slaying of the Asiatic Troglodytes (*Ynw-Mn't' yw*), all inaccessible countries, all lands, the Fenkhu of the marshes of Asia, the Great Bend (*phr wr*) of the sea (*w' d-wr*).

Over King

Smiting the Troglodytes, beating down the Asiatics (*Mn't' yw*), making his boundary as far as the "Horns¹ of the Earth," as far as the marshes of Naharin (*N-h-r-n*).

Line below King

119. List of those southern and northern lands, which his majesty smote, making a great slaughter among them, of unknown number. [Their subjects are]^a carried away [as living captives, to fill the storehouse of his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, all countries] ———.

SCENE 12. FIRST BATTLE WITH THE LIBYANS^b

120. With this scene we pass to the other side of the door (cf. Fig. 1), to a group of nine scenes where there is no date preserved; and as shown above (§§ 80 ff.), they do not necessarily belong to the wars of year 1 on the east side of the door, but may have occurred at any time subsequent to the year 1. As we have shown above (§ 82), Seti spent practically his entire second year in the Delta, and he may well have fought the Libyan war in that year.

^aRestored from Scene 20.

^bFor bibliography, see Fig. 1.

121. As Seti's first war in Asia was introduced by a minor campaign against the Bedwin of Sinai and the Negeb, so now his second Asiatic war is preceded by a campaign against the Libyans. It is evident that the pressure of the Libyans into the Delta, which became so serious under Seti's grandson, Merneptah (§§ 569 ff.), already began under Seti himself. He was, therefore, unable to continue his conquests in Asia without chastising them. Unfortunately, the scene is purely conventional, and the descriptive texts contain nothing but general terms.

Before King

122. Lord of the Two Lands: Menmare; Lord of Diadems: Seti-Merneptah.

Behind King

Hartema, Lord of achievement.

Over Horses

1——— 2devastating, seizing in every country, 3brave without his like, achieving with his 4sword, till the Two Lands know it, till the 5whole earth sees it. He is like Baal, 6he traverses the mountains, 7his terror has penetrated the countries, his name 8is victorious, 9his sword 10is mighty, 11there is none 12that stands before him.

SCENE 13. SECOND BATTLE WITH THE LIBYANS^a

123. This second battle scene in addition to the strength and vigor which give it value as an artistic composition, is of great importance because of the two princes, whom it represents as participating in the battle. One of them (behind Seti) bears the name of Ramses, and is of course, he who later became Ramses II. This fact has had great weight in the study of the reigns of Seti and of Ramses II, and has

^aFor bibliography, see Fig. 1, to which Prisse, *Histoire de l'art égyptien* (plates unnumbered), may be added.

materially modified the chronology of both reigns.^a But let it be noted, in the first place, that this figure of Ramses is in a scene of the Libyan war, without a date, far from the scenes of the Shasu war of year 1, on the other side of the door. This appearance of Ramses with his father was therefore not necessarily in his father's first year, as has been so often assumed.

124. Furthermore, a close examination of the accompanying figures will show, first, that this scene is no proof that Ramses ever appeared with his father in battle at all; and, second, that Ramses was not the first heir to Seti's throne.^b Behind the Libyan chief whom Seti hurls backward stands an Egyptian prince (Fig. 4, broken lines), facing toward the left, and watching, or possibly taking part in, the conflict. Behind Seti stands Prince Ramses (Fig. 3, dotted lines), facing toward the right, and likewise watching the conflict. Fig. 4 cannot also be Ramses, for he could not appear twice in the same scene. Its accompanying inscription^c is as follows: "*Hereditary prince, first king's-son, of his body ————*," in which, unfortunately, the name is wanting; where it could have stood before its disappearance is a question, for the skirt of the prince projects under the titles, and the name must therefore have been pushed to

^aThus Maspero (*Struggle of the Nations*, 369, n. 3) concludes that Seti I married Ramses II's mother, Tuya, under Harmhab, and (*ibid.*, 387, n. 5) that Seti I could not have reigned longer than fifteen to twenty years (possibly only twelve or fifteen), because Ramses II appears "as a stripling in the campaign of Seti's first year."

^bA full discussion of these questions by the present writer will be found in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 37, 130-39, from which the accompanying figures are taken.

^cIt is very faint and has been overlooked in Champollion, *Monuments*, 297, 2, and in Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 54, 2; the only publication containing it is Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, 99. Every sign is traceable in the photograph which I used for making the drawing.

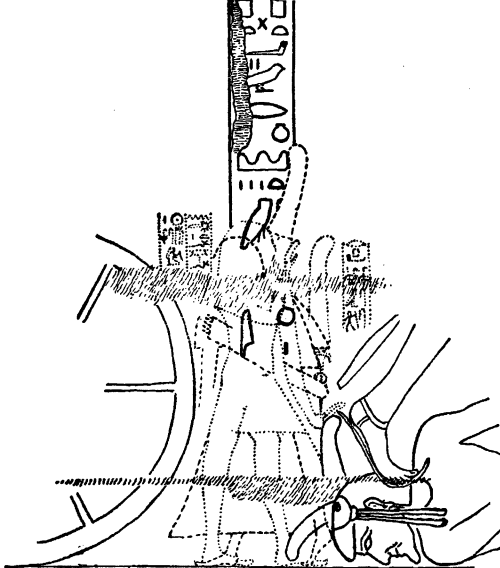


FIG. 3.—Showing Two Superimposed Figures (dotted lines facing right; broken lines facing left).

(Figures 3 and 4 are taken from opposite ends of the same scene. Omitted in the middle is the colossal figure of Seti I. His foot is shown trampling the head of a Libyan in Fig. 3. His arm appears in Fig. 4 overthrowing a Libyan (with bow in hand), but Fig. 4 is on a smaller scale than Fig. 3.)

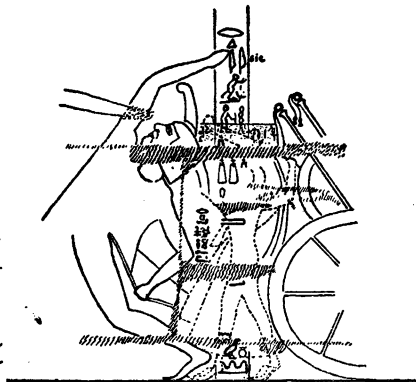


FIG. 4.—Inserted Figure of "First King's-Son" (broken lines).

the left (under the Libyan chief's elbow).^a The historical conclusion here is important: the "*first king's-son*" of Seti I was not his successor, Ramses; that is, that Ramses II had an older brother, who did not reach the throne.

125. But a further examination of this scene discloses the fact that this figure of Ramses' elder brother (Fig. 4) is not original and does not belong where it stands. The first glance shows that the contracted space between the chariot wheel (belonging to the next scene to the right) and the leg of the falling Libyan is too narrow for another figure, and the artist has barely been able to squeeze the prince in. Thus he is as much in one scene as the other, an anomalous arrangement! He stands with fan upraised in his right hand, as if to smite the falling Libyan. The fan runs directly across the vertical line of text! It is difficult to say where the right arm is; it seems to have been raised, and it may be that he was seizing his father's foe, as his father is doing. Passing through the fan, the large column of text extends down through the prince's head and body, to the bottom. It is clear, therefore, that at some time after Seti had completed these reliefs his eldest son had himself inserted here, as taking part in Seti's Libyan campaign. It is clear also that someone desired his removal, for his figure has been rudely chiseled away. Champollion speaks of him^b as a "prince martelé et surchargé avec débris de légende" (his titles follow), showing that also his accompanying inscription has been hammered out. The person to whom the figure of the eldest son would be most unwelcome, and who

^aThere is now no trace of it there, owing to a large fissure in the stone. I am unfortunately obliged to work from photographs, as I did not study these reliefs when at Karnak, and the figures of the princes are now nearly covered with débris again.

^b*Notices descriptives*, II, 99.

would therefore be most desirous to remove it, is of course, the other prince in the same scene, Ramses. We are certainly correct in attributing the mutilation to him. Moreover, it is quite certain that he did this in order to have the figure of himself inserted in the same scene, for his own figure (Fig. 3, dotted lines) is not original to this scene.

126. In the first place, we notice in Fig. 3, as in Fig. 4, the narrowness of the space into which the prince's figure has been squeezed, so that his left foot passes through the feather of the fallen Libyan, whom Seti is trampling, and his left hand collides with the other feather. Further, we again notice a column of text extending down through the prince's head into his body.^a Ramses stands with right hand raised palm outward, as usual in salutation, and carrying his fan vertically before him in the left hand. A joint in the masonry has obliterated shoulders and face. The accompanying text is partly in one scene and partly in the next. It is as follows: "*Prince (r^p · ty), king's-son, crown prince, of his body, his beloved, Ramses.*" The historical conclusions to be derived from this text will be taken up later.

127. A closer inspection of Ramses' figure shows that, in having himself inserted here, he at the same time improved the opportunity to efface another figure, which we will call X, over which his own has been cut. The motives for this second effacement are undoubtedly the same as for the first, and X was therefore Ramses' elder brother. But, as the elder brother has already been once effaced in this scene, we should expect that this second occurrence of his figure belonged to another scene, and such is clearly the case. Under Ramses' figure appears a second pair of feet striding in the

^aThese signs are so clear that they were copied by Rosellini, but in his publication (*Monumenti Storici*, 54, 2) he has shifted the column above too far to the right.

opposite direction (the left; see broken lines); behind Ramses is the front point of a skirt; behind him is a third arm; across his figure is a quiver^a with the opening to the left; above him is a fan^b, with the tip of the feather turned to the left.^c All these belong, of course, to the figure X (broken lines), facing to the left. A comparison of X with the prince in Fig. 5 shows clearly that X was striding in the same way after the chariot behind which he is. Especially characteristic are his left foot poised for the next step, the arm hanging down in front, and the fan over the shoulder. X therefore belongs to the scene to the left, representing Seti's triumphant return (Scene 14) from the Libyan war, riding in his chariot and driving his prisoners before him, like the prince following Seti in his return from the first Syrian war (Fig. 5). This is what we should expect; before Ramses' interference, the figure of his elder brother appeared once in each of the two scenes: the battle with the Libyans (Fig. 4) and the return (Fig. 3). Ramses preferred to appear in the battle and had himself inserted facing the right.

128. But if the figure of Ramses is a later insertion, that of his brother (X) is equally so; the latter's fan, quiver, and indeed his whole figure cut directly into the original column of text, as the figure of Ramses does. X has had himself inserted here. It is this fact which renders certain the identity of X and Seti's eldest son (Fig. 4); both desired

^aThe quiver was always carried on the left side, with the opening in front; hence in this case belonging to a person facing the left.

^bThe fan was always borne with the tip of the feather pointing toward the front, as in Ramses' figure and in Fig. 5.

^cThe feet and the quiver were seen and copied by Rosellini and Champollion, and appear in their publications (Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 54; Champollion, *Monuments*, 297, 2), but seem to have remained unnoticed since.

to appear in Seti's Libyan war, both were the object of Ramses' hatred, and both were effaced by him.

129. To recapitulate, we find thus far three stages on this wall:

1. An uninterrupted column of text on each side of the battle scene; and no princes in either it or the scene of the return.

2. Seti's eldest son inserts his own figure at the right of the battle scene and at the right of the return.

3. Prince Ramses effaces the figure of his elder brother in both places, but over that of his brother in the return scene he inserts his own figure, so facing as to belong to the battle scene.

130. There are evidences of a similar insertion (Fig. 6) at the top of this same wall, on a few isolated blocks at the left of the capture of Kadesh (Scene 16). Here we see a figure (Fig. 6, broken lines) with uplifted arm, like that of Ramses in the battle scene, and wearing a quiver. Before this figure are the arms of a captive bound behind his back, showing that the man follows the king's chariot (as in Fig. 5), behind which, however, the king leads a line of captives. But this figure is likewise a later insertion, for a column of text extends down through it, and the head of the Syrian, who has fallen beneath the chariot, projects into the skirt. It is impossible to decide whether this figure is that of Ramses or his brother.

131. The historical results to be drawn from the above facts are not numerous, but are important. It is clear, in the first place, that these reliefs offer no evidence whatever that Ramses II ever took part in any campaign of his father, of whatever year. It is therefore no longer necessary to shorten the reign of Seti in order that Ramses may be sufficiently young at his (Ramses') accession, as Maspero con-

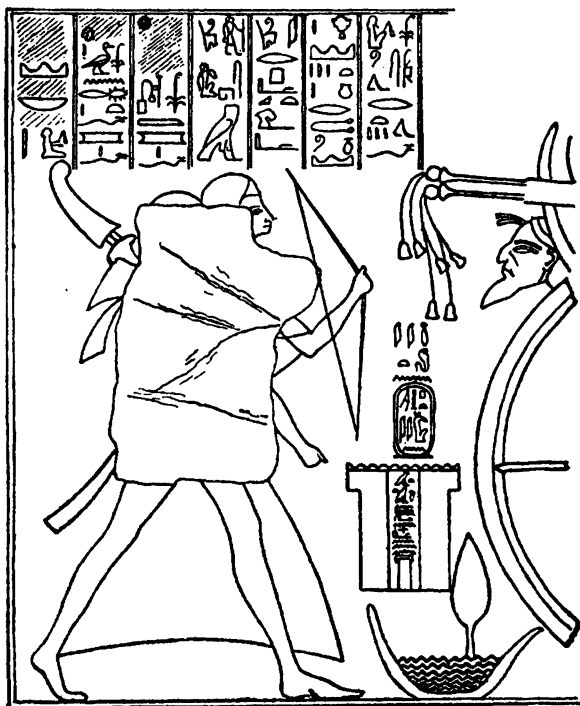


FIG. 5.—An Unknown Prince Following the Chariot of Seti I
(Scene 14).

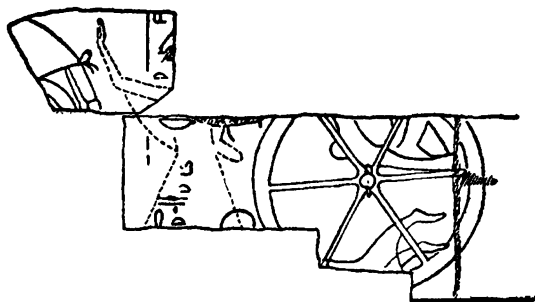


FIG. 6.—Figure of an Unknown Prince Inserted in a
Fragmentary Scene (§ 130).

sidered unavoidable. As far as these reliefs are concerned, Ramses might even have been born after Seti's accession. The fact alone that Ramses was obliged to insert his own figure in his father's battle scenes, in order to appear there at all, of course creates a strong suspicion that he had nothing to do with the events they depict;^a and thus Seti's reign may have been considerably longer than is usually attributed to him. He was about to celebrate his jubilee when he died, having left an obelisk unfinished, so that it was completed by his son, Ramses II (§§ 544 ff.). If his father reigned two and a half years, Seti's jubilee might have fallen in the middle of his twenty-eighth year. But as he did not live to complete the obelisk and celebrate the jubilee, he may have died a few years before the jubilee, after a reign of over twenty years. A greater maximum is improbable, for the reason that Setau, viceroy of Kush in Seti I's second year,^b is known also in Ramses II's thirty-eighth year, which, if Seti reigned twenty years, makes Setau's term of office at least fifty-seven years—an extraordinary tenure of office. For the extensive building which Seti I accomplished, twenty years are none too long a reign.

Over the Foe

132. ¹———— [overth]rowing his enemies, smiting ²———— among them, ³———— their chiefs fall ⁴———— [beneath] the two feet of Horus, ⁵[the King of Upper and Lower Egypt], Men[mare]; ⁶[the Son of Re, Seti-Me]rn[epthah], given satisfying life, like Re.

Before King

Smiting the chiefs of Tehenu (*Tyhmw*).

^aSee the discussion of Ramses II's youth, §§ 254, 283.

^bPapyrus in Bibliothèque Nationale, 209, in Spiegelberg, *Rechnungen*, Pl. X, col. 4, l. 3.

Over Fan

Hartema, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Offering, smiting every country.

Under Fan

All protection, life, stability, satisfaction are behind him, like Re, lord of might, smiting the Nine Bows.

Left of Fan

The King, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Might, Menmare, smites the chiefs of the countries.

With Prince behind King

The hereditary prince (*rp^c · ty*), the king's-son, crown-prince, of his body, his beloved, Ramses.

With Prince behind Enemy

Prince (*rp^c · ty*), first king's-son, of his body ———.

Over Horses

Great first span of his majesty (named): "Smiter-of-Foreigners."

SCENE 14. RETURN FROM LIBYAN WAR^a

133. We here see Seti returning from the Libyan war in the same manner as he is shown returning from his Syrian war of the year 1. Behind Seti's chariot, in this scene, his eldest son had himself inserted following the chariot, as does the prince behind the chariot in the return from Syria (Scene 8). The prince's figure is here cut in over a column of inscription (see Fig. 3), showing that it is not a part of the relief as left by Seti. It was afterward erased and replaced by the figure of Ramses II, who faces the other way and belongs to the preceding scene (13).

Over King

134. Lord of the Two Lands: Menmare, Lord of Diadems, Seti-Merneptah, given life.

^aFor bibliography, see Fig. 1.

Over Horses

Great first span of his majesty: "Mighty-is-Amon."

Over Prisoners, Upper Line

———— he causes them to cease standing upon the meadow, unable to take up the bow, passing the day in the caves, hidden like wolves for fear of his majesty ——— their hearts ——— might.

Over Prisoners, Lower Line

———— as living prisoners in the country of Tehenu (*Tyhny*), by the might of his father, Amon.

SCENE 15. PRESENTATION OF LIBYAN PRISONERS AND SPOIL
TO AMON^a

135. This presentation does not differ from those depicted east of the door. The inscription over the Libyan prisoners in the upper line referring them to "*Retenu*" and calling them "*Asiatics*"(!), only shows the subordinate character of the Libyan campaign, and the exclusive importance of the Asiatic victories. It may also indicate that this presentation of Libyan spoil did not take place till after the second Asiatic war; but as these reliefs were not put on the temple wall until the close of Seti's wars, all the campaigns in Retenu are then past, and could be referred to.

Over Amon

136. ¹Utterance of Amon-Re, lord of Thebes: ²"O Son of my body, my beloved, Lord of the Two Lands, ³Menmare; my heart is glad ⁴for love of thee, I rejoice to look on ⁵thy beauty. I set the terror of ⁶thy majesty in every country ——— ⁷over their chiefs, [they] come ⁸to thee together, to Egypt, ⁹with all their possessions ¹⁰borne upon their backs.

Before Mut

Mut, mistress of Ishru ——— mistress of heaven, queen of all gods, ——— eternity as king of the Two Lands, while thou appearest as Re.

^aFor bibliography, see Fig. 1.

Before Khonsu

Khonsu in Thebes, Beautiful Rest, Horus, lord of joy (and) Thoth, lord of Karnak.

Below

I give to thee might against the south, victory against the north.

Over Spoil

137. Presentation of tribute by his majesty ²to his father, Amon-Re, consisting of silver, gold, lapis lazuli, malachite, ³every splendid costly stone, from the might which thou givest to me in every country. ⁴King of Upper and Lower Egypt. Lord of Offering: Menmare; ⁵Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Seti-Merneptah, given life, like Re.

Before King

138. ¹Presentation of tribute by the Good God to his father, Amon, from the rebellious chiefs of the countries that knew not ²Egypt. Their tribute is upon their backs, in order to fill thy storehouse with slaves, male and female; ³from the victories which thou givest me in every country.

With Prisoners, Upper Line

139. ¹His majesty arrived from the countries ——— when he had desolated ²Retenu (*Rtnw*) and slain their chiefs, causing ³the Asiatics (^c*mw*) to say: ⁴"See ⁵this! He is ⁶like a flame ⁷when it goes forth and ⁸no water is brought." He causes ⁹all rebels to cease ¹⁰all contradiction ¹¹of their mouths, ¹²when he has taken away ¹³their breath. ¹⁴——— When one approaches the boundaries, he is like Montu, ¹⁵———, he is like the son of Nut; no country stands before ¹⁶[him].

Over Prisoners, Lower Line

Chiefs of the countries of Tehenu (*Tyhnnw*) ———.

SCENE 16. CAPTURE OF KADESH^a

140. The campaign against Libya being concluded, we find Seti again in Syria. Like the Annals of Thutmose III, the campaigns of which so often begin, "*His majesty was in the land of X*," so our reliefs offer no statement of the

^aFor bibliography, see Fig. 1.

route of the army, but show it at once in the midst of the enemy's country, where he attacks the Galilean Kadesh.^a The crossing of the Jordan valley and the erection of a boundary stela in Hauran (see § 81) may perhaps be connected with this campaign instead of with that against the coast cities.

Beside City

141. Town (*dmy*) of Kadesh (*Kdš*).

In Fortress

The charge which Pharaoh, L. P. H., made to devastate the land of Kadesh (*Kdš*), of the land of the Amor (*Y-m-r*).

Over Battle

1 ———— rage 2 — — heaven, Montu upon 3 — — his right, valor
4 — — battle of myriads 5 — — his army; a wall for millions 6 — —
when he sees multitudes, [he does] not 7[consider]^b myriads united,
charging 8 — — of the Asiatics, making them 9 — — smiting the towns
10 — — destroying the settlements 11 — — his [w]ay, smiting ———.

SCENE 17. BATTLE WITH THE HITTITES^c

142. Seti's advance between the Lebanons necessarily brings him into collision with the Hittites, and we see him here in the first battle between Egyptians and Hittites known to us. Unfortunately, no details of the conflict are given.

^aMüller sees in this city the Kadesh on the Orontes (*Asien und Europa*, 217); but there seem to me conclusive reasons against this identification: (1) The relief shows a city on rocky heights, while Kadesh is in a low valley surrounded by moats (Müller thinks this due to the artist's looseness). (2) It is said to be "*of the land of Amor*." Now, Kadesh on the Orontes clearly did not belong to the land of the Amorites (see Meyer, *Festschrift für Georg Ebers*, 69), and the purpose of the addition, "*of the land of Amor*," is precisely to distinguish the Galilean Kadesh from its more powerful neighbor in the north. (3) Müller's argument that Seti failed to capture the city, which would be impossible if it were a small Galilean town, is refuted by the fact that *jh* is used by Ramses II of a whole list of captured cities (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 156, with metathesis *hf*).

^bSee § 148, l. 8; and Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 76, 77.

^cFor bibliography, see Fig. 1.

Over King

143. The Good God, the mighty Lord of the Two Lands; Menmare; Lord of Diadems: Seti-Merneptah, chosen of the favor of Re.

Over Enemy

The wretched land of the Hittites (*Ht² w*), among whom his majesty, L. P. H., made a great slaughter.

Over Battle

144. ¹Horus: Mighty Bull, Shining in Thebes, Vivifier of the Two Lands, ²King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Menmare; Son of Re: Seti-Merneptah; ³Good God, mighty in strength, brave like Montu, ⁴mightiest of the mighty, like him that begat him, illuminating the Two Lands like the horizon-god, ⁵great in strength like the son of Nut, victorious, the double Horus ⁶by his 'own' hand, treading the battlefield like Set, ⁷great in terror like Baal in the countries. Favorite of the Two Goddesses, ⁸while he was in the nest, (for) his might protected Egypt. Re made ⁹for him his boundary as far as the limits of that which Aton illuminates. ¹⁰Divine Hawk, bright of plumage, sailing the heavens ¹¹like the majesty of Re; prowling Wolf circling this land ¹²within an hour; fierce-eyed Lion, tramping the inaccessible ways of every ¹³country; mighty Bull, [ready]-horned, [I'mighty]-hearted, smiting the Asiatics, ¹⁴beating down the Hittites (*Ht² (w)*), slaying ¹⁵their chiefs, overthrown in ¹⁶their blood, charging ¹⁷among them like a tongue of ¹⁸fire, making them as that which is not.

SCENE 18. CARRYING OFF HITTITE PRISONERS^a

145. As in the other wars, Seti now carries off his prisoners. The reference to Tehenu (Libya, § 147) would indicate that, as we have already concluded, the Libyan war preceded the Hittite campaign.

Before King

146. Lord of the Two Lands: Menmare; Lord of Diadems: Seti-Merneptah.

^aFor bibliography, see Fig. 1.

Over Horses

Great first horse of his majesty (called): "Amon-Giveth-to-Him-the-Might."

Over Prisoners in Front, Upper Line

147. Good God, mighty in being, great in strength like Montu, residing in Thebes, youthful Bull, ready-horned, ⁵firm-hearted, smiting myriads; mighty Lion, tramping the inaccessible ¹⁰ways in every country; the prowling southern Wolf, circling this land within an hour, sm[iting] his [enem]ies in every country, mighty warrior without his like, ¹⁵an archer skilful of hand, setting his fame like a mountain of copper, furnishing their nostrils with his breath. Retenu (*Rtnw*) comes to him bowing down, the land of Tehenu (*Tyhy*, sic) on its knees. He establishes ²⁰seed as he wishes in this wretched land of Kheta (*Ht²-t²*, sic); their chiefs fall by his blade, becoming as that which is not. His prowess is among them ²⁴like fire, (when) he destroys their towns (*dm*y).

Over Prisoners in Front, Lower Line

148. Chiefs of the countries that knew not Egypt, whom [his] majesty brought as living captives. They bring upon their backs of all the choicest of their countries.

Over Prisoners Behind

¹Victorious king, great in strength; his terror is like (that of) the son of ²Nut. The victor returns, when he has devastated the countries. He has smitten ³the land of Kheta (*Ht²-t²*), causing the cowardly rebels ⁴to cease. Every country has become peaceful, ⁵(for) the fear of his majesty has entered ⁶among them, his ⁷odor¹ has penetrated into their hearts. ⁷The chiefs of the countries are bound ⁸before him, he considers not myriads united together.

SCENE 19. PRESENTATION OF HITTITE SPOIL AND PRISONERS TO AMON^a

149. The captive Hittites and their spoil are now presented to Amon, as in the other wars; but there is unfortunately no additional information in the inscriptions as to the character or extent of the campaign.

^aFor bibliography, see Fig. 1.

Over King

150. Good God, great in victory, King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Menmare; Son of Re: Seti-Merneptah, chosen of Re, in the barque of Re.

Over Amon

¹[Utterance: "I give to thee] all might and all victory."

²Utterance: "I give to thee all lands, all countries beneath thy sandals."

³Utterance: "I give to thee the duration of Re, the years of Atum."

⁴Utterance: "I give to thee an eternity of jubilees, like Re."

⁵Utterance: "I give to thee all food-offerings."

⁶Utterance: "I give to thee all life, stability, satisfaction; all health."

⁷Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, presider over Karnak.

Over Bast

¹Mut, the great Bast, ruler of Karnak, mistress of amiability and love.

Over Khonsu

Khonsu in Thebes, Beautiful Rest, Horus, lord of joy.

Over Mat

Utterance of Mat, daughter of Re: "O my son, of my body, my beloved, Lord of the Two Lands, lord of might, Menmare."

Over Spoil

151. ¹[Presentation of] the tribute by the Good God, ²to his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, when he returned from the country of Kheta (*Ht*'), ³devastating the [rebellious] countries, smiting the Asiatics, ⁴[taking] their possessions of silver, gold, lapis lazuli, malachite, ⁵and [every] splendid, [costly stone], according as he decreed to him might and victory against every country.

Over Prisoners, Upper Lines

152. ¹Great chiefs of Retenu (*Rtnw*) the wretched, whom his majesty ²carried off in his victories in the country of Kheta (*Ht*'), ³in order to fill the storehouse of his august father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, ⁴according as he has given to him might against the south and victory against the north. ⁵The chiefs of the countries, they say in acclaiming his majesty, L. P. H., ⁶in magnifying his might: "Hail to thee, O king of

Egypt, Sun of the Nine Bows. Great is thy fame, O lord of gods, (for) thou hast carried away all^a the countries, ⁸thou bindest them beneath the two feet of thy son Horus, Vivifier of the Two Lands."

Over Prisoners, Lower Line

Great is thy fame, O victorious king; how great is thy might! Thou art Montu in every country; thy strength is like his form.

SCENE 20. SLAYING PRISONERS BEFORE AMON^b

153. This scene on the right of the door forms the symmetrical pendant of the like scene (11) on the left of the door, from which it differs only in the inscriptions. The account of Scene 11 (§§ 113 ff.) may serve equally well for this scene.

Before King

154. Good God, great in might, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Offering: Menmare, achieving with his sword —; Son of Re, smiting myriads, Lord of Diadems: Seti-Merneptah, smiter of —, given life, like Re.

Behind King

All protection, life, stability, satisfaction, all health, are behind him, like Re. The living king's-ka, Lord of the Two Lands, presiding over the *qb* ʿ *t*-hall, presiding over the *dw* ʿ *t*-hall;^c he is given all life. Mighty Bull, Shining in Thebes, Vivifier of the Two Lands.

Over King

Hartema, lord of offering, smiting the countries, overthrowing his enemies.

Under Vulture

She gives victory, like Re; she gives all life, and satisfaction, like Re.

^aOn the use of *r* ʿ, see my *De Hymnis in Solem sub Rege Amenophide IV Conceptis*, 22-25; but my explanation of the phrase in the sun-hymn, "*yn' k r ʿ -sn*" (*ibid.*), is to be modified in view of this Seti passage. *R* ʿ is here clearly equivalent to "*number*," as so often in the great Papyrus Harris, and is used like *inw*, "*number*," in the sense of "*all*." "*Yn*," being parallel with "*w* ʿ *j*, seize or bind," is clearly used as usual with the meaning: "*carry away captive*."

^bFor bibliography, see Fig. 1.

^cSee IV, 410, l. 1.

Before and behind Amon

155. ¹[Utterance of Amon:] ——— the Two Lands, my son, of my body, my beloved, Lord of the Two Lands: Menmare, brilliant in diadems ——— ²——— his enemies. Thou hast carried away all countries; he who approaches [thy] boundaries ——— ³——— it is on the north of him; thy excellent fame is all that he (the sun) encircles; thy fear has penetrated ——— ⁴——— thy victories. I put the fear of thee in their hearts so that thou cuttest down the Curly-Haired^a ——— ⁵——— thy — in order to make me lord of their heads. The Sand-dwellers (*Hry'w-š*) ——— ⁶——— I — my mace as ⁷——— thee, subduing for thee the rebe⁸[llious-hearted] ——— ⁹——— their chiefs [come] to thee with all their good tribute of their countries. I have given to thee Egypt (*T²-mry*) ¹⁰——— [captives] for thy treasury. I cause the South to come to thee, doing obeisance, and the North bowing down. ¹¹——— before thy face. I have given to thee a kingdom established on earth, I make thy terror to circulate in ¹²——— the sea 'bring¹ his 'wealth¹; I have opened for thee the highways of Punt. ¹³——— who is there. I give to thee Inmutef^b (*Yn-mw't* [f]) to lead thee, Khonsu and Horus-Soped, ¹⁴——— as thy followers, I make for thee his two hands as a cool retreat of the countries, ¹⁵——— [the countries that knew] not Egypt. I cause thy majesty to tread it like one — faced, like the wolf ¹⁶———. I give to thee the possessions of Horus and Set, and their victories. The portions of the two gods are made thy portions.

Over List of Captives

156. List of those southern and northern lands, which his majesty smote, making a great slaughter among them of unknown number. Their subjects are carried away as living captives to [fill] the storehouse of his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, all countries —.

Under Amon's Foot

——— I give to thee all lands, every country is beneath thy sandals.

^aFor *rd* read *nd*, as in Tombos Inscription, l. 8 (II, 71).

^bLit., "*Pillar of his Mother*." See II, 133 and 138, note.

WADI HALFA STELA^a

157. As stated above (§ 74), this monument is practically a duplicate of a stela erected by Seti I at the same place six months before, recording his father's pious works in the southernmost of the two temples at Wadi Halfa. It was perhaps erected by Seti after his campaign of the first year, as it is dated in that year, and refers at the same time to "*the captivity of his majesty*."^b The king is only confirming the offerings established by his father, as they are identical with those on Ramses I's stela (§§ 74 ff.), and this identity, and the absence of Ramses I's name, make it certain that Ramses I had died in the interval between the two stelæ. Moreover, both stelæ are of Seti I's first year; on the first his father is still living; on the second, six months later, he is not mentioned. Hence he died in Seti's first year, and probably in his own second year; at most he reigned two and a half years.

Introduction

158. ¹Year 1, fourth month of the third season, the last day. Live Seti I^c ². . . . given life, beloved of ³Amon, lord of Thebes, and Min-si-ese, appearing upon the Horus-throne of the living, like his father, Re, every day.

Establishment of Offerings

159. Lo, his majesty was ⁴i[n the city of Memphis (*H·t-k·-Ptḥ*)] performing the ceremonies of his father, Harakhte, Ptah, the great, South-of-His-Wall, lord of Life-of-the-Two-Lands, Atum, lord of the

^aSandstone stela in the British Museum (No. 1189); published by Turajeff, St. Petersburg, 1902. The above translation is from my own copy of the original; the brackets contain restorations from Ramses I's stela (§§ 74 ff.).

^bThis captivity might possibly refer to some raid of Seti's among the Nubians, for in an inscription at Silsileh (Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 165-67), otherwise consisting of conventional phrases only, he is called: "*bringer of the limits of the land of the Negroes as living captives*." Moreover, as the stela reproduces that of his father merely, the phrase may be only an inadvertent repetition.

^cThe full fivefold titulary, as at Redesiyeh (§ 169).

Two Lands of Heliopolis ⁵and all [the gods] of Egypt (*T³-mry*), according as they gave [to him] might and victory over all lands, united with one heart under thy sandals. 1 — — — 1⁶[His majesty^a commanded] to found [divine offerings for his father Min-] Amon residing in Bohen (*Bhn't*), his first foundation in his temple: 12 (*pr't-s*) loaves; 7[100 (*by²'t*) loaves; 4 (*ds*) jars of beer; 10 bundles of vegetables.]^b

Priests and Servants

160. [Likewis]e this temple was filled with prophets, ritual priests, priests (*w^c b*); ⁸his storehouse was filled with male and female slaves from the captivity of his majesty, L. P. H., [the King of Upper and Lower Egypt] Menmare (Seti I), given life, like Re, forever and ever.

161. ⁹Lo, his majesty sought excellent things to do them for his father Min-A[mon] ¹⁰residing in Bohen; he made a great, august stela of good sandstone for the — place ———— ¹¹of [his father], Amon, for the beautiful birth-house of the ennead, where appears the lord of gods, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt ————.

INSCRIPTIONS OF REDESIYEH^c

162. The reliefs in the vestibule contain two stereotyped scenes, showing the king overthrowing the people of the north and south. These evidently do not refer to specific victories of Seti, but are of the conventional order. They are as follows:

163. ^dAmon, leading ten peoples captive, extends the

^aThere is not room for the cartouche, as on Ramses I's stela (l. 6).

^bDeterminative preserved, showing with the first item that Seti's list was identical with Ramses I's (l. 7). Turajeff inserts all the items and numbers, probably from the stela of Ramses I.

^cIn the temple usually given the same name, although it is located in the desert thirty-seven miles east of the modern Redesiye (Baedeker, 347 f.), which is on the Nile about five miles above Edfu. It was discovered by Cailliaud in 1816. The inscriptions have never been completely published; the most important ones by Lepsius (*Denkmäler*, III, 139-41, *d*, copied thence by Rheinisch, *Chrestomathie*, Taf. 9); the long ones much better by Golénischeff (*Recueil*, XIII, Pl. I and II). See also Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, IV, 75-84.

^dLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 139, *a*.

(*hps*-) sword to Seti, who slays a group of Kushites before the god. Interspersed are the following inscriptions:

Over Amon

164. Utterance of Amon: "Take to thyself the sword, O mighty king, Horus of the bows, in order to overthrow the chiefs of Kush, the wretched; in order to cut off their heads. Thy terror enters into their bodies, like Sekhmet when she rages."^a

By the King

Smiting the chiefs of Kush the wretched.

Scene^b

165. Same as above, only with Horus^c in place of Amon, and Asiatics in place of Kushites; inscriptions as follows:

Over Horus

Utterance of Horus of Edfu: "Take to thyself the sword, O mighty King, Horus, shining in Thebes, in order to smite the rebellious countries, that violate thy boundaries. Thy fame is among them forever; (they) fall in their blood by the might of thy father, Amon, who hath decreed thee might and victory."

166. In addition to these unimportant scenes, the temple contains three inscriptions^d of great importance as indicating the revival of intercourse with the Red Sea region, and the exploitation of the gold mines in the Gebel Zebâra district^e. According to these inscriptions, the road to the mines eastward though the desert, was so lacking in water that the working of the mines in Seti's time had languished. Seti undertook to establish communications by digging a well on

^aThe list of ten names in the ovals of the captives is entirely conventional.

^bLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 140, a.

^cThe god here leads only six countries, of which Shinar, Shasu, Kadesh, Ashur, and Megiddo are certain.

^dCut on the face of the rock in which the temple is excavated.

^eSee Lepsius, *Metalle*, 36, 37.

this road thirty-seven miles from the Nile, claiming that he was the first to do so, although the name of a "*king's-son*" under Amenhotep III, named "*Mermose*,"^a still surviving, cut on the rocks in the vicinity, proves the use of the station already in the Eighteenth Dynasty.

167. The first inscription, dated in the year 9, narrates the successful completion of the well and also the erection of a temple and establishment of a settlement at this station. The heretofore unnoticed motive for all this elaborate equipment is stated in the king's words to be (l. 13): "*on behalf of my beautiful house in Abydos.*" This is, of course, Seti's famous temple at Abydos, which he says was erected "*by oracle of the god*" (l. 13). It is to endow the king's mortuary service in this temple that he is now restoring communications with the eastern gold regions. He therefore prays, as he worships for the first time in the new temple at the newly established station on the road to the mines, that the god may instruct coming generations of kings and princes to respect his establishment, presumably both at Abydos, and at the new station by which communication with the source of revenue for Abydos was to be maintained. This explains why the next inscription of nineteen lines, the longest of the three, is devoted almost exclusively to warnings and curses addressed to those who may in future interfere with the arrangements by which Seti hopes to perpetuate the income of his Abydos temple from the gold mines. Hence at its close (l. 19) he calls down the vengeance of Osiris, Isis, and Horus upon the person, wife, and children of any official of the necropolis (of course, at Abydos) who shall disregard ("*avert the face from*") "*the command of Osiris.*" But, notwithstanding these solemn adjurations of Seti, he had

^a*Recueil*, XIII, 79, and Pl. IV, No. 1.

not been dead a year when his mortuary endowments at Abydos were suspended (§ 263). They were then re-enacted by his son, Ramses II (§ 271, ll. 73-75; § 272, 77-89).

168. The third inscription records the gratitude of the king's people who use the new station and the road thus rendered easy. They call him "*the good shepherd*"^a (l. 2), and it is not accidental that in the dedicatory inscription of Seti's Abydos temple, he is likewise called the "*mighty shepherd*,"^b indicating that particular activity of the king, to which the temple owed its income.

I. FIRST INSCRIPTION^c

Introduction

169. Year 9, third month of the third season, the twentieth day, under the majesty of Horus: Mighty-Bull-Shining-in-Thebes-Vivifier-of-the-Two-Lands; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Uhemmesut,^d Mighty of Sword, Expelling-the-Nine-Bows; Golden Horus: Repeating-Coronations, Mightiest-of-Bows-in-All-Lands; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Menmare (*Mn-m³c-t-R*); Son of Re: Seti-Merneptah, given life forever and ever.

Seti's Excursion in the Desert

170. On this day, 10, as his majesty inspected the hill-country as far as the region of the mountains, his heart desired^a to see the mines from which the electrum^e is brought. Now, when his majesty had

^aRead the standing man, with the staff and sack (?), as s³, e. g., Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1435. The same phrase (s³ n/r) applied to the king occurs in Mariette, *Karnak*, 35, l. 62 (corrected from photo); and compare also Libyan war of Merneptah (§ 580, l. 16). See also Bergmann, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1890, 40, n. 2.

^bLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 138, d.

^cLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 140, b = Golénischeff, *Recueil*, XIII, Pl. 1.

^dWhm-msw t = "Begetting again," or "Begotten (or born) again."

^eGold was commonly found with so large an admixture of silver as often to be thus spoken of; and in this same temple the god says to Seti: "*I have given to thee the gold-countries, giving to thee what is in them of electrum, lapis lazuli and malachite.*" Lepsius, *Métalle*, 45, and *Denkmäler*, III, 141, b. The same in Ramses III's treasury (IV, 28).

ascended from the signs of numerous water courses, he made a halt in the road, in order to devise counsel with his heart, and he said: "How evil is the way without water! It is as with a traveler ³whose mouth is parched. 'How' shall their (sic!) throats 'be cooled', how shall he (sic!) quench their thirst; for the lowland is far away, and the highland is vast. The thirsty man cries out for himself against a fatal country. Make haste! Let ⁴me take counsel of their needs. I will make for them a supply ⁵for preserving them alive, so that they will thank god in my name, in after years. They shall come, and the generations which are to be, shall come to charm by me, because of my might and because that, lo, I am kind-hearted, inclining toward ⁵the circuit runners."

The Successful Well

171. Now, after his majesty had spoken these his words, in his own heart, he coursed through the highland seeking a place to make a water-station. Lo, the god led him, in order to grant the request which he desired. Then were commanded workmen ⁶in stone, to dig a well upon the mountains, that he might sustain the fainting, and cool for him the burning heart in summer. Then this place was built in the great name of Menmare (*Mn-m²c-t-R^c*, Seti I), and the ⁷water inundated it in very great plenty like the two caves^b of Elephantine.

Plan for a Settlement and Temple

172. Said his majesty: "Behold, the god has performed my petition and he has brought to me water upon the mountains. Since the gods the way has been dangerous, (but) it has been made pleasant in my glorious reign. ⁸The districts of the colporteurs are refreshed, the land is extended, my reign is with might in every respect. It has not been known — — — under me. Another good thought has come into my heart, at command of the god, even the equipment of a town, ⁹in whose august midst shall be a resting-place, a settlement, with a temple. I will build a resting-place in this spot, in the great name of my fathers, the gods. May they grant that what I have wrought abide, that my name prosper, circulating through the hill-country."

^aThis is the same as **-mw*, "water-supply," in the Assiut inscriptions (I, 407), but the *mw* is here omitted, as also sometimes elsewhere. See also II, 698.

^bText has *tpk-t* and *krty*, from which the Krophî and Mophî, given by Herodotus as the Nile sources, were doubtless corrupted.

Construction of the Temple

173. Then his majesty commanded ¹⁰that the leader (*hrp*) of the king's workmen be commissioned, and with him the quarrymen, that there should be made by digging (*š' d*)^a in this mountain, this temple, wherein is Amon, in whose midst is Re, in whose great house are Ptah, Osiris, Horus, Isis, Menmare (Seti I), and the divine ennead ¹¹belonging in this temple.

Seti Worships in the New Temple

174. Now, after the stronghold was completed, adorned and its paintings executed, his majesty came to worship his fathers, all [the gods]. He said: "Praise to you, O great gods! who furnished heaven and earth according to their mind. May ye favor me ¹²forever, may ye establish my name eternally. As I have been profitable, as I have been useful to you, as I have been watchful for the things which ye desire, may ye speak to those who are still to come (*yw' ty' sn*), whether kings, or princes or people (*rhy' t*), that they establish ¹³for me my work in the place, on behalf of my beautiful house in Abydos, made by the oracle of the god, the existent one, that they may not subvert his plan. Say ye, that it was done by your oracle, for that ye are the lords. I have spent my life and my might for you, ¹⁴to attain my acceptability from you. Grant that my monuments may endure for me, and my name abide upon them."

II. SECOND INSCRIPTION^b*Address to Earlier Kings*

175. ¹King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Menmare (Seti I), Son of Re: Seti-Merneptah. He saith to his fathers, all the Kings of Upper Egypt, the Kings of Lower Egypt, the rulers^c and the people (*rhy' t*): "Hearken to me, ye chiefs of bowmen of the Land of Egypt (*T' -mry*); may ye hear ²the things, O may ye —. I have desired to requite your virtues alike, ye being like gods; a lord is counted among the divine ennead. I have said this for the 'guidance' of my caravaneers of the gold-washers to my temple, to set them carrying ³for my house ——— my temple."

^aAll except the vestibule of the temple is excavated in the side of the mountain.

^bLepsius, *Denkmäler*, 140, c = Golénischeff, *Recueil*, XIII, Pl. II.

^cIt is possible to render also: "rulers of the people."

Warning to Caravaneers on the Inviolability of Gold

176. As for gold, it is the limbs of the gods;^a not your possession. Take care lest ye say 'that which' Re said at his beginning of speech: "My skin is of pure electrum."

Warning to Caravaneers concerning Earlier Endowments

177. "Now, Amon, the lord of my temple ⁴———. His two eyes are upon his possessions. They do not desire to be deprived of their belongings. Take heed against the incursions of their people, because they are like them that taste his —. Make not ⁵joy ———. As for the one who trespasses upon the matter of another, there shall come to him an end, by doing likewise; the monument of the violator shall be violated, and there shall not remain an example of the deceivers — — 'the king.'"

Seti's New Plans

178. "——— to let you know that I have inaugurated a way, in order to save you; I have made the caravaneers into gold-washers in — ⁷in my name ——— my — by my virtues. I have made them into caravaneers anew, in order that they might remain under me. I have not brought from other ⁸caravaneers ——— among the children of my temple, or among the mountaineers of my sanctuary."

Exhortation and Good Wishes to Future Kings

179. "As for any king who shall be after me, he shall establish my work, ⁹in order to cause to abide ——— conveying his impost to the house of Menmare (Seti I), to gild all their images, made by Amon, Harakhte, Ptah-¹⁰Ta[te]nen ——— they flourish. May they rule the lands with gladness of heart, may they overthrow the Red Lands and Nubia; may their ka's abide; may their food-offerings endure. May he satisfy ¹¹those who are upon earth; may Re hear ———."

Warning to Kings Who Shall Disregard Seti's Establishments

180. ——— saying: "Now, as for any king, who is to come, who shall overthrow any of my plans with me, he is one of whom the lands after me shall say, that I and they were as they are ¹²with him; an evil

^aCompare the words of Ptah in his address to Ramses II (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 194; § 401, l. 7).

matter for the heart of the gods. Behold, one shall answer him in Heliopolis ———. They shall make answer concerning their affairs. They shall redden like flame of fire, and they shall consume their limbs, (because) they ¹³hearkened not to me. They shall consume the violator of my plans, in order to place him in the dungeon of the gate.”^a

Good Will for the King Who Respects Seti's Establishments

190.^b “[As for him who respects] our affairs, cause to save him, void of his offense; for he is another who derives ¹⁴understanding from the divine ennead; they shall abide with him.”

Blessing on Seti's Officials, Who Shall Survive Him

191. Now, as for any official who shall survive to (the time of) a king after me, he shall cause to remember good, in order to establish the matter which I have done in my name. May the god give reverence for him on earth; may his end be satisfaction ¹⁵brought to his ka.

Curse on Disregardful Officials Surviving Seti

192. Now, as for any official who shall bring near this thought to his lord, in order to take away the (*hsb'w*) people,^c to give them to another, [—] by counsels of evil testimony; the fire shall burn his glowing limbs, the flame shall ¹⁶devour his members, because his majesty made all these things for their ka, the lords of my house. An abomination of the god is the transgression against his people. None turns away the violating hand except it be the caravaneers ¹⁷of the gold-washing, which I have made for the house of Menmare, protected and defended. It shall not be made to fall by any people who are in the whole land, by any chief archer of the gold, or by any inspector of the highlands.

Further Warning to Respect Endowment

193. Now, as for anyone who shall transgress against the people therein, ¹⁸putting (them) into another place, the gods and goddesses, the lords of my house shall execute upon him the appropriate penalty. (For) there is none ^dto oppose that any of my property in the inventory

^aThe prison at Thebes was at the gate of the temple of Amon (IV, 541).

^bIntentional omission of nine in numbering sections.

^cSome kind of official people in Seti's new establishment, whom Seti now warns their superiors not to take away, in disregard of his endowment.

^dThe negative *n* is to be read.

should be beneath their feet, forever and ever; except it be the chief archer of the caravaneers of the gold-washing of the house of ¹⁹Menmare, by his hand, presenting their impost of gold to the house of Menmare.

Curse on One Disregarding Command of Osiris

194. As for anyone who shall avert the face from the command of Osiris, Osiris^a shall pursue^b him, Isis shall pursue his wife, Horus shall pursue his children, among all the princes of the necropolis, and they shall execute their judgment with him.

III. THIRD INSCRIPTION^c

195. ¹Horus: Mighty-Bull-Shining-in-Thebes, Vivifier-of-the-Two-Lands; King of Upper and Lower Egypt [Menmare (Seti I)]; he made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, and his divine ennead; making for them a temple anew:^d wherein the gods are satisfied; before which he dug a well. Never was made ²the like of it by any king, save by the king, the maker of glorious things, the Son of Re, Seti-Merneptah, the good shepherd,^e who preserves his soldiers alive, the father and mother of all. They say from mouth to mouth: "O Amon, give to him eternity; double to him everlastingness. Ye gods dwelling in the well,^f ³give ye to him your duration; for he hath opened for us the way to march in; (when) it was closed up before us. We proceed^g and are saved; we arrive and are preserved alive. The difficult way, which is in our memory, ⁴has become a good way. He (the king) has caused the mining of the gold to be like the sight of the Horus-hawk.^h All generations that are to be, beseech for him eternity, that he may celebrate jubilees like Atum, that he may flourish like the Edfuan Horus,

^aA second *ws*-throne has been omitted in the original; "Osiris" must be read twice, as the parallels following show.

^bLit., "*be behind*;" cf. English "*be after*."

^cLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 140, *d* = Golénischeff, *Recueil*, XIII, Pl. II.

^dOr: "*for the first time*."

^eSee § 168 and note.

^fThe formal name of each god, as patron of the temple and well, was: "*Amon or Horus (or any god in the ennead) dwelling in the well of Menmare*" (see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 139, *b*, *c*, *e*, *f*).

^g"*T 3 wnn hr, etc.*," and "*Twn hr, etc.*," are parallel, the first being a miswriting of the auxiliary verb.

^hAn obscure comparison; Golénischeff thinks it refers to the swiftness of the hawk's eye.

for he has made monuments upon the highlands for all the gods; he hath dug for water upon the mountains, (although) far^a from men, the supply of every messenger that traverses the highlands, with the life, stability, and satisfaction^b of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menmare (Seti I), beloved of Amon-Re, king of gods.

196. On the neighboring rocks three of the officials intrusted by Seti with the establishment or administration of the station have left inscriptions. In the first two^c the official's name is no longer legible, though in the second one may discern the words:

197. "Made by the officer of marines ——— commissioned to dig (*šd i*) 'The Well of Seti-Merneptah.'"

198. The third^d was made by Iny (*Yny*), an official of high rank, who is shown praising Seti I, thus:

"Praise to thy ka, O good and beautiful ruler, child of Amon, the sun (*šw*), in seeing whom one lives. O ka of every house, my god, who fashioned me, in order to make me; grant thou the food of the great. How prosperous is he who follows thee daily. [For the] ka of the chief of the stable, of the 'Stable of Seti-Merneptah,' charioteer of [his] majesty, king's-son of Kush —, chief of the gendarmes, Ini (*Yny*)
—————."

BUILDING INSCRIPTIONS

199. Seti I has not left us any long record of his buildings, like those which we find in the Eighteenth Dynasty. Of his notable activity as a builder the only inscripational witnesses are several quarry stelæ, and the architrave and other dedication formulæ still to be found in the buildings themselves. Besides erecting new temples, Seti was active in

^aMeaning the water; it was formerly far from men in this place.

^bThat is, "in the service" of the king.

^cGolénischeff, *Recueil*, XIII, Pl. III.

^dLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 138, n; corrections by Golénischeff, *Recueil*, XIII, 79.

restoring the old. Throughout the country he had his sculptors at work restoring the defacement of the gods' names which had taken place under Ikhnaton, especially that of Amon. Examples of these restorations will be found frequently, as in the temple of Amenhotep III at El Kab,^a on the great building record of Amenhotep III at Thebes (II, 878); or on the obelisks of Hatshepsut (II, 312). They are usually recorded thus:

200. Restoration of the monument which King Seti I made in the house of — (name of a god).

Taking up first the quarry stelæ, the following are the building inscriptions of Seti I:

I. FIRST CATARACT INSCRIPTIONS

I. ASSUAN INSCRIPTION^b

201. In his ninth year, Seti I sent an expedition to Assuan, to obtain granite for his obelisks and colossi; the expedition left a record of its work on the rocks, showing Seti offering to Khnum, Satet, and Anuket, in a relief at the top, below which is the following inscription:

202. Year 9 under the majesty of^c Seti I.^d

His majesty, L. P. H., commanded to execute numerous works, in order to make very great obelisks^e and great and marvelous statues, with the name of his majesty.^f

^aLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 138, g, and Text, IV, 45.

^bOn the rocks on the route from Philæ to Assuan; published from inaccurate copies in de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, I, 7. The text is, according to de Morgan, "très mal gravée," so that the concluding lines are untranslatable in his publication.

^cFull titulary. ^dA series of conventional epithets of the king are omitted.

^eSee his only surviving obelisk, from Heliopolis (§§ 544 ff.), and the mention of them on his temple model (§ 246).

^fThe remainder is totally unintelligible in the publication. A mutilated and badly copied rock inscription of Seti from the same locality (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 141, i), doubtless contained similar information as the above text, for it is also dated in "year 9" and begins: "His majesty, L. [P.] H., commanded to make great obelisks for Egypt. Then his majesty found ————" (remainder lost).

2. ELEPHANTINE STELA^a

203. Above, Seti I worships Amon and Khnum; below, an inscription of eighteen lines, containing a prayer of the king to Khnum. It is very fragmentary, and the only data of historical importance are these:

204. ¹⁴———— Thou hast flooded thy temple with their food-offerings ————— ¹⁵———— of silver, gold, lapis lazuli, and malachite; thou hast filled [thy] storehouse ————— ¹⁶————. Thou hast given to me the South as well as the North, the West and the East, beneath [my sandals].^b

II. SILSILEH QUARRY STELA^c

205. In his sixth year Seti I sent an expedition of one thousand men to Silsileh to procure blocks of sandstone for his temples. He records with pride his humane treatment

^aA stela set up at one corner of one of the Elephantine temples; copied and published by Champollion (*Notices descriptives*, I, 223, 224), but since probably covered up again, as it was not copied by de Morgan's expedition.

^bThese are conventional terms, and may not apply to any particular conquests of Seti. A neighboring rock shows him in the ancient traditional style smiting the southern enemy, while the viceroy of Kush adores him. The latter is accompanied by the following inscription: "*Fan-bearer on the king's right hand, governor of the Southern Country, king's-son, Amenemopet*" (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 141, *h* = de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 28-5). This viceroy of Kush has left his name several times in this locality, e. g., on the island of Sehel (*ibid.*, 103, No. 53; also Mariette, *Monuments divers*, No. 53). Farther up the river he has left a considerable inscription (Sayce, *Recueil*, 16, 170 ff.). "Above the inscription is a representation of the Pharaoh in the act of slaying an enemy; behind him is a chariot drawn by two horses which are galloping away from the scene of combat, while to the left is a standing human figure. On the left-hand side of the last seven lines of hieroglyphic text are three vertical lines of inscription recording the name of Amen-mapet, the royal son of Kush, to the left of which again is the figure of a man kneeling on one knee and holding a 'fan' in his hand." This is Amenemopet, as the inscription beside him shows: the long inscription referred to contains only conventional praise of Seti I, in which occur the phrases: "*Valiant king, making his boundary to the limits in the 'Horns of the Earth.'* *hacking up their town The Southerners come to him in obeisance, and the Northerners with prostrations.*"

^cOn the east shore at Silsileh in the sandstone quarry, published by Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 263-65, and Griffith, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XI, Pl. IV; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, IV, 98; cf. Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 141, *e* (also *f* and *g*) and Text, IV, 97.

of his workmen, and the bountiful character of the rations which he issued to them.

Dispatch of the Expedition

206. ¹Year 6, fourth month of the first season, first day, under the majesty of Seti I.^a 4. On this day, lo, his majesty, L. P. H., was in the Southern City,⁵ performing the pleasing ceremonies^b of his father, Amon-Re, king of gods, spending the night awake in pursuit of benefactions for the gods, the lords of Egypt. When the land brightened ⁶and [‘day’] came, [his majesty], L. P. H., commanded to send a king’s-messenger of [his] majesty, L. P. H., with a body of citizens of the army, being 1,000 men ⁷——— in troops to transport the monuments of his father Amon-Re-Osiris and his divine ennead, of fine sandstone.

Rations of the Troops

207. His majesty, L. P. H., ⁸increased that which was furnished to the army in ointment, ox-flesh, fish, and plentiful vegetables without limit. ⁹Every man among them had 20 deben^c of bread daily, ¹²1 bundles of vegetables, a roast of flesh; and ¹²1 linen garments monthly. (Thus) they worked ¹⁰with a loving heart for his majesty, L. P. H., his plans were pleasing in the mouth of the people who were with the king’s-messenger of his majesty, L. P. H.

Rations of the King’s-Messenger and Standard-Bearers

208. ¹¹That which he had: good bread, ox-flesh, wine, sweet oil, (‘olive’) oil, ‘fat’, honey, figs, ‘—’, fish, and vegetables every day. Likewise the wreath^d ¹²of his majesty, L. P. H., which was paid him from the House of Sebek, lord of Silsileh, daily; 20 linen garments were paid to the magazine of the standard-bearers of his army ¹³in like manner.^e

^aAfter the date nearly four lines are occupied by the names, titles, and epitheta of Seti I; they are very much mutilated.

^bThe original is corrupt; it must contain the usual *hr’ yr t hss’ t*, etc., occurring in this connection, e. g., on the Assuan stela of Thutmose IV (II, 826).

^cNearly four pounds.

^dMr. Alan Gardiner has called my attention to the occurrence of this word (‘*nb*’) here.

^eUsual conventional phrases attached to the names of the king in conclusion.

III. GEBELÊN QUARRY INSCRIPTION^a

209. The fragmentary record of Seti's quarrying operations at Gebelên shows that he took out stone there for his mortuary temple at Thebes, on the west side by Kurna.

210. ^b———— to search out [—]¹ — — Hathor, in order to cut out very much stone therein, (for) the "House-of-Menmare (Seti I)-of-Millions-of-Years-upon-the-West-of-Thebes." Then he came to his majesty, L. P. H., saying ————— an opportunity of making his name to flourish in the whole land. On this day, the overseer of [the treasury], Thutmose — who — — — gave silver and gold of one time,^c to prosecute his work ————— to cut out very much stone (for) the "House-of-Menmare (Seti I)," while working — —. He said: "— plan — the king protect —" — regulation of the impost, to assign their [overseer]¹ who is in charge of "Lord-of-Life;"^d the people — the work. It is his father, Amon ————— telling thee the desires of the heart [since]¹ the time of the god. For the ka of the scribe, who conducts the monuments of the Lord of the Two Lands, the chief of works, Hui.

IV. MORTUARY TEMPLE AT THEBES (KURNA)

211. Besides the quarry inscription at Gebelên, Seti has recorded the erection of his beautiful mortuary temple at Kurna in a series of dedication inscriptions in the building itself. Several show that the temple was also dedicated to the mortuary ritual of his deceased father:

212. ^eSeti I; he made (it) as his monument for his father, Osiris-Ramses I [triumphant; making for him a house] of millions of years, the "Temple-of-the-Spirit-of-Seti-Merneptah-in-the-House-of-Amon-on-the-West-of-Thebes;" and fashioning his barque, [built]¹ of electrum, in

^aIn one of the quarries, on the rocks at Gebelên; found there and published by Daressy, *Recueil*, X, 134.

^bHere are visible the fragments of Seti I's titulary, which was doubtless preceded by the date and followed by the words: "His majesty commanded, etc."

^cA kind of gold.

^dThe name of the mountain on the west of Thebes; also the word for "*sarcophagus lid*."

^eChampollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 705.

order to carry his beauty in the procession of the lord of gods, at his feast of the valley.

213. ^aSeti I; he made (it) as his monument for his father, the Good God, Menpehtire (Ramses I), making for him a place of coolness forever.

^b. making for him a Great House of silver, wrought with electrum ———.

^b. making for him an august palace of eternity.

^b.^c making for him a house of millions of years on the west of Thebes.

214. The name of the temple: "*Temple-of-the-Spirit-of-Seti-Merneptah-in-the-House-of-Amon-on-the-West-of-Thebes*"^d shows clearly that it was also Seti's own mortuary temple. Hence I have also found six dedications to himself alone or to Amon:

215. 1.^e Seti I; he made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, — — of Karnak, making for him a great palace, an august holy of holies, for the divine ennead, a place of rest for the lord of the gods at his beautiful feast of the valley; which the son of Re, Seti I, given life, like Re, forever, made for him.

216. 2.^e Seti I; he made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, king of gods, making for him a house of millions of years, on the west of Thebes, over against Karnak, of fine white sandstone, made very high and great, which the son of Re, etc.^f

217. 3.^g Seti I; he made it as his monument for his father, Amon-

^aLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 131, *b*; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 707.

^bBrugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, 52, 3; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 132, *g*, *h*. Usual introduction omitted.

^cLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 131, *c* and *d*; also *ibid.*, 132, *h*.

^dSeti I's temple at Memphis was also called: "*Temple-of-the-Spirit-of-Seti-Merneptah-in-the-House-of-Ptah*" (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1223).

^eLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 132, *a*; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 696, 697.

^fAs in No. 1; but the name here is that of Ramses II, according to Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 696.

^gLepsius, *Denkmäler*, 132, *e*, and again 152.

Re, lord of Thebes, residing in the "Temple-of-the-Spirit-of-Seti-Merneptah-in-the-House-of-Amon-on-the-West-of-Thebes," making for him a house of millions of years, of fine, white sandstone, a place of appearance for the lord of gods, to behold the beauty of Thebes. The doors thereof are of real cedar, wrought with Asiatic copper, made high and large.

218. 4.^a making for him a wide hall, shining in the midst of his house, a place for the appearance of his august image at his beautiful "Feast of the Valley." The great divine ennead who are in Tazaser, their hearts are satisfied ———.

219. 5.^b He made (it) as his monument for his fathers, the gods and goddesses residing in the temple (called): "Spirit (*y' h*)-of-Seti-Merneptah-in-the-House-of-Amon-on-the-West-of-Thebes," making for them an august palace as a house of the holy of holies for the gods. When they rest in its palace, Amon-Re is at the front ———."

220. 6.^c making for him a house of millions of years on the west of Thebes, over against Karnak, of fine white sandstone, made very high and large.^d

221. The temple was not finished at Seti's death, but was completed by his son, Ramses II, who has left in it more dedication inscriptions (§§ 516-22) than did his father.

V. TEMPLE OF KARNAK

222. The northern half of the great hypostyle hall, including the nave, with both its rows of columns and also the first row south of the nave, are the work of Seti I. The pylon in front of the hall was at least begun under Ramses I. Seti's portion of the hall contains architrave inscriptions and dedications, recording the building as his work, though it was finished under his son, Ramses II. Its name was:

^aLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 132, *d*; and 152, *d*; the latter is fuller and better preserved; the omitted introduction is the same as No. 3.

^b"Chambre latérale, côté est de la grande salle" (Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, 51, 4).

^cChampollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 697; usual introduction is omitted.

^dConclusion as in No. 1.

"Temple-of-the-Son-of-Seti-Mernamon-in-the-House-of-Amon."

223. ^aSeti I; he made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes (*Ns'wt-t'wy*); making for him a great and splendid temple of fine sandstone. . . . ———. Utterance of Amon-Re, king of gods: "O my son, of my body, my beloved, lord of the Two Lands, Menmare (Seti I), Begotten of Re. How beautiful is this monument which thou hast made! O Uhem-mesut! Thou hast made festive my house a[*new*]; how exalted, how greatly extended are the august precincts,^b which existed before the kings of Upper and Lower Egypt. No god put it into their hearts to make [the like of that which thou hast made]."

224. Seti I, king, shining upon the steed like the son of Isis; archer, mighty of arm like Montu; a great wall of bronze, protecting his army; [—] upon the [field] in the day of battle; he did not consider^c millions gathered together, by the might of Amon, who assigns to him victory and might over every land.^d. Seti I, maker of monuments in the House of Amon [—], in order to make for him who begat him in the great and august precinct of Karnak, a beautiful, divine resting-place wherein Amon might rest, a place of appearance for the lord of the gods at his feast of the First of the Year.

Other references like: "*maker of monuments with a loving heart in the house of his father, Amon,*"^e occur in several places.

VI. MORTUARY TEMPLE AT ABYDOS

225. This, in decoration the most beautiful temple in Egypt, was chiefly the work of Seti I.^f While serving as a

^aArchitrave inscription over the columns of the north side; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 79, 80.

^b*S'wt*, lit., "*ground, pavement*," it is possible that we should understand it literally here, the reference being to the rise and extension of the site, which, according to Legrain, rose over a meter from Sesostris I to Seti (*Annales*, IV, 32, 33).

^cMeaning "he despised." ^dFuller titulary.

^eChampollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 78.

^fViews of the temple, Mariette, *Voyage dans la haute Egypte*, I, Pls. 19-34, and the author's *Egypt through the Stereoscope* (Nos. 43-45).

mortuary temple for himself, sacred to all the gods of Egypt, it was also closely identified with the mortuary cult of the remote kings of the earliest dynasties, with whose tombs in the desert behind, it was connected by a pylon and a causeway. All Egypt was conceived as participating in and contributing to this service of the gods and the early kings; hence the nomes of all Egypt are represented at its doors in personified form.

226. The first and second pylons, with all of the first and most of the second court, have perished, and with them the dedication inscriptions of the architraves.^a Those which remain are connected with the seven chapels devoted to the king and six great divinities, which form a row across the rear of the second hypostyle hall. In the center is Amon; on the right, Osiris, Isis, and Horus; on the left, Harakhte, Ptah, and the king himself. Thus the right is devoted to the Osirian triad, and the center and left to the three great state-gods of Thebes, Heliopolis, and Memphis, with whom is naturally associated the king himself as head of the state. The seven aisles leading to these chapels each bear inscriptions devoted to the divinity to whose chapel the respective aisle leads. These aisles pass through the first and second hypostyle, and the connecting doors between the two hypostyles bore dedications each to the divinity to whose chapel the respective aisle leads. These dedications of Seti I were erased by Ramses II, who inserted his own;^b only four^c are still legible:

^aA long inscription in one of the rear chambers represents the goddess Sakhmet as describing the temple, but it can hardly be called a dedication or building inscription (Mariette, *Abydos*, I, Pl. 50, 51), being chiefly of religious significance. On the foundation ceremony in this inscription, see Brugsch (*Thesaurus*, VI, 1268 f.).

^bHe erased the name of Seti throughout the first hypostyle (Mariette, *Abydos*, I, 14, 37).

^cMariette, *Abydos*, I, Pl. 13, c, d, e. The fourth (b), not read by Mariette,

227. King Seti I, given life. He made (it) as his monument for his mother Isis, the great, the divine mother; making for her a doorway of electrum (named): "Menmare-is-Rich-in-Food."

228. This formula was repeated at each of the doors, with only the necessary change in the name of the god and the door. The recesses for the opened double doors also bore each a dedication of the chapel itself, which was six times repeated on each doorway, varying only in the name of the chapel:

229. ^aSeti I; he made it as his monument for his father, Horus, residing in "House (*h·t*)-of-Menmare;" making for him a Great House (*h·t·c·t*) of gold, that he may be given life.

230. In the five repetitions on this door we find in place of "Great House" above: (2) *Doorway*; (3) *Divine Monument*; (4) *Great House (pr wr)*; (5) *August Palace*; and (6) *Place of the Heart's Rest*. In the aisle of Ptah the chapel is called:^b

(1) Great House (*pr wr*) Adorned with Electrum; (2) Splendid Palace like the Horizon of Heaven; (3) Temple made Festive with Provisions; (4) Glorious Temple upon the Excellent Seat; (5) August Temple of Gold; (6) Great Seat by the Side of 'Rosta'.

231. The chapels themselves also bear dedications. Three^c of these refer to the temple as a whole, and mention only Osiris:

232. I. He made (it) as his monument for Osiris, residing in "House (*h·t*)-of-Menmare;" making for him a temple like heaven; its

is furnished by Borchardt's copies. The four are dedicated to Horus, Isis, Osiris, and Harakhte. Another dedication to Amon-Re, king of gods, Harakhte, Ptah of Memphis, and Osiris is published partially by Daressy (*Recueil*, 21, 6). See also Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 138, b-f.

^a*Ibid.*, Pl. 14, a.

^b*Ibid.*, b. The designations may, of course, apply to the second hypostyle. Mariette published only the two given above.

^cAlong the ceilings; Mariette, *Abydos*, I, Pl. 19, b, c, d, and p. 17, § 49.

divine ennead are like the stars in it; its radiance is in the faces (of men) like the horizon of Re rising therein at early morning ———.

233. 2.^a making for him an august temple, the most pure [house] of eternity, splendid seat of everlastingness, fronted by images and figures of all gods.

234. 3.^a making for him a temple, beautiful, pure, glorious and excellent upon the divine soil of the lords of Tazeser, the cool seat of Wennofer, the rest — —.

235. The dedications on the chapel doorposts refer to the individual chapels, and mention on each one only the divinity to whom the respective chapel was devoted. The six^b are as follows:

236. 1a. HORUS. He made (it) as his monument for his father, Horus, son of Isis, residing in "House-of-Menmare;" making for him a great seat shining in the faces (of men), its door is like a great illumination, by the side of his mother, Isis, (named): "Menmare-is-the-Protector-of-His-Father."

237. 1b.^cin his house of millions of years; door (named):^d

2a. ISIS. making for her a Great Seat, its door glittering with every splendid costly stone, its door is gilded with electrum, giving forth radiance like the sun; (named): "Menmare-is-Enduring-in-Monuments."

2b. making for her a great house — [—] house of millions of years; (named):

3a. OSIRIS. making for him a Great Seat, over against the lord of Tazeser, a great house (*pr wr*), gilded with electrum, its door [fexpels] darkness like the sun, when he appears in the morning; (named): "Menmare-is-the-Enricher-of-Abydos."

3b. making for him a very radiant —, its doorway gilded with electrum, its door — — adorned with every splendid, costly stone; (named):

^aSame as No. 1.

^bMariette, *Abydos*, I, Pl. 18, *a-j*. Each dedication is double, one on each doorpost. One is fuller than the other. I have rendered the fuller form (*a*), adding the shorter as a variant (*b*).

^cSame as 1a, as far as "Isis."

^dAs in 1a.

4a. AMON. (Lost.)

4b. (Only fragments.)

5a. HARAKHTE. making for him a Great Seat, adorned with electrum, its door gilded with electrum (named): "Menmare-the-Emanation-of-Re-is-the-Satisfier-of-Re-in-Abydos."

5b. (The same.)

6a. PTAH. making for him a Great Seat, a chapel of the august 'god', its door gilded with electrum (named): "Menmare-Ruler-of-Thebes-is-Great-in-Might."

238. In each of the chapel doorways is a further fivefold dedication, each formula containing a different name for the respective chapel.^a

239. The colonnaded hall behind the Osiris-chapel contains a series of dedications inscribed on the columns. They begin with the usual formulary as above, but continue with various designations^b of the temple as a whole, each beginning with "*making for him;*" thus:

240. 1. a pure palace anew, of fine limestone of Ayan.
2. a temple anew in the glorious seat of eternity.
3. a divine palace in the place which his heart loved.
4. an august adytum in the district of the lords of Tazoser.
5. an august adytum in the nome of the lord of Tazoser.
6. a great house (*h' t c p t*), a splendid seat of the lords of eternity.
7. horizon of eternity, place for performing the pleasing ceremonies in the presence.
8. a pure audience-hall, excellent forever.
9. a palace, a door of the dwellers in the Nether World.
10. the great seat of the 'sanctuary'.
11. a pure dwelling in the precinct of Tazoser.
12. a house like the heavens, its beauty illuminating the Two Lands.
13. a glorious seat, excellent for giving jubilees to the king.
14. this monument, beautiful, pure, flourishing, and excellent.
15. the favorite place of Wennofer by the side of Tazoser.

^aThese thirty dedications were not copied by Mariette; but from Borchardt's copies it is evident that they contain for the most part the conventional designations, and need not be repeated here. There are some repetitions.

^bMariette, *Abydos*, I, Pl. 19, e.

241. The seventh chapel, devoted in large measure to the king, was, after all, sacred to the gods in general, as the following dedications^a show:

242. He made (it) as his monument for his fathers, the gods residing in "House-of-Menmare," making for them an august Great House (*pr wr*) in my house of millions of years, my great seat beside their majesties; (named): "Menmare-Equips-Abydos."

243. The other dedication begins with the same words, and proceeds: *making for them — — my door of millions of years (named): "King Menmare — —."* A. C. C.

VII. TEMPLE MODEL^b OF HELIOPOLIS

244. This unique monument was the base block of a model temple and accessory monuments executed by Seti I at Heliopolis. It shows the sockets in which were set up the side walls, the pylons, colossal statues, a pair of obelisks, and the last pair of the avenue of sphinxes between which are the steps leading up to the temple. It was clearly not an architect's working model, but served some religious purpose in the temple, like the model tools and implements always found in the temple foundation deposit, or the model temple offered by the kings to the gods. Supplementing the model, the inscriptions on the right and left edge mention the making of a holy of holies, which by metonymy may mean an entire temple; two pylons, doorways, two "*pairs*," and two obelisks. Now the materials given are such as are never used for such purposes in a real temple, and the inscriptions therefore unquestionably refer to the model

^aMariette, *Abydos*, I, Pl. 28, *e*.

^bA single block of gritstone about 34½ by 44½ inches, and 9½ inches thick, "discovered at a village near Cairo in 1875," now in the possession of Commander H. H. Gorringe, U. S. N. It was published by Emil Brugsch in *Recueil*, 7-9, Pls. III and IV, and by Gorringe in his *Egyptian Obelisks* (New York, 1882), Pl. XXXII.

itself and to its parts. The model itself is the “*holy of holies*” (*sh̄m*), also called “*temple*” (*h̄ t-ntr*) of conglomerate; the two miniature pylons were of some costly white stone, the doorways of bronze, the flagstaves (the “*pairs*”) of mesdet stone, and the obelisks of diorite. These valuable materials have long since been stolen, but the base block of conglomerate has survived, because of its ordinary material.

245. Although this model, as the inscriptions show,^a had its own religious function, it suggests real buildings of Seti I, at Heliopolis. As a matter of fact, he did erect at least one obelisk there, which now stands in the Piazza del Popolo in Rome. But it was still uninscribed at Seti I's death, and its present inscriptions were placed upon it by his son, Ramses II (§§ 544-49), who reserved for himself one side of the obelisk, where he states the fact. He also affirms that Seti “*filled Heliopolis with obelisks.*”^b But no others have survived. A doorpost from Heliopolis bears the following dedication:^c

Seti I, beloved of Shu and Tefnut; he made (it) as his monument for his father, Atum, lord of Heliopolis; making for him a gate of grit-stone, the doors thereof of cedar, wrought with —, established as an eternal work, which his majesty made, because he [so much] desired [—] — for the gods of Heliopolis.

246. The building inscriptions on the model are as follows:

^d[He made (it) as] his monument for his father, Re-Atum-Khepri, by making for him an august holy of holies in the likeness of the horizon of heaven, a resting-place of the two horizons, in which the lords of Heliopolis rest, like Atum — — —.

^eThe Good God, making monuments for his father, Re-Harakhte,

^aOn the edge, Seti I is eight times shown offering.

^bSee the record of Seti's work on obelisks in the Assuan quarry (§ 201 f.); and an altar of his at Heliopolis (*Annales*, II, 95, 96).

^cNow in Alexandria; Legrain, *Annales*, V, 121.

^dLeft edge.

^eRight edge.

making for him in the temple, of good (red) gritstone, two pylons of white costly stone, doorways of bronze, pairs^a of mesdet (*msd' t*) stone, two obelisks of black basalt (*bḥnw*), established in Heliopolis, the horizon of heaven;^b the gods of Heliopolis exult at seeing (them).

VIII. MISCELLANEOUS

247. Finally there are two more short dedications: one at Wadi Halfa, and one at Benihasan in the Speos Artemidos.

Wadi Halfa

248. ^c[Seti I] seeking monuments for his father, Min-Amon, residing in Bohen; making for him a temple like the horizon of heaven, wherein Re rises.

Benihasan

249. ^dSeti I; he made (it) as his monument for his mother, Pakhet, the great, mistress of Benihasan, in her temple of the secret valley, the 'cleft' of the cliff.

250. There are also a dedication inscription from an uncertain monument, possibly an obelisk found at Kantara;^e and one or two minor references to buildings, of slight importance.

^aThe "pairs" (here *snsn* or *snwy*) are the tall flagstaves set up against the pylon-towers. In the temples they are of cedar, capped with metal (see II, § 103).

^bAll the preceding contains only participles agreeing with Good God, viz., the king.

^cChampollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 705; besides the confirmation of his father's pious works there (§§ 73 ff.).

^dChampollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 332; Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 60; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 138, h.

^ePrisse, *Monuments égyptiens*, 19.

REIGN OF RAMSES II

GREAT ABYDOS INSCRIPTION^a

251. This is the longest inscription of Ramses II's reign. Together with the Kubbân Stela, it has been regarded as the most important source for his youth and early regency. It shows us the young king in his first year journeying to Thebes,^b and in mentioning a statue of his father erected by Ramses on that occasion at Thebes, the narrator takes occasion to summarize the king's works in provision for his father (ll. 22-26).^c

252. Ramses now sails to Abydos (ll. 26-32), where he finds Seti I's beautiful temple (Baedeker, 218-23) unfinished, and its endowments violated (ll. 32, 33). He immediately summons his court and officials (ll. 33, 34), who come in with the usual fulsome adulation demanded by court etiquette (ll. 34-40), after which Ramses announces to them his intention to complete his father's buildings (ll. 40-43), and takes

^aCut on the wall of the portico behind the colonnade at the rear of the first court in the famous temple of Seti I at Abydos. The inscription is in 116 vertical lines, the first 21 of which accompany a relief and are shorter. Numerous lacunæ break the text. Published by Maspero (from a copy by Devéria): *Essai sur l'inscription dédicatoire du temple d'Abydos*, par G. Maspero (Paris, 1867); again by Mariette in 1880 (*Abydos*, I, 5-9). I also had a collation of Mariette with the original for the Berlin dictionary by Borchardt.

^bWhence he came is quite uncertain. Maspero (*Struggle of the Nations*, 387) states that he came from Ethiopia, but for this I find no evidence. On the contrary, the mention of the statue erected in Memphis (l. 22) may indicate that he came from the north.

^cLl. 1-21 contain only the dialogue between the divinities (ll. 1-17) in the relief and Ramses (ll. 18-21). The translation begins with the words of Ramses (ll. 18-21). The works summarized in ll. 22-26 are (except the statues) not yet undertaken at the time of the visit to Thebes; but, being complete at the time of the composition of this inscription, the narrator inserts the summary here, forgetting that they were not complete at the time of which he is writing.

occasion to recall to his courtiers how his father had him publicly crowned coregent while a mere child, giving him extensive authority and a harem (ll. 43-48). He proceeds to describe his administration as coregent (ll. 48-50), and reiterates in conclusion his determination to complete his father's buildings (ll. 51-55). Hereupon the courtiers fairly outdo themselves in a long-winded eulogy of the dutiful son (ll. 55-69). The narrator now recounts the summons to the architects, artists, and workmen, who are commissioned to complete Seti I's temple. At the same time the king re-enacts and reorganizes his father's endowments for the maintenance of the temple and its mortuary service (ll. 69-75).

253. When all is done, Ramses addresses his deceased father, calling attention to all these pious works for his father's welfare in the hereafter (ll. 75-93), and showing how it will be to his father's interest to ensure unbroken continuance of these favors, by inducing the gods, among whom he now is, to grant Ramses a long reign. Ramses assures his father that his (Seti's) mortuary offerings shall be maintained as long as he (Ramses) continues on the throne (ll. 93-98). To this remarkable compact Seti, in reply, agrees, intercedes with the gods, and assures Ramses that the gods have decreed^a him an eternal reign, and that he himself enjoys the greatest felicity because of his son's provision for him (ll. 98-116).

254. The inscription, it will be observed, is historically very important, as well as interesting in several respects. The statements regarding Ramses' coregency in youth are detailed and circumstantial. His appearance in public for coronation, in the presence of his father, reminds us of the

^aSee similar prayer of Seti, quoted with l. 103, p. 115, n. b.

similar account of Hatshepsut's coronation (II, 215 ff.). But the evidence of the Karnak reliefs (§§ 123 ff.) is so conclusively against his ever having been so chosen by Seti that, like the said story of Hatshepsut's coronation, we must regard it as a fabrication.^a Such a fiction could hardly have been published immediately on Seti's death, and when we remember Ramses' extraordinary compact with his deceased father, the question arises whether the inscription is a later product of Ramses' reign, and his long life is the source which suggested the fiction of the compact, to which the narrator now attributes Ramses' remarkable longevity.^b In any case, the inscription was written after the completion of his works for his father, and after some of his foreign campaigns (l. 93).

255. The king's visit to Thebes in his first year is corroborated by an independent document in the Theban tomb of the High Priest of Amon, Nebunnef (*Nb-wn-nf*).^c A relief in this tomb shows Ramses II, accompanied by his queen, Mutnofret, and the court, addressing Osiris. Before the god is the following inscription:

256. Year 1, third month of the first season, — —^d when his majesty went north from the Southern City, 'having' celebrated the pleasing ceremonies of his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes,^e [Mut],^e Khonsu in Thebes, Beautiful Rest, and the Divine Ennead

^aSee also introduction to Kubbân inscription (§ 283), and my "Ramses II and the Princes in the Karnak Reliefs of Seti I" (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 37, 138 f.).

^bAgainst this is the motive for the account of his appointment as coregent—a motive which would have been influential only immediately after his accession, when he desired to support the legitimacy of his reign.

^cChampollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 535, 851, 852; and Lepsius, *Denkmäler*; Text, III, 239.

^dThe space for the day is left vacant in the original.

^eFurther titles of Amon and Mut, omitted by Champollion.

dwelling in Thebes; at his beautiful feast of Opet (named): "Returning-Thence-with-Praise."

257. As Nebunnef was High Priest, this great feast of Amon is naturally recorded in his tomb. It is the same feast, celebrated in the month Hathor, by Thutmose III^a on his return from his first campaign (II, 541, 550), and, this being the first celebration of it in Ramses' reign, it naturally called him to Thebes, whose powerful priesthood he could not fail to conciliate by appearing at their temple in person on such an important occasion.

258. Returning now to our great document, we find in the relief scene preceding the long inscription that the young King Ramses II appears offering an image of the goddess Mat (Truth) to Osiris, Isis, and his deified father, Seti I. The speeches of the divinities are of solely religious interest. The speech of Ramses, which merges into the long inscription itself, is of historical importance, and begins the following translation:

Speech of Ramses

259. ¹⁸Utterance of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermare-Setepnere (Ramses II) in the presence of his father, Osiris: "I champion thee, ¹⁹like thy son, Horus; I have done according to [his]^b doing. I repeat for thee monuments in the necropolis, ²⁰I double offerings for thy ka. I answer on behalf of my father, he being in the Nether World (*Dwꜣt*), in the place [— —], ²¹for the son becomes the champion of his father, like Horus, when he championed his father, forming him that formed him, fashioning him that fashioned him, making to live the name of him that begat him, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ramses (II), given life, like Re, forever, beloved of Osiris, lord of Abydos."

Voyage to Thebes, Summary of Ramses' Works for His Father

260. ²²When the Lord of the Two Lands arose as king, to act as champion of his father, in the year 1, on his first voyage to Thebes, he fashioned

^aAlso by Piankhi (IV, 836).

^bCf. l. 43.

statues of his father; King Menmare (Seti I) was he; one in Thebes, another in Memphis, in the temple which he built for them, ²³an addition to the beauty of that which was in Abydos of Towêr, which he loved, which his heart has desired since he was on earth, the soil of Wennofer (Osiris). He repeated the restoration of the monuments of his father, which are in the cemetery, making his name live, fashioning his statues, giving offerings abiding ²⁴for his august ka — his house, supplying his altars, upbuilding that which was fallen in the house which he loved, erecting the seats in his temple, laying its walls, setting up its doorways, erecting the ruins in the seat of^a his father, in the district of Osiris ——— ²⁵the double façade made therein, in everything which the Great in Victory, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ramses (II), given life, made for his father, Osiris, the King Menmare (Seti I), triumphant. He established for him possessions, supplied with food of the [— —] his heart ²⁶being kindly disposed toward him that begat him, his feelings inclining toward him that brought him up.

Ramses Sails from Thebes to Abydos

261. On one of these days it happened in the year 1, the third^b month of the first season, the twenty-third day, at the [‘feast’]^c ——— after the return of Amon to Karnak, that he (the king) came forth, favored with might and victory from Amon-Atum in Thebes, and he rewarded him with myriads of years, even to the duration of Re in heaven. Hear ——— [‘exalted’] forever and ever. He raised his hand, bearing the censer, to the horizon of him who abides in the West, his offering being excellent and acceptable to his [‘father’], the lord of love. His majesty departed from the Southern City ——— Re.

(He) began the way,^d to make the voyage, while the royal barges illuminated the flood, turning down-stream to the seat of might, “House^e—

^aThere is a superfluous *n* here which suggests “*seat of truth, for his father,*” etc.

^bBorchardt has only one month-sign.

^cEven in Ramses III's day the Feast of Opet closed at least eight days before this; this must have been the Feast of Hathor, at which Amon also celebrated; but the king must have been at Thebes during the great Feast of Opet, which just preceded.

^dFor the usual form of this phrase, see Amarna Landmarks (II, 960, l. 6), or Scarab of Wild Cattle Hunt (II, 864).

^eThis is the earliest occurrence of the city of “Ramses.” It is not clear why it should be mentioned, unless the king was going farther north to the Delta.

of-Ramses-Meriamon-Great-in-Victory." His majesty entered, to see his father, the voyage of the waters of the canal of Abydos^a (*N/-wr*), in order to found offerings for Wennofer, consisting of every good thing, that which his ka loves, in order to praise³⁰ — — for his brother, Onouris, son of Re in truth, like himself.

Ramses Finds Cemetery Buildings in Ruins

262. He found the buildings of the cemetery belonging to former kings, their tombs^b in Abydos, beginning to be in ruin. The half of them were in process of construction³¹ — — — in the ground, their walls [*lying*] incomplete, not one brick touching^c another. That which was only begun^d had become mere rubbish. There was no one building — — — who was carrying out according to his plans, since their lord had flown to heaven. There was no³² other son, who renewed the monuments of his father, which were in the cemetery.

Seti I's Temple Unfinished, Its Endowments Violated

263. Lo, the house of Menmare (Seti I), its front and its rear were in process of construction, when he entered into heaven. Its monuments were not finished, its columns were not set up on its [*platform*], its statue was upon the ground, it was not³³ fashioned after the regulation for it, of the gold-house. Its divine offerings had ceased, the lay priesthood likewise. That which was brought [*from*] its fields was taken away, their boundaries were not fixed in the land.^e

Ramses Summons His Court and Officials

264. Said his majesty to the wearer of the royal seal who was at his side: "Speak thou, call³⁴ the court, the king's-grandeess, all the commanders of the army, all the chiefs of works, and the keepers of the

^aAbydos lies seven miles from the river, and is evidently connected with it by a canal which the king here enters. Compare the same voyage of King Neferhotep (I, 763, ll. 16, 17).

^bThese can hardly be anything else than the tombs of the First Dynasty kings. That some of them should be in course of construction may mean that chapels were being erected for these kings (their halls in Seti's temple) or that repairs were going on.

^cLit., "*embracing*."

^d*Mshn* means "*birth- or nursing-chamber*," which may be figurative for "beginning," that which was incipient. Suggested by Erman.

^eSee Seti I's solemn adjuration to respect his endowment of this very temple (§ 180, ll. 11-13, 15-19).

house of rolls (books).” They were brought before his majesty, their noses were bowed in the dust, their knees were on the earth ³⁵in adoration, smelling the earth; their hands were uplifted to his majesty, they praised this Good God, magnifying his beauty in the presence. They told the story according to that which he had done, they likened his brave deeds, as they were; every word which came out of their mouths, was that which the Lord of the Two Lands had actually done. ³⁶They were upon their bellies, ‘wallowing’ upon the earth before his majesty, saying:

The Court Eulogizes the King

265. “We come to thee, lord of heaven, lord of earth, Re, life of the whole earth, lord of duration, of fruitful revolution,^a Atum for the people, lord of destiny, creator of Renenet,^b Khnum ³⁷who fashioned the people (*ṛhy' t*), giver of breath into the nostrils of all, making all the gods live, pillar of heaven, support of earth, [—] adjusting the Two Lands, lord of food, plentiful in grain, in whose footsteps is the harvest goddess, ³⁸maker of the great, fashioner of the lowly, whose word produces food, the lord vigilant when all men sleep, whose might defends Egypt, valiant in foreign lands, who returns when he has triumphed, whose sword protects the Egyptians, beloved of truth, in which he lives ³⁹by his laws, defender of the Two Lands, rich in years, great in victory, the fear of whom expels foreign lands, our king, our lord, our Sun, by the words of whose mouth Atum lives. Lo, we are now before thy majesty, that thou mayest decree to us the life that thou givest, ⁴⁰Pharaoh, L. P. H., breath of life, who makes all men live when he has shone on them.”

Ramses Announces His Intention to Complete His Father's Buildings

266. Said his majesty to them: “Behold, I have caused that they call you, because of a plan that is before me. I have seen that the buildings of the cemetery, the tombs that are in Abydos, ⁴¹and the works therein, are in an unfinished state, since the time of their lord until this day. When a son arose in the place of his father, the monuments of him that begat him were not restored. Then I conversed with my own heart: ‘It is a happy example, to provide for ⁴²them that have

^aThe king is often called the source of the land's fruitfulness; hence the same here, where he is called Re, the sun.

^bGoddess of birth, destiny, and good fortune.

passed away, excellent to behold good — — 'Horus who shaped' the thought of the son, that he should incline the heart after his father. My heart leads me in doing excellent things for Merneptah (Seti I). I will cause it to be said forever and ever: "It was his son, who made his name live." May my father, Osiris, ⁴³favor me with the long life of his son, Horus, according as I do that which [he] did; I do excellent things, as he did excellent things, for him who begat me."

Ramses Relates His Appointment as Coregent

267. "I came forth from Re, [although] ye say, from Menmare (Seti I), who brought me up.^a ⁴⁴The All-Lord himself made me great, while I was a child, until I reigned. He gave to me the land while I was in the egg; the great smelled the earth before me, when I was installed as eldest son, as hereditary prince upon the throne of Keb. I reported ⁴⁵ — — ^b as lord (*ḥry-ḏ' ḏ'*) of infantry and chariotry. When my father appeared to the public, I being a child between his arms. [He] sa[id] concerning me: "Crown him as king, that I may see his beauty while I live ⁴⁶with him." [Thereupon approached] the courtiers (*ymrw-ḥnty*), to set the double diadem upon my head. "Place for him the crown upon his head," so spake he concerning me, while he was upon earth. "Let him organize this land, let him administer —, let him show his face to the people," so spake he ⁴⁷ — — — — — because the love of me was so great in his bowels.^c He equipped me with 'household' women, a royal harem, like the beauties of the palace, he chose for me wives, after — — — — —, taking the concubines ⁴⁸of — — — — — his —, seizing ^d and female companions."

Ramses Describes His Administration as Coregent

268. "Lo, I was Re over the people (*rḥy' t*), those of the South and North were under my feet — — — — — it was I, who [set] them to ⁴⁹[build-
ing] —. I fashioned my father in gold anew, in the first year of my

^aOr: "I came forth from Re, [so] say ye, while Menmare brought me up."

^bMaspero's (Devéria's) text cannot be correct here; Borchardt shows only the canal-sign (*mr*) with the land-wedge.

^cOn the following passage, see Müller, *Liebespoesie*, 5. The different terms for harem-women are not exactly determined as yet.

^dMüller, "Abgeschlossene."

appearance (as king).^a I commanded that his temple be prepared, I established his fields ———. I founded for him offerings for his ka.
⁵⁰——— wine, incense, all fruit, I cultivated trees, growing for him. Lo, his house was under my charge, all its works were under my authority, since — — — as a child.”

Ramses Repeats His Intention to Complete His Father's Buildings

269. “⁵¹——— my father; I will enlarge them anew. As for the monuments, I will not neglect his seat, after the manner of those children who forgot [their] father. ——— speak of — ⁵²——— a son doeth excellent things. My mighty deeds for my father as a child, I will now complete, being Lord of the Two Lands; I will [—] in them in the proper way ——— ⁵³——— I will lay the walls in the temple of him that begat me. I will charge the man of my choice, to conduct this work therein. I will mason up therein the br[eaches] in its walls ⁵⁴———, its pylon-towers of ——. I will cover its house, I will [erect] its columns, I will set stones in the places of the lower foundation, making monument upon monument, two excellent things at one time, bearing my name^b and the name of my father, for the son ⁵⁵is like him that begat him.”

The Court Responds with an Eulogy of the King

270. Then spake the royal companions, and they answered the Good God: “Thou art Re, thy body is his body. There has been no ruler like thee, (for) thou art unique, like the son of Osiris, thou hast achieved the like of his designs ⁵⁶Isis [‘hath not loved’] a king since Re, except thee and her [‘son’]; greater is that which thou hast done than that which he did when he ruled after Osiris. The laws of the land proceed according to his position. The son is compassionate to him that made him, the divine seed — — ⁵⁷him who created him [‘in the’] [e[gg]] — it^c inclines to the august guardian. None hath done that which Horus did for his father to this day, except thy majesty —. Thou

^aThis is evidently the statue of l. 72, and the reference to it by the king here, as a thing of the past, made in the year 1, is an anachronism of which a scribe, composing the inscription at a time when all the events it narrates were past, could easily be guilty.

^bRamses II's name is, indeed, upon many portions of the building which Seti built; Seti's name has even been erased to make room for it.

^cViz., the egg; that is, the young King Ramses II.

hast increased that which has been done; what ⁵⁸example of excellence
 ——— that we may introduce it, to tell it in the (royal) presence?
 Who shall come, that he may recall a thing proposed to thee^a? (but)
 thou hast led the ignorant abroad ———. ——— mild, thy heart
 is kindly toward thy father, Menmare (Seti I), ⁵⁹the divine father, the
 beloved of a god, Seti-Merneptah, triumphant. Since the time of the god,
 since the kings have taken the crown, there has been no other like thee,
 neither seen in face nor heard in speech. [No other] son has repeated
 monuments for his father. Not one has arisen, ⁶⁰that he might cham-
 pion his father, (but) every man deals for himself, on behalf of his own
 name, except thee and Horus, for thou art like the son of Osiris. Behold,
 thou art a goodly heir like him; as for his kingdom, thou administertest
 it in like manner. ⁶¹As for him who doeth that which the god did, he
 shall have the length of life which he enjoyed. Re in heaven [is joyous-]
 hearted, his divine ennead is glad, the gods are satisfied with Egypt
 since thy coronation as king of the Two Lands. Beautiful ———
 is thy —, excellent is thy truth, it has reached ⁶²heaven, thy plans are
 right in the estimation of Re, Atum is delighted — —, Wennofer is in
 triumph at that which thy majesty has done for his ka. He says:
 ‘— — — [I give] to thee the duration of heaven, his two heavens;’
⁶³the gods of the secret place of the lord of the nether world say: ‘Thou
 shalt be upon earth like Aton.’ Glad is the heart of Merneptah (Seti I),
 his name shall live again, (for) thou hast fashioned him in gold and
 real costly stones, ——— his — of electrum ⁶⁴——— his —, thou
 buildest it anew, bearing thy name. As for every king^b who is in heaven,
 whose buildings are in course of construction, there has been no son
 (of theirs) doing what thou hast done, since Re until ⁶⁵[this day]. ———
 Thy majesty — him; that which he did, thou hast remembered, when it
 was forgotten. Thou hast restored monuments in the cemetery. As for
 every plan that was neglected, thou hast carried it out in the proper way
 ——— ⁶⁶——— passes away, another comes. Thy majesty is
 King of Upper Egypt and King of Lower Egypt, for thou doest excellent
 things, and thy heart is satisfied in doing truth. Those things which are
 done in the presence of the gods, shall be heard ——— ⁶⁷———
 when [thou] rise[st to] heaven, when thy beauty ascends to the horizon,
 the eyes see thy excellent deeds before gods and men. Thou art the one

^aThe king is the one who originates and proposes.

^bThis is doubtless a reference to the list of kings in the Abydos temple.

who doest it; thou art the one who repeatest monument on monument for the gods, according as thy father, Re, commanded ⁶⁸that thy name should be [known] in every land, from Khenthennofer of the South, northward, from the [shores] of the sea to the countries of Retenu (*Rtmo*), and among the settlements and strongholds of the king, the towns colonized and supplied with people^a ⁶⁹—— every city [should know] that thou art the god of all people, that they may awake, to give to thee incense at the command of thy father, Atum; that Egypt as well as the Red Land may adore thee.”

Ramses Completes and Endows His Father's Temple

271. Now, after ⁷⁰—— these utterances which these nobles [had spoken] in the presence of their lord, his majesty commanded to commission the chiefs of works; he set apart soldiers, workmen, carvers with the chisel, ⁷¹—— draughtsmen, all ranks of artificers, to build the holy place of his father, to erect that which was in ruins in the cemetery, the mortuary house of his father. Lo, ⁷²he [bega]n to fashion his statue in the year 1;^b while the offerings were doubled before his ka, his temple was properly victualed, and he supplied his necessities. He established his ritual roll of fields, peasant-slaves (*mry't*) and cattle. ⁷³He appointed priests over their affairs, a prophet to upraise the hands —— his people under —— to conduct affairs —— under him; his numerous granaries with grain ⁷⁴—— his possessions. The great officials in South and North are under the authority of his steward, being an act of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermare-Setepnere; Son of Re, Meriamon-Ramses (II), given life, like Re, forever and ever, for his father, King Menmare (Seti I), triumphant, ⁷⁵—— —— [under] the authority of Wennofer. He did it again for his ka in Thebes,^c Heliopolis, and Memphis^d (where) his statues rested in their places in all his [stations]^e of the [——].

^aSee Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 269, 270.

^bDoubtless at the same time that he set up one in Thebes and another in Memphis (l. 22).

^cA reference to Ramses II's work on the Theban mortuary temple of Seti I at Kurna.

^dIf Seti I had temples at Heliopolis and Memphis, they have now utterly vanished; but this remark may apply only to his statues.

^eWhere a statue stopped when carried in festival processions? But Spiegelberg (*Rechnungen*, 58) thinks it means “bazaar, market, or court.”

Ramses Addresses His Father, Narrating His Good Deeds to Him

272. Then spake the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ramses II,^a given life, ⁷⁶sending up^b that which he had done for his father, the Osiris, King Menmare (Seti I), triumphant; saying: "Awake thou, (lift) thy face to heaven, that thou mayest see Re, O my father, Merneptah (Seti I), who art a god. Behold, I am making thy name to live, I have protected thee, I give attention to thy temple, ⁷⁷thy offerings are established. Thou retest in the Nether World (*Dw ʿt*), like Osiris, while I shine as Re for the people, being upon the great throne of Atum, like Horus, son of Isis, who protected his father. ⁷⁸How [happy] for thee, who begattest me — — since thou comest as one living again. I have fashioned thee, I have built the house thou lovest, wherein is thy statue in the cemetery of Abydos, region of eternity. I have founded offerings ⁷⁹[for] thy s[tatues], the daily offerings come to thee. [I] am he that doeth that which is lacking to thee; I do it for thee, every desire of thy heart, the excellent thing in thy name. I assess for thee the 'officials' (*m ʿ dy w*) ⁸⁰— — works for thy ka, in order to offer^c for thee upon the ground, with bread and drink. I have come myself, myself (sic!), in order to see thy temple beside Wennofer, sovereign of eternity. I have 'finished' the work in it, I have laid out the 'ground', ⁸¹I — that which thou desirest, making thy every house wherein I have established thy name forever. [I] am he that doeth according to truth, that it (truth) may flourish."

273. "I have given to thee the Southerners, offering gifts to thy temple, and the Northerners, ⁸²(bringing) their tribute before thy beautiful face. I have collected all them that owe thee dues, united in one body, under the administration of the prophet of thy temple, in order to make thy property a permanent whole,^d to be brought ⁸³[to] thy temple [—] forever."

274. "I made splendid thy treasury, filled with possessions, the heart's desire, which I have given to thee, together with thy dues. I have given to thee a ship (*mnš*), bearing cargoes upon the sea, conveying to thee ⁸⁴the great [marvels] of God's-Land, and the merchants doing merchandising, bearing their wares and their impost therefrom in gold, silver, and copper."

^aFull double name. ^bViz., to heaven. ^cLit., "*sprinkle*" or "*sow*."

^dLit., "*causing thy property to become abiding in one body*."

275. "I have made for thee calculations of the fields, which had been only verbal ⁸⁵—— on high [land], calculated in fields. I equipped them with inspectors, together with husbandmen, to produce clean grain for thy divine offerings. I have given to thee barges with crews, and artisans hewing ⁸⁶—— without ceasing to sail to thy temple."

276. "I have formed for thee herds of all small cattle, faithfully to supply thy offerings. I levied for thee wild fowl from the 'inclosed' marsh; others ⁸⁷—— live geese for maintaining those that were hatched. I put fishermen on the waters, on every pool, in order to furnish for thee imposts by the shipload."

277. "I equipped thy temple with every office ⁸⁸—— of my majesty. Thy lay priesthood of the temple has its full complement of heads.^a The peasant-slaves are assessed for woven stuff, for thy wardrobe, and (as for) thy serfs of the fields of every district, every man brings ⁸⁹their (sic!) impost, to fill thy house."

278. "Lo, thou hast entered into heaven, thou followest Re, thou minglest with stars and moon. Thou retest in the nether world, like those who are therein, beside Wennofer, lord of eternity; ⁹⁰thy two [arms] draw Atum in heaven and in earth, like the unresting stars and the imperishable^b stars, while thou art on the prow of the barque of myriads of years. When Re rises in heaven, thy two eyes are upon his beauty; ⁹¹when Atum [enters]^c into the earth, thou art among his followers. Thou hast entered into the hidden chamber before its lord; thy going is afar in the midst of the Nether World; thou hast associated thyself with the mortuary gods. Lo, ⁹²[I] pray for the breath of thy august nostrils. I mention thy name many times daily, I — my father [—] — — — ⁹³—— I tell of thy valor, when I am in a foreign country.^d I lay down for thee gifts, my hand bears offerings for thy name, for thy — in thy every place."

^aViz., "people," often referred to as "heads," like our "head of cattle."

^bThe two names literally mean: "*those who cannot rest*," and "*those who cannot perish*." They are probably the stars of the southern and northern heavens (Brugsch, *Aegyptologie*, 321).

^cOnly the determinative of a verb of going is visible.

^dThere is no indication that this is a reference to a particular campaign, and the statement that it refers to Ramses II's Ethiopic campaign (Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 387), in which it is averred he was engaged at his father's death, lacks foundation.

Ramses Prays His Father to Intercede in His Behalf

279. "Mayest thou speak to Re — — — —⁹⁴— life to his son, Wennofer, with a loving heart. Grant lifetime upon lifetime, united in jubilees for Usermare-Setepnere (Ramses II), given life. It will be well for thee, that I should be king forever,⁹⁵(for) thou wilt be — by a good son, who remembers his father; (for) I will take counsel for thy temple, every day, and for the affairs of thy ka, in every matter. If I hear of any damage⁹⁶about to happen, I will command to remove it instantly in every matter. Thou shalt be as if thou livedst, while I reign. I shall look to thy house every day. ⁹⁷— I have —, my heart shall incline after thee, I shall champion thee and thy name, while thou art in the nether world. Excellent indeed shall it be for thee, while I am; while Ramses, given life, like Re, forever,⁹⁸[the son] of Re, lives."

The Deceased Seti I Replies to His Son's Prayer

280. Then was King Menmare (Seti I), triumphant (*m³c-hrw*), an excellent soul (*b³*), like Osiris, rejoicing over all that which his son, the doer of excellent things, King⁹⁹Ramses II,^a had done, and praising all his beauty, to Re-Harakhte, and to the gods who are in the nether world, while he spoke in [—] ¹⁰⁰as a father on earth speaks with his son, saying:

281. "Let thy heart be very glad, O my beloved son, Usermare-Setepnere, given life, in — — — giving to thee [myriads] of years, eternity upon the Horus-throne ¹⁰¹of the living. Osiris has besought for thee the duration of heaven, wherein thou risest like Re at early morning. Life and prosperity shall be with thee, — truth, might, and joy of heart, for him who is rich in years. ¹⁰²Thine shall be might and victory, O thou great in victory; health shall be for thy limbs like (those of) Re in heaven. Joy and rejoicing shall be in thy every abode, O king, defending Egypt, binding the barbarians, spending the eternity ¹⁰³of thy lifetime as King of Upper Egypt, and as King of Lower Egypt, as Atum flourishes at rising and setting. Behold, I say to Re^b with a

^aFull double name, with the usual salutations after it, which have been omitted in the translation, in order to show more clearly the connection.

^bA similar prayer of Seti's is found at Kurna (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 150, a), in which he addresses Amon thus: "Grant thou to him (Ramses II) eternity, that he may make my name to live, by reason of the command that comes out of thy mouth." Here we see the same compact as in the Abydos inscription.

loving heart: 'Grant to him^a eternity upon earth ¹⁰⁴like Khepri.' I have repeated to Osiris when I entered before him: 'Double thou for him the duration of thy son, Horus.' Behold, Re said in the horizon of heaven: 'Grant eternity, everlastingness, myriads of years ¹⁰⁵of royal jubilees for the son of his body, the beloved Meriamon-Ramses, given life, doer of excellent things.' Atum has decreed to thee his duration as king. Might and victory shall be united ¹⁰⁶behind thee. Thoth writes them at the side of the All-Lord, and the Great Ennead say: 'Re, in his barque, lord of the morning-barque, collects them for him; his eye sees ¹⁰⁷that which thou hast so excellently done. When he sails the heavens with the wind every day, great joy is behind him, because he remembers thy beauty; until Atum ¹⁰⁸sets in the land of the West, thy love is in his body every day.' Behold, Wennofer is lord of triumph (*m³c-hrw*) through that which thy majesty has done in the place of truth. I [Horus]^b awake him at the reminder of thy goodness; my heart hath joy indeed, because of the eternity which he has decreed for thee. Behold, I have received the things which thou hast given to me: my bread and my water with gladness of heart, breath ¹¹⁰[reaches my, nostrils, because of the deeds of a son, whose heart chooses to protect, free from negligence, knowing that which is seemly. Thou hast repeated monument on monument for Osiris under my authority in the presence ¹¹¹— — [in] the midst of Abydos (*N/w-wr*). I am magnified because of all that which thou hast done for me; I am placed at the head of the abode of the dead, I am transformed, I have become a god more ¹¹²beautiful than before, since thy heart has inclined to me, while I am in the nether world. I am thy true father, who am a god; I have mingled with the gods, following Aton; I ¹¹³[know] him who dwells in the barque — — like one in — — — who is in — — —. ¹¹⁴He [remembers thy beauty — — — —. Behold, thou hast a long life, Re has decreed to thee — — — —, forever, like — — —. Thou art the living — of Atum, thy every word ¹¹⁵comes to pass like (that of) the All-Lord. Thou art the favorite egg of Khepri, the water of a god [which came forth] from him. What thou begetteth is that which Re himself has made; he said to thee: '— — — [as the maker of] — — — ¹¹⁶a guar-

^aText has "to thee," but as Seti here speaks to Re in direct discourse, as the imperative shows, this is clearly an error for "to him," as found in the speech to Osiris, in the next line.

^bEmendation suggested by Erman.

dian, thou comest as living Re to the people; the Southland and Northland [are beneath] thy feet, beseeching myriads of royal jubilees for Usermare-Setepnere, the duration of the All-Lord, when [he] rises
 _____, ”

KUBBÂN STELA^a

282. This document records the attempt of Ramses II to supply with water the desert road leading from the Nile at Kubbân to the gold-bearing regions on the east in the great Wadi ‘Alâki.^b It is similar to the records of like attempts by Seti I at Redesiyeh (§§ 162-98), with which it should be compared. Seti I, indeed, had made a futile attempt to find water on this same road, having dug a well there 200 feet deep, as our document informs us (l. 21). In spite of this fact, Ramses makes another attempt, and sends out the viceroy of Kush for the purpose. He presently reports success at a depth of only 20 feet.

283. A statement in the ceremonious address of the court (ll. 13-19) has always been regarded as of great historical importance. It affirms that Ramses had held important official positions in the land since he was a lad in the tenth year of his age (l. 17). But this statement, we should remember, is found in the midst of a fulsome eulogy abounding

^aThis stela was discovered in the ruins on the south of the village of Kubbân, by Prisse d'Avennes. It is now in the château of the Count St. Ferriol at Uriage, near Grenoble. It was published by Prisse (*Monuments égyptiens*, XXI), but his text is excessively incorrect. The first twenty-five lines were then much more accurately published by Chabas (*Les inscriptions des mines d'or*), and again without change by Rheinisch (*Chrestomathie*, Taf. 10). The last fourteen lines (ll. 25-38) have lost the first two-thirds of their length. These have been republished with collation of the Louvre squeeze by Virey (*Recueil*, XIV, 97, 98); his restorations are mostly gratuitous, and often grammatically impossible. An exhaustive copy of the original is very much needed.

^bSee Linant, *Carte de l'Elbaye ou pays habité par des Arabes Bisharis*, comprenant les contrées des mines d'or connues des anciens sous le nom d'Olaki, publiée par le dépôt de la guerre, 1854.

in the most absurd exaggerations. It is probable, in view of these statements, however, that Ramses early developed administrative ability, which he was given opportunity to exercise while still very young. This was doubtless a privilege granted to many princes of the royal house; it does not indicate that Ramses came to the throne while a child, nor do the courtiers here make any such claim,^a though their words have been so misunderstood.^b

284. A relief above the inscription shows Ramses II offering incense to "*Horus, lord of Bek (B³ k),*" and "*wine to Min residing in the mountain,*" resulting in the usual promises from the god. Then follows below the long inscription:

Introduction

285. ¹Year 3, first month of the second season, day 4, under the majesty of Horus: Mighty Bull, Beloved of Truth; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Defender of Egypt, Binder of the Barbarians; Golden Horus: Rich in years, Great in Victory; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Setepnere; Son of Re: Meriamon-Ramses (II), given life, forever and ever, beloved of Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, and presider over Karnak; ²shining upon the Horus-throne of the living, like his father, Re, every day; Good God, lord of the Southland, Horus of Edfu, of brilliant plumage, beautiful hawk of electrum. He protects Egypt with his wing, making shade for the people, as a wall of might and victory. When he went forth ³from the body,^c he was (already) terrible for capture, while his might was extending his boundaries; color was given to his limbs like the might of Montu. (He is) the double lord,^d on the day of whose birth there was exultation in heaven; the gods said: "Our seed is in him." ⁴The goddesses said: "He hath come forth from us to exercise the kingship of Re." Amon

^aSee *infra*, Figs. 3 and 4, and §§ 123 ff.

^bE. g., by Wiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte*, 419; and by Brugsch, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1890, 34 f.

^cAt birth.

^dWritten with the figures of Horus and Set.

said: "I am Irsu,^a I have put justice into its place." The earth is established, heaven is satisfied, the divine ennead is content with his qualities, the Bull, mighty against Kush the wretched, smiting ⁵the rebels^b as far as the land of the Negro. His hoofs trample the Troglydotes, his horn gores into them; his fame is mighty in Khenthennofer; as for his terror, it has reached Karoy (*K³ ry*). His name circulates among ⁶all lands, because of the victories which his two hands have wrought. Gold comes forth from the mountain at his name,^c like (that of) his father, Horus, lord of Bek (*B³ -k³*),^d great in love in the southern countries, like Horus in the land of Miam (*My^c m³ m*),^e lord of Bohen (*Bwhn*); the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Setepnere; ⁷Son of Re, of his body, Lord of Diadems: Meriamon-Ramses (II), given life forever and ever, like his father, Re, every day.

Investigation of the Land of Akita

286. Now, when his majesty was in Memphis, performing the pleasing ceremonies of his fathers, all the gods of South and North, according as they gave to him might and victory, and long life of myriads ⁸of years; on one of these days it came to pass that, lo, his majesty was sitting upon a great throne of electrum, diademed with the double-feathered crown, recounting the countries, from which gold is brought, and devising plans for digging ⁹wells on a road lacking in water, after hearing said that there was much gold in the country of Akita (*ʔ -k³ -y-t³*), whereas the road thereof was very lacking in water. If a few of ¹⁰the caravaneers of the gold-washing went thither, it was only half of them that arrived there, (for) they died of thirst on the road, together with the asses which they drove before them. There was not found for them their necessary supply of ¹¹drink, in ascending and descending, from the water of the skins.^f Hence no gold was brought from this country for lack of water.

^a"Irsu" (*Yr-sw*), lit., "he who made him," a not uncommon designation of the god as father of the king (II, 985, note).

^bCf. Guieyssè (*Recueil*, X, 64 ff.), whose rendering is grammatically impossible.

^cThe same remarkable idea referring to Amenhotep IV (II, 946).

^dDistrict in which the ancient town at Kubbân was situated. See Brugsch, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1882, 31 f.

^e*M³ m* as often for *m³*. Miam is the ancient name of Derr; see Tomb of Penno (IV, 474 ff.), and Brugsch, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1882, 31.

^fGoing from the Nile into the desert is regularly "ascending," and the return is

Court is Summoned

287. Said his majesty to the wearer of the royal seal, who was at his side: "Call the princes of the court, ¹²his majesty would counsel with them concerning this country, (how) I may take the necessary measures." They were immediately brought before the Good God, their hands uplifted to his ka, acclaiming and smelling the earth before his beautiful face. One (=the king) told them the character of this country, counseling ¹³with them concerning the plan of opening a well upon the road thereof.

Address of the Court

288. They said before his majesty: "Thou art like Re in all that thou doest; that which thy heart wishes comes to pass. If thou desirest a matter in the night, in the morning it quickly comes to pass. We have been ¹⁴beholding a multitude of thy marvels, since thy appearance as king of the Two Lands; we have not heard, neither have our eyes seen,^a (yet) do they come to pass as they are.^a As for everything that comes out of thy mouth, it is like the words of Harakhte. Thy tongue is a pair of balances, more accurate are thy two lips ¹⁵than the correct weight of Thoth. What is that which thou knowest not? Who is the finisher of it like thee? Where^b is the place, which thou hast not seen? There is no country which thou hast not trodden. All matters pass through thy ears, ¹⁶since thou hast exercised authority over this land. Thou didst make plans while thou wast (still) in the egg, in thy office of child of a prince.^c The affairs of the Two Lands were told thee, while thou wert a child wearing the curl;^d no monument was executed, which was not under thy authority; ¹⁷there was no commission without thy knowledge. Thou wast chief^e of the army while thou wast

"*descending*," the workmen were unable to carry in the skins sufficient water for the round trip.

^aSee the same idea in l. 22. This method of flattery by courtiers is not unique. The same assumption of a mysterious origin of completed works of the king is found regarding Hatshepsut's obelisks, and the statue of Amenhotep III erected by Amenhotep, son of Hapi.

^b*Yw-t* = אִיזָה (Bondi, *Lehnwörter*, 31).

^c*Rp* = *ty*. ^dThe well-known sidelock of youth.

^e*R* = *hry*, lit., "*superior mouth*;" this is the phrase used in l. 13 where the king asks for advice=lit., "*mouth*" where "*mouth*" is, of course, a metonymy for "*counsel*." The exact military rank indicated is not certain. It should be

a boy of the tenth year. Every work that was carried out, it was thy hand which made the foundation thereof. If thou sayest to the water: 'Come upon the mountain,' the flood comes forth ¹⁸quickly after thy word, for thou art Re in limbs, and Khepri with his true form. Thou art the living image on earth of thy father, Atum of Heliopolis. Taste is in thy mouth, intelligence^a in thy heart; the seat of thy tongue is the shrine of truth, the god sits upon thy two lips.^b Thy words come to pass every day, ¹⁹thy heart is made into the likeness of (that of) Ptah, the creator of handicrafts.^c Thou art forever, it shall be done by thy plans, all that thou sayest is heard, O Sovereign, our lord."

Statement of the Viceroy of Kush

289. "As for the country of Akita, this is said concerning it," said the king's-son of Kush the wretched, ²⁰concerning it before his majesty, "that it has been in this manner lacking in water, since the time of the god. They die therein of thirst, and every earlier king desired to open a well therein, but did not succeed.^d ²¹King Menmare (Seti I) did the like, and caused to be dug a well of 120 cubits^e depth in his time. It is (however), forsaken on the road, (for) no water came out of it. (But) if thou thyself say to thy father Hapi,^f ²²the father of the gods: 'Let water be brought upon the mountain,' he will do according to all that thou hast said, like all thy designs, which come to pass before us, (although) they have not been heard in conversation; because thy fathers, all the gods love thee, more than any king, ²³who has been since Re."

observed that the courtiers here (ll. 16, 17) make no claim that Ramses became king at ten years of age, as is so often stated. They affirm no more than the assumption of great trusts by Ramses at a very early age; there is no hint of coregency.

^aThis is the same idea as in the Memphite system; ideas come from the heart (=mind). See my "Philosophy of a Memphite Priest" (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 39, 39 ff.).

^bThis notion is also found in the Memphite system (*ibid.*, pp. 46-48).

^cIn the address of Ptah to Ramses II (Abu Simbel Stela, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 194, ll. 14, 15), Ptah says: "I cause the mountains to shape for thee great, mighty, lofty monuments; I cause the highlands to fashion for thee [all] splendid costly stones."

^dLit., "Their prosperity (=success) did not happen."

^eTwo hundred feet.

^fThe Nile-god.

Ramses Determines to Dig a Well in Akita

290. Said his majesty to these princes: "How true is all that which ye have said [—], that no water has been dug in this country since the time of the god, as ye say. (But) I will open a well there, [furnishing] water every day as in ²⁴[the valley of] the Nile, at command of my father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, and all the gods of Nubia, according as their heart is satisfied with the things desired. I will cause it to be said in the land — — — ²⁵ — —."

291. [Then these princes] praised their lord, smelling the ground, throwing themselves upon their bellies in the presence, exulting to the height of heaven.

Said his majesty to the chief king's-scribe —: "²⁶ — — of the road to Akita. Let a month become a day,^a when [thou] sendest ²⁷ — —." [Then the chief king's-scribe communicated to the king's-son of Kush]^b according as it had been commissioned him. Lo, he mustered the people for ²⁸[digging the well] — —. [But they said: "What] then is it which the king's-son shall do? Shall the water ²⁹[which is in the nether world hearken to him?]"^c Then they dug the well on] the road to the country of Akita. Never was done the like since the kings who were aforetime ³⁰ — —^d he puts fish in the pools of the regions of [—] of the Delta marshes, pleasing his heart in creating ³¹ — — like a rudder in the wind.^e

A Letter Announcing Success from the Viceroy of Kush

292. One came, bearing a letter from the king's-son of Kush the wretched, saying: ³² — — [The] well [is finished]; that which thy majesty spake with his own mouth has come to pass; the water has come forth from it^f at 12 cubits, being 4 cubits therein in depth. ³³ — — it outside, as a god does, in satisfying the heart with that

^aThat is, let a month of preparation become as short as a day.

^bThis scribe must have communicated the commission to the viceroy of Kush, for it is the latter who executes the task in Akita, as is shown by ll. 28 and 31.

^cCf. l. 35.

^dThe subject is uncertain; possibly the Nile-god is meant, being here doubtless the one who brings the water to Ramses' well.

^eVirey's text has "shore" instead of "wind."

^fFeminine pronoun, referring to "well" (fem.), which must have been mentioned in the preceding lacuna.

which thou desirest. Never was done ³⁴[the like since the time of the god] ——— Akita rejoices with great joy, those who are far away ³⁵——— the ruler. The water which is in the nether world hearkens to him, when he digs water upon the mountain ³⁶———.”

Conclusion

293. ——— to him from the king's-son, announcing that which he had done. They were glad because of ^a [it] — ³⁷——— excellent in plans, good in [— —] —. ³⁸[His majesty ordered to call the name of] this [we]ll: “The-Well-of-Meriamon-Ramses-Mighty-[‘in-Victory].”

THE ASIATIC WAR

294. Ramses II, with his two predecessors, inherited a very dangerous situation in Syria. Seti I had not succeeded in relieving that situation, and upon Ramses II fell the critical task of confronting and checking the southward advance of the Hittites, in their process of absorbing the Egyptian conquests in Syria. They were the most powerful people which Egypt had ever met, and the conflict lasted nearly twenty years, during which we may discern three periods. In the first of these we find Ramses, after having pushed his Phœnician boundary northward to Beirut, marching down the Orontes against the Hittites at Kadesh. The remarkable battle which followed was without beneficial result. The second period finds Ramses battling for the recovery of Palestine, where there had arisen a general revolt, undoubtedly incited by the Hittites. This revolt suppressed, the third period finds him again in the Hittite country, conquering Naharin as far north as Tunip, where his progress was such that the Hittites were willing to resign all projects of further conquest in Syria and negotiate a

^aOr: “*They* (the reports) *were agreeable to [the heart of the king].*”

permanent compact in a treaty, in arranging which no mention of the boundary^a adopted is made.

295. The materials for the three periods are very scanty, except for the battle of Kadesh and the treaty. These materials are as follows:^b

I. Beginning of the Hittite War.

1. First campaign: three illegible stelæ on the Nahr-el-Kelb near Beirut (§ 297).

2. Second campaign, battle of Kadesh:

a) Poem on the battle of Kadesh (§§ 305-15).

b) Official record of the battle of Kadesh (§§ 316-27).

c) Reliefs of the battle of Kadesh (§§ 328-51).

II. Palestinian revolt.

1. Reconquest of southern Palestine: a relief at Karnak showing the storming of Askalon (§§ 353-55).

2. Reconquest of northern Palestine: a short list of towns taken in the eighth year (§ 356); a relief at the Ramesseum, of the storming of Deper (§§ 356-62); a relief in the Hauran (§ 358).

III. Close of the Hittite War.

1. Conquest of Naharin: a small fragment at the Ramesseum, from an inscription describing the capture of Tunip (§§ 363-65); two short lists of conquered countries (§ 366).

2. Treaty with the Hittites: entire text of the document (§§ 367-91).

I. BEGINNING OF THE HITTITE WAR

296. Like his great predecessors, Seti I and Thutmose III, Ramses II began his operations for the conquest of northern Syria by first securing the coast and then moving against

^aThis boundary will not have been far south of Hamath, which marks the southern limit of Hittite remains.

^bBesides these materials, see also Nubian War, etc. (§§ 448-91).

the interior, where for the first time he comes into contact with the Hittites.

I. FIRST CAMPAIGN

297. Ramses II's first campaign was directed along the Phœnician coast, and extended as far as Beyrut, near which he erected a stela on the Nahr el-Kelb (Dog River) in his fourth year. Another stela, dated "year 2"^a is called uncertain by Lepsius,^b and is probably to be read "year 10;" for the first^c is clearly 4; and there was but one campaign before that of the "year 5,"^d against Kadesh. A third stela is without date. These stelæ^e are so weathered that the records of the campaigns which they doubtless contained, are most totally illegible.^f The location of the stela near the northern boundary of the conquests of Ramses' father, Seti I, is significant. They of course mark the advance boundary of Ramses II's northern conquests.

II. SECOND CAMPAIGN: THE BATTLE OF KADESH^g

298. This battle, in which Ramses meets the Hittites for the first time, forms the culmination of Ramses II's second

^aLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 197, c.

^b*Briefe*, 403.

^cLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 197, b.

^dWhich is called the second campaign, Record, l. 1.

^ePublished by Bonomi, *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, 1st ser., II, pl.; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 197; see also Boscauwen, *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, VII, 331 ff.

^fThese stelæ are cut in the limestone of the hillside, and have so weathered that visitors unaccustomed to reading such inscriptions have declared they contained none. One (Boscauwen's No. 1, farthest north) was smoothed off by the French, and a record of the French occupation (1860-61) inscribed upon it. The Egyptian inscription was, of course, totally obliterated (Boscauwen, *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, VII, 336).

^gThree sources: (1) the so-called "Poem of Pentaur" (referred to above as "Poem"); (2) the Official Record (called "Record"); (3) the Reliefs. The bibliography, etc., will be found with the introduction to each document. In general, see my *Battle of Kadesh*, "Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago," V, 81-127.

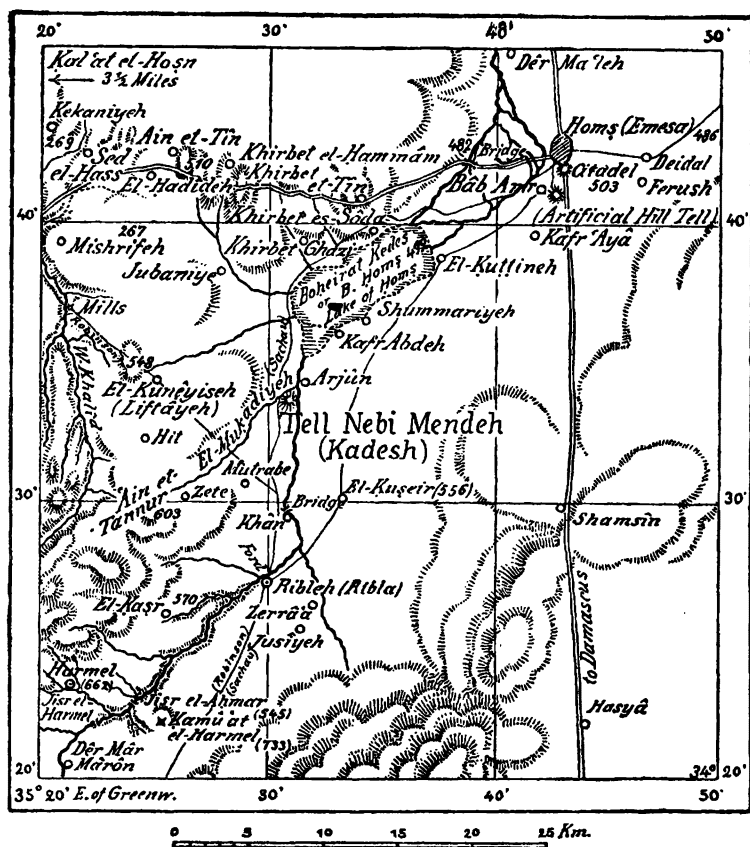


FIG. 7.—Map of the Orontes Valley in the Vicinity of Kadesh, 1:500,000 (after Blanckenhorn)

Syrian campaign, and furnishes nearly all we know of the beginning of his Syrian war. It is of especial interest, being the first battle in history of which we may follow the tactics and the disposition of both armies.^a About the end of

^aRev. H. G. Tomkins' study of this battle (*Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, VII, 390 ff.) was unfortunately made without all the data to be gained from the texts, but shows good use of what he had. Failure to observe the sequence of events made any clear outline of movements impossible. Maspero's account of it in his one volume, *Histoire*, is excellent, but this account was altered in his

April, Ramses marched northward from the fortress of Tharu on the Egyptian frontier, with an army of probably about 20,000 men, in four divisions: the division of Amon, which formed the advance, under the immediate command of the Pharaoh; and the divisions^a of Re, of Ptah, and of Sutekh, which followed that of Amon in the order given. Marching through Palestine,^b and along the Phœnician coast road, Ramses passed into Amor, where he formed his van of picked men, on the "*shore in the land of Amor*" (Poem, l. 18). Thereupon he left the coast, perhaps marching up the valley of the Litâny, and reached the last elevation on the east side of the Orontes, where the high valley (the Bukâ^c a) drops to the level of the plain around Kadesh, about a day's march south of it.^c Here he camped (Poem, ll. 11, 12; Record, l. 2), without finding trace of the enemy. He therefore pushed on the next day, and as he reached the ford just south of Shabtuna, later Ribleh,^d a small town, some seven and a half miles south of Kadesh, he was informed by two Shasu-Bedwin, sent out by the Hittite king for this purpose, that the Asiatics had retreated far northward to the district of Aleppo, beyond Tunip (Record, ll. 2-6). With the division of Amon, therefore, Ramses crossed to the west side of the Orontes at Shabtuna (Poem, l. 12), leaving the other three divisions on the east side, dis-

larger history. Meyer is the only later historian who has shown a correct understanding of the general plan of the battle. On the literature of the subject, see my *Battle of Kadesh*, 4, 5.

^aThis word, which I render "*division*," is in Egyptian "*army*" (*mš* c), but it was probably about the size of a modern army division (see p. 153, note).

^bThe route is uncertain in Palestine (see Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 220), but must have been along the coast when he reached southern Phœnicia. It is barely possible, therefore, that Ramses embarked his army, after leaving Tharu, and landed at some Phœnician port.

^c*Battle of Kadesh*, 19-21; see *infra*, Figs. 7 and 8.

^d*Battle of Kadesh*, 21, 22.

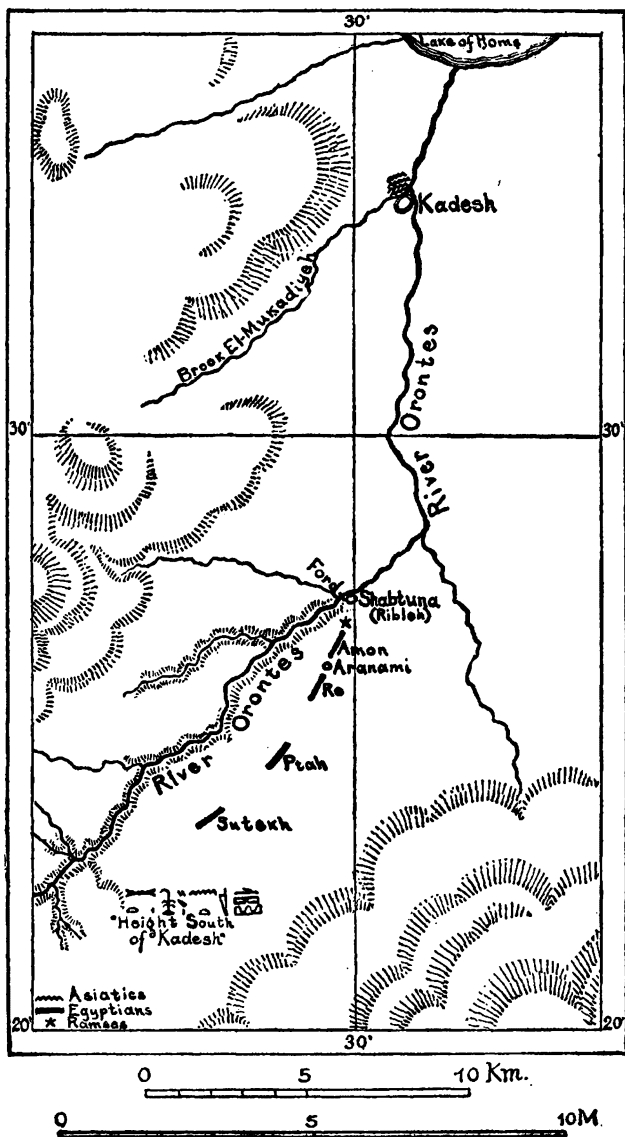


FIG. 8.—March to Kadesh. First Positions

tributed along the road to the south. The division of Re, however, soon crossed at the same ford, with about a mile and a half between its van and the rear of the division of Amon^a (Fig. 9). With these two divisions following him in a long line, Ramses continued rapidly northward, leaving the other two (Ptah and Sutekh) marching slowly south of Shabtuna, till there was a wide gap between the two halves of his army.

299. Meanwhile the Asiatics (Poem, l. 17), with an army of probably 20,000 men, the combined forces of the north Syrian princes, under the Hittite king, together with a large proportion of mercenaries from states in Asia Minor, adjacent or subject to the Hittites^b—all these were concealed on the northwest of Kadesh, hidden from the Egyptians by the city. The Hittite king now uses the city to mask his movements, and as Ramses pushes northward on the west side of Kadesh, the Hittite commander shifts his position rapidly eastward and southward,^c all the time keeping the

^aFrom this point on consult the battle plans (Figs. 9 to 12). They are taken from my *Battle of Kadesh*. The four Egyptian divisions are marked by their names: Amon, Re, Ptah, and Sutekh.

^bPoem, ll. 1, 2, 13-16, and 24; Record, ll. 6, 7. The language of the inscriptions puts the Syrian contingents in the same category with those of Asia Minor, but it is clear that the latter are only mercenaries, called "*warriors*" (*tw-hy-r*), i. e., professional soldiers, who are in the service of the Hittite king for hire (Poem, l. 16), under their own native commanders, whom the Poem represents as their princes. The Syrians, on the other hand, are real allies of the Hittites, and their kings are really present.

^cNo direct statement of this movement is made in the sources, but after stating that the Hittites are "*on the northwest of Kadesh*" (Poem, ll. 16, 17), while Ramses is still south of Kadesh, they further state that the Asiatics emerged for the attack "*from the southern side of Kadesh*" (Poem, l. 20; Record, l. 20), when Ramses is in camp northwest of Kadesh. The Hittites could not have shifted from the northwest of Kadesh to the south of it, along the west side, for here Ramses was marching northward. They must have passed eastward and southward on the east side of the city (Fig. 10), keeping themselves constantly "*behind Kadesh*," from Ramses' point of view. They could, of course, have passed through Kadesh if the gates were in such positions as to permit. But as they crossed the Orontes

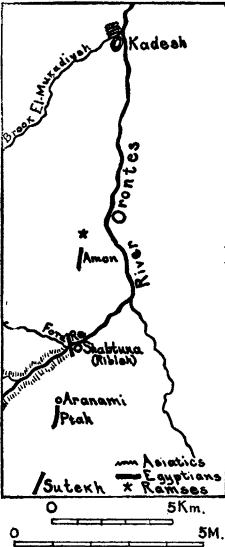


FIG. 9.—Second Positions

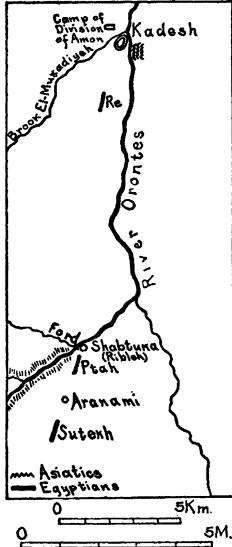


FIG. 10.—Third Positions



FIG. 11.—Fourth Positions



FIG. 12.—Fifth Positions

city between him and the advance of the Egyptians. To do this, he was obliged to transfer his army across the Orontes. Ramses, now quite unsuspecting, advances alone with only his household troops, and deliberately goes into camp northwest of the city (Poem, ll. 12 and 21; Record, ll. 7, 8; Reliefs, § 336, ll. 3, 4; Fig. 10). Thus the Asiatics, with a strong fortress on their right for refuge in case of defeat, by their remarkably skilful maneuvering, have gained a position on Ramses' right flank, which, properly utilized, means his destruction.

300. As the division of Amon comes up and is settling in camp around the tent of Ramses (Reliefs, § 331), an Egyptian scout brings in two of the enemy's scouts, who are beaten (Reliefs, § 330) into confessing the proximity of the foe (Record, § 321). Thoroughly alarmed, Ramses commands the vizier to order up the troops from the south of Shabtuna (§ 324), and the vizier, besides sending a horseman to hasten them, probably goes also himself in a chariot (Record, § 324; Reliefs, §§ 333 f.). Meanwhile the threatening catastrophe becomes a fact: remaining with his infantry, the king of the Hittites sends his chariotry (Poem, ll. 18, 19) to the attack; they "*came forth from the southern side of Kadesh, and they cut through the division of Re in its middle, while they were marching, without knowing, and without being drawn up for battle*" (Poem, § 311). Totally unprepared, caught thus in marching order, the Egyptians fled northward^a toward Ramses' camp (Record, l. 21), while a messenger was sent to acquaint him with the disaster. But

to make the attack (Record, l. 20), they must have come from the east side of the river; and while on the northwest of Kadesh, they were certainly on the west side; hence the two crossings are certain.

^aThis is evidently the northern half of the division of Re, which thus retreats; the southern half apparently fell back southward on the marching division of Ptah.

the Hittite chariotry, which made the attack, pressed the retreating Egyptians northward so rapidly that, while Ramses was sitting in his tent chiding his officers for their ignorance of the enemy's whereabouts, some members of the royal family were driven in headlong flight over the western barricade into the camp by the most advanced of the Hittite chariots (Record, ll. 19, 20; Reliefs, § 332, *a*, *b*). These first hostile intruders were dragged from their chariots by the Egyptian foot in the camp and slain.^a The fleeing troops of the division of Re^b now arrive and sweep the camping division of Amon into panic and flight, while the advancing Hittite chariotry rapidly enfold Ramses between their extended wings (Poem, l. 23; Record, l. 22; Reliefs, § 336, *a*, ll. 7, 8, and scene),^c being 2,500 in number, and representing a force of 7,500 men. Ramses, having with him only his bodyguard,^d now saw the extended wings of the enemy close completely around him on four sides, seeming like four bodies of chariotry^e (Poem, l. 23; Record, ll. 21, 22; Reliefs, § 336, *a*, l. 8). For the moment, he is thus isolated, even from the troops which had accompanied him to the north of Kadesh.

301. On the west side, where the royal fugitives have just

^a*Battle of Kadesh*, Pl. I.

^bThese are the northern portion of the division of Re. As the Hittites succeeded in cutting directly through this division, the southern portion of it should be represented on the plan (Fig. 12) somewhere south of Kadesh between Kadesh and the division of Ptah; but as their position succeeding the attack is quite uncertain, I have not attempted to indicate it.

^cThis enfolding or flanking movement is clearly evident in the relief, where the Hittite chariots, with three men in each, may be easily distinguished from the Egyptian, which carry only two. See also Fig. 12.

^dIt is this circumstance which has given rise to the proud boast, so often repeated in the Poem and in the Reliefs, that he was utterly alone, and won the battle single-handed.

^eThey can be seen thus in the relief scene (*Battle of Kadesh*, Pl. V); see also Fig. 12.

been driven in, the enemy is already pressing into the camp. On the east the enfolding wing of the enemy is evidently weakest. Ramses did not hesitate an instant, but immediately rallied his household troops and charged into the invaders of his camp, in the endeavor to cut his way out, to rejoin his southern divisions. This unexpected onset gained him a moment's respite, during which he perceived how the enemy was massed against him on the south, and he therefore turned against the enemy's thin line on their extreme right, before they should have time to strengthen it after their rapid advance northward. He charged eastward into the scanty opposing line of chariots so impetuously that he drove them into the Orontes north of the city.^a In so doing he forsook his camp, which immediately fell into the hands of the enemy. It is unquestionably the rich plunder in Ramses' camp which diverts the Hittites for the moment and saves Ramses from being pushed into the river in his turn.

302. A body of troops, which it is difficult to connect with any of Ramses' four divisions, now unexpectedly arrives and begins his rescue. They are called "*recruits* (*n^c ryn*), and are said to arrive from Amor.^b They enter the camp and slay the plundering Hittites to the last man (§ 340).

^aIt is this episode which the reliefs depict so vivaciously in the battle scene (§ 335).

^b*Battle of Kadesh*, 37, 38. Since reading my account of the incident, Eduard Meyer suggests to me that these troops may be reinforcements from the coast, which have landed at one of the Phœnician harbors, far enough south to be in Amor. It is not possible that these are infantry reinforcements belonging to the troops south of Shabtuna, although they are spoken of as arriving "*from Amor*," for the text mentioning them clearly distinguishes them from the divisions of Re and Ptah. But the course of the battle and the disposition of the troops are from this point quite uncertain. Ramses' desperate assault with his bodyguard is the subject and the *raison d'être* of all these documents, and they depict the whole victory as consisting in this one heroic incident. This over, the subsequent course of the battle between the opposing forces, in which the king is no longer so conspicuous, is of little importance to any of the three documents.

The fleeing troops of Ramses now rallied, and together with the "*recruits*" just mentioned, the Egyptian force engaged was no longer a mere handful.

303. It is apparently at the head of these forces that Ramses now charges six times into the mass of the Hittite chariotry that lies between him and the reinforcements approaching from the south, and brings the enemy to a stand.^a The Hittite king now sent in an additional thousand chariots from his reserves.^a Ramses has maintained himself for some three hours and at this juncture, while he is holding his own against fearful odds, the vizier arrives with the division of Ptah, and coming in from the south, quite unexpectedly strikes the Asiatics in the rear.^b After Ramses' stubborn stand this unforeseen blow in the rear quickly decides the contest, and the Hittite chariotry breaks and flees into the city. Caught between the closing lines of the Egyptians, some of them were taken prisoners and many slain;^c and the Hittite king was forced to see the day, begun so auspiciously for him, now lost, without being able to throw in against the Egyptian chariots the 8,000 or 9,000 foot which for some reason he held in reserve to the end on the other shore.^d

304. Whether Ramses attempted an assault upon this Asiatic infantry or not, is a question upon which our documents throw no light. The poem claims that there was another battle on the next day, which is extremely doubtful.^e In any case, it is clear that Kadesh is not taken,^f and Ramses,

^a*Battle of Kadesh*, 39.

^bThe Luxor relief shows this approach in the rear of the Asiatic chariotry, which is seen retreating into the city. It is clear that the Hittites were forced by Ramses' strong stand to put in all their chariotry against him, and were unable to prevent the advance of the division of Ptah.

^cReliefs, *Battle of Kadesh*, Pl. V.

^d*Battle of Kadesh*, 40.

^e*Battle of Kadesh*, 46, 47.

^fSee p. 142, note b.

happy in his remarkable escape from destruction, and proud of the personal reputation gained, having won the battle with but a portion^a of his army, is glad to return to Egypt for a time, where he offers his prisoners to Amon.^b But Syria as far south as Kadesh, if not farther, remains in the hands of the Hittites.

a. Poem on the Battle of Kadesh^c

305. This poem, long called the "Poem of Pentaur," is our most important document for a study of the battle of Kadesh. It is, fortunately for us, introduced by a sober and careful prose account of Ramses' departure from Egypt, his march to Kadesh, and the position of his four divisions up to the moment of the Asiatic attack. Supplemented by the

^aThe entire division of Sutekh was too far away to reach the field in time.

^bReliefs, §§ 348-51.

^cFor fuller statement of bibliography, see my *Battle of Kadesh*, 6, 7. The texts are of two kinds: hieroglyphic and hieratic. The hieroglyphic text has been found in three copies on temple walls: at Luxor (Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, IV, 232-48; Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, II, 40-42; lower ends, Daressy, *Revue égyptologique*, IX, 58); Karnak (Rougé, *ibid.*, IV, 206-31; Brugsch, *ibid.*, II, 29-32; Mariette, *Karnak*, 48-51); and Abydos (Mariette, *Abydos*, II, 4, 5). All these originals are excessively fragmentary, especially the one at Abydos, of which only the lower ends of the vertical lines have survived. Of the publications the Karnak copies of Brugsch and Mariette are so incomplete as to be unusable, and Rougé's copies are neither accurate nor exhaustive. Besides the above publications, I had a collation of Abydos by Borchardt, and photographs of Karnak also by Borchardt, for which I am indebted to the Berlin dictionary. Of the hieratic text there are two papyri, both belonging to the same roll; Papyrus Raifet, containing only one page of ten lines (published by Rougé, *Recueil*, I, and Papyrus Sallier III (select Papyrus I, 24-34), containing eleven pages. Raifet precedes Sallier III, but the beginning is lost. I arranged all the texts in parallel columns, and this quadruplex was then carefully collated with the original Papyrus Sallier III, in the British Museum, by Professor Erman. The texts were once similarly put together by E. de Rougé and published by J. de Rougé (*Revue égyptologique*, III-IX), but without the Abydos copy, the lower part of Luxor, or a collation of the original Papyrus Sallier III. The addition of Abydos has filled a considerable number of lacunæ, and the collation of Sallier III has likewise cleared up many difficulties. As a long passage is misplaced in the hieratic text, and it lacks also the beginning (ten lines), it was necessary to adopt the line numbering from the hieroglyphic for which the Luxor text was chosen. All passages on movements connected with the battle are published in my *Battle of Kadesh*.

official record of the battle (§§ 316 ff.), we are able to trace in it all Ramses' movements, immediately before and leading up to the battle.

The discussion of the poem as a literary composition does not fall within the scope of this volume.^a

Introduction

306. ^{1b}Beginning of the victory of King Usermare-Setepnere (Ramses II), [who is given life], forever, which he achieved in the land of Kheta (*Ht*²) and Naharin (*N-h-ry-n*), in the land of Arvad (*Y-r*² - *tw*),^c in Pedes (*Py-d*² - *s*²), in the Derden (*D*² - *r-d-ny*), in the land of ²Mesa (*M*² - *s*²), in the land of Kelekesh (*[K]*² - *r*² - *[k]y-š*² ^c; sic!), —, Carchemish (*K-[r]*² - *k-my-š*²), Kode (*Kdy*), the land of Kadesh (*Kdš*), in the land of Ekereth (*?* - *k*² - *r*² - *t*), and Mesheneth (*Mw-š*² - *n-t*).
3. 8.^d

Preparations and March to the Frontier at Tharu

307. Behold, his majesty prepared his infantry and his chariotry, the Sherden^e (*Š*² - *r*² - *dy-n*²) of the captivity of his majesty from the

^aIt will be found complete with translation and notes in a later volume of this series.

^bThe conventional phrase for beginning a literary composition.

^cThis location of the battle in all these lands is probably a loose way of indicating that the land in which it took place was then in the possession of these nationalities. Of the old Syrian enemies of Egypt, we see in this list (also ll. 13-15 and 24): Naharin, Arvad, Carchemish, Kode, Kadesh, Nuges, Ekereth (Ugarit of Amarna Letters), Aleppo, and perhaps Mesheneth. The others, Kheta, Pedes, Derden, Mesa, Kelekesh, Kezweden, and Luka (or Lukat), are the Hittites and their neighbors in Asia Minor. Of the latter the Luka are almost certainly the Lycians, the Kelekesh, probably the Cilicians, the Derden, perhaps the Dardanians, and the Mesa, the Mysians. Kezweden was a part of the Hittite kingdom. The remnant is entirely uncertain, though many identifications have been proposed. See Müller's treatment (*Asien und Europa*, 334 f. and 355 ff.), and Hall (*Annals of British School at Athens*, VIII, 157).

^dHymn of praise of the king's valor.

^eEarliest mention of these mercenaries in an Egyptian document, although they were used at the close of the Eighteenth Dynasty, as shown by *Amarna Letters*, (ed. Winckler) where they were called Shirdana. They are identified with the Sardinians (Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 372 ff., where the Shirdana, of the *Amarna Letters*, are still unknown).

victories of his sword [— —] ^a they gave the plan^b of battle. His majesty proceeded northward, his infantry and his chariotry being with him. He began^c the goodly way, to march. Year 5, the second month of the third season (tenth month), on the ninth day,^d his majesty passed the fortress of Tharu (T³ -rw) ^e [like] Montu when he goes forth. Every country trembled before him, [fear] was in their hearts; all the [rebels] came bowing down for fear of the fame of his majesty, when his [army] came ^f upon the [narrow]^g road, being like one who is upon the highway of —.

March from Tharu to the Region of Kadesh

308. Now, after many^g days after this, behold, his majesty was in "Usermare-Meriamon,"^h L. P. H., the city of ———ⁱ cedar. His majesty proceeded northward, and he then ^j arrived at the highland^j of Kadesh (Kdš). Then his majesty, L. P. H., marched before, like his father, Montu lord of Thebes, and crossed over the channel

^aLacuna of uncertain length.

^bCompare Uni, l. 19 (I, 312).

^cLit., "took the head of the goodly way," a phrase regularly used when a king sets out on an enterprise, like Queen Hatshepsut's expedition to Punt, Amenhotep III's wild cattle hunt, or Amenhotep IV's inspection of the Amarna boundaries (II, 960, l. 6).

^dAbout the end of April.

^eLacuna of uncertain length.

^fThis word (g³ wt) is a little uncertain; the meaning given is that of Brugsch, who states (*Dictionnaire géographique*, 995) that it designates here the narrow road between the Mediterranean and the lake of Serbonis. The meaning fits this passage well, but there is only one other example of the word (which is not decisive). Müller (*Asien und Europa*, 216) refers it above to the narrow way in the valley (Buḳa^c a) between the Lebanons, but the "many days" march leading to the Lebanon region is still in the future (ll. 11, 12), not in the past, as Müller states (*ibid.*, 216, n. 3).

^gPapyrus Raifet begins here.

^hSome unknown city named after the king, and apparently reached after the departure from the coast. Müller places it near southern Lebanon (*Asien und Europa*, 273, 7).

ⁱLacuna of uncertain length, containing of course, some reference to the arrival among the cedars of Lebanon.

^jThis highland is "south of Kadesh," according to the Record (l. 2), and as he crosses to the west side of Orontes later on (l. 12), where the battle took place, the highland must be some hill on the east side. The plain between Orontes and Anti-Lebanon is here some twenty miles wide (*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Report*, 1881, 166), and the highland referred to is that of Kamû^c at el-Harmel (Fig. 7 and *Battle of Kadesh*, 19-21).

of the Orontes^a (ʔ-r-n-t), there being with him the first division of Amon^b (named): "Victory-of-King-Usermare-Setepnere-L.-P.-H."

The Coalition of the Prince of Kheta

309. When his majesty, L. P. H., reached the city,^c behold, ¹³the wretched, vanquished chief of Kheta (Ht²) had come, having gathered together all countries from the ends of the sea to the land of Kheta, which came entire: the Naharin (N-h-ry-n) likewise, and Arvad (ʔ-r²-t-w), ¹⁴—, ^dMesa (M²-s-w), Keshkesh (Kš-kš),^d Kelekesh (K²-r²-k-y-kš²), Luka (Rw-k²), Kezwenen (K²-d²-w²-dn), Carchemish (K-r²-k-my-š²),^e Ekereth (ʔ-k²-ry-t), Kode (Kdy), the entire land of Nuges (Nw-g-s), Mesheneth (Mw-š²-n-t), and Kadesh (Kdš). ¹⁵He left not a country which was not brought, to[gether with] their chiefs^f who were with him, every man bringing his chariotry, an exceeding great multitude, without its like. They covered the mountains and the valleys; they were like grasshoppers with their multitudes. ¹⁶He left not silver nor gold^g in his land (but) he plundered it of all its possessions and gave to every country, in order to bring them with him to battle.

^aCompare the same phrase on Amenhotep II's Syrian campaign (II, 784, l. 4). This is the crossing at the ford south of Shabtuna, where the Pharaoh was met by the two Shasu-Bedwin, with the false report (Record, ll. 2, 3).

^bThe rest of the army being some distance in the rear on the other side of the river. When the whole army is with him, the usual phrase is: "*his infantry and his chariotry being with him*;" e. g., l. 9. Ramses is therefore already far in advance of the other three divisions, just as he was later when the Hittites attacked him.

^cKadesh.

^dIn place of these two names the hieroglyphic texts all have *Py-d²-s² and Yr-wn*. *Kškš* is supposed by Müller to be a corruption of *K²-r²-k-y-š²*, but as it has a different *k* and occurs in the Papyrus side by side with Kelekesh, the supposition is doubtful, if not improbable. On the list as a whole, see p. 136, n. c.

^eInstead of Ekereth, Raifet has Kadesh, which is, of course, senseless repetition, like that of the other texts in repeating Kadesh at the end of the list.

^fIt is incredible that the larger kingdoms of Asia Minor should have been represented at this battle by their kings (*wr-w*). These mercenaries of the Hittite king had, of course, their commanders; the Syrian princes were some of them really present, and the Egyptians were glad to class the mercenary commanders as similar princes, to the greater glory of the Pharaoh's victory. The close of this section (§ 309) shows clearly how these mercenaries were enlisted.

^gKarnak, the only hieroglyphic text preserved here, has: "*he left no silver at all* (*hḳ nb*)."¹ This may point to the more plentiful use of silver in Asia Minor, where it was produced.

The Positions of the Two Armies

310. Behold, the wretched, vanquished chief of Kheta, together with the numerous allied countries, were stationed^a in battle array, concealed on the northwest of the city of Kadesh,^b while his majesty¹⁷ was alone by himself,^c [with] his bodyguard,^c and the division of Amon was marching behind him. The division of Re crossed over the river-bed on the south side of the town of Shabtuna (*Š³-b-tw-n*),^d at the distance of an iter^e from the [division of Amon]; — the division of Ptah was on the south of¹⁸ the city of Aranami^f (*ʿ-r²-n²-m*); and the division of Sutekh was marching upon the road.^g His majesty had formed the first rank of all the leaders of his army, while they were on the shore in^h the land of the Amor (*ʿ-m-w-r²i*). Behold, the

^aSo Raifet. The hieroglyphic texts have: "were stationed, concealed in battle array, [behind] the city of Kadesh."

^bSee plan (Fig. 9) for the following positions.

^cRaifet has in place of this phrase: "none other was with him;" but the above text (Karnak) is more probably correct.

^dRaifet has *Š³-bw-dw-n²*, and says "west side." It is the town later called Ribleh (*Battle of Kadesh*, 21, 22). The location of this town is clear from the references given by the Poem and the Record. After camping on the "highlands south of Kadesh" (Record, l. 2), Ramses advances toward Kadesh, and on the way thither passes Shabtuna (Record, l. 3), which is near a ford over the Orontes, as our above passage shows. Shabtuna was therefore on the Orontes a few miles south of Kadesh. [Conder (*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Report*, 1881, 169 ff.) was not furnished with proper data from the inscriptions, for the location of Shabtuna.] Ramses, having hitherto advanced on the east side of Orontes, is now moving on the west side, while half his force is still on the east side (Fig. 9).

^eThis variable measure does not exceed 1½ miles (see II, 965).

^fRaifet has: "the division of Ptah was opposite them." This indicates that Aranami was on the east side of the Orontes. It is certain that Aranami is south of Shabtuna, for the division of Ptah, here marching northward, while just south of Aranami, was still south of Shabtuna when sent for by Ramses after the attack of the Asiatics (Record, ll. 18, 19). See *Battle of Kadesh*, 22, 23.

^gA very indefinite indication, showing only that this division was far away somewhere on the road. It is not mentioned again, and did not get up in time for the battle.

^hRaifet has "of."

ⁱThe "shore of Amor" is the Mediterranean coast, at some point in southern Lebanon, where Ramses turned inland. (Cf. Meyer, *Festschrift für Georg Ebers*, 69, n. 2); it was long mistranslated "lake." This detail of Ramses' manipulation of his troops, therefore, refers back to an earlier stage of the campaign like a similar remark on the arrangement of the Hittite king's troops (at end of l. 19).

wretched ^avanquished chief of^a Kheta was stationed in the midst of the infantry which was with him, and he came not out to fight, for fear of his majesty. Then he made to go the people of the chariotry, an exceedingly numerous multitude like the sand, being three people to each span.^b Now, they had made their combinations (thus): among every three youths was one man of the vanquished of Kheta,^c ^eequipped with all the weapons of battle. Lo, they had stationed them in battle array, concealed on the northwest^d the city of Kadesh.

The Attack of the Asiatics

311. They came forth from the southern side of Kadesh, and they cut through the division of Re in its middle, while they were marching without knowing and without ^ebeing drawn up for battle. The infantry and chariotry of his majesty, L. P. H., retreated before them. Now, his majesty had halted on the north of the city of Kadesh, on the western side of the Orontes (*ʿ-r-n-ḫ*). Then came one to tell^e it to his majesty, L. P. H.

Ramses' Attack

312. His majesty, L. P. H., shone like his father ^eMontu, when he took the adornments of war; as he seized his coat of mail, he was like Baal in his hour. The great span which bore his majesty, L. P. H., called: "Victory-in-Thebes," from the great stables of Ramses (II),

^aHere Papyrus Raifet ends and Papyrus Sallier begins.

^bWith every two of the mercenaries was one Hittite, each three thus formed being in one chariot. This is omitted in the hieroglyphic texts.

^cSallier adds: "*without number*;" but this is a misunderstanding by the ancient copyist.

^dSo the Papyrus. The hieroglyphic versions have only "*behind*," but as the Egyptian army is south and southeast of Kadesh, "*behind Kadesh*" is for them the north and northwest.

^eThis messenger doubtless found the king already engaged in battle. At any rate, the messenger could only confirm what Ramses had already learned from the two Hittite scouts. Had he arrived earlier, the torture of the scouts would have been unnecessary. Their torture, therefore, shows that this messenger had not yet arrived. The attack in the south, therefore, which cut in two the marching division of Re, being at the most not more than a few miles from Ramses' camp, could not have taken place very long before the attack on said camp. This would indicate the rapidity with which the Egyptians were driven northward into Ramses' camp.

^awas in the midst of the leaders.^a His majesty halted in the rout;^b then ²³he charged into the foe, the vanquished of Kheta, being alone by himself and none other with him. When his majesty went to look behind him, he found 2,500 chariotry surrounding him, in his way out, ²⁴being all the youth of the wretched Kheta, together with its numerous allied countries: from Arvad ($\text{ʿ-r}^{\text{2}}-\text{t}^{\text{w}}$), from Mesa ($\text{M}^{\text{2}}-\text{s}^{\text{2}}$), from Pedes ($\text{Py-d}^{\text{2}}-\text{s}^{\text{2}}$), from Keshkesh (Kš-kš), from Erwenet^c (Yr-wn^{t} , sic!), from Kezweden ($\text{K}^{\text{2}}-\text{ḡ}^{\text{2}}-\text{w}^{\text{2}}-\text{d}^{\text{2}}-\text{n}^{\text{2}}$), from Aleppo ($\text{Hy-r}^{\text{2}}-\text{bw}$), Eketeri ($\text{ʿ-k}^{\text{2}}-\text{t-r-y}$, sic!), Kadesh (Kdš), and Luka ($\text{Rw-k}^{\text{2}}-\text{t}^{\text{d}}$), being three men to a span, acting in unison.

313. Now follow highly idealized and sometimes purely imaginary incidents, the creation of the poet, in which nothing is historical save the one fact that Ramses holds his own until the arrival of his southern army. He first calls upon Amon for help in his unequal battle. Amon responds and strengthens him against the foe. The king of the Kheta is obliged to summon his allied commanders and send them into the fray. Ramses addresses a scathing rebuke to his own troops, and when his charioteer is dismayed because they are entirely surrounded, he encourages him and charges six times into the hostile ranks, thus holding the enemy in check until his reinforcements from the south can come up.^e

314. At evening the captives of every country are brought to the king's tent, and the next morning the plain is seen

^aThis phrase is not in Luxor (the only hieroglyphic text preserved at this point), and the connection in the hieroglyphic version was apparently: "*The great span etc., was called, etc.*"

^bThe same word (yjd) is used of the headlong flight of the Syrians before Thutmose III at the battle of Megiddo (II, 430, l. 4).

^cBy Brugsch identified with Ilion! Müller would read the first syllable (Yr) as y^{2} , producing Yawan, or Ionians. For this reading the evidence is insufficient.

^dThe last six names are omitted by the hieroglyphic texts; hence the incorrect writings, as the papyrus is inaccurate.

^eThere is no reference to the arrival of the "*recruits*," who began the rescue.

covered with the dead, especially of the family of the prince of Kheta.^a The army comes to the king's tent and celebrates his victory in a hymn of praise. But the king responds, reminding them of their cowardice, and reproaching them that they did not depend upon him to lead and protect them. The next (?) morning Ramses drew up his battle lines and renewed the attack with such effect that the prince of Kheta sent a humble letter suing for peace, which the king read in triumph before his assembled troops, who thereupon gave him another ovation.^b Pleased with this flattery, he marches southward, and returns in peace to Thebes, where, of course, he is received with triumphant jubilation by the people.

315. The last three lines of Papyrus Sallier III (XI, 9-11), which is the only text in which the conclusion is preserved, furnish the date of "*this writing, in the year 9, second month of the third season, day —, [under the majesty] of King Ramses II.*" This particular copy was one "*which the scribe, Pentewere^c (Pn-t³-wr t) made*" (XI, 11), a mere copyist, who was not the author of the poem, as is still usually stated.

b. *Official Record of the Battle of Kadesh^d*

316. This document is appended to the wall scenes (§§ 328-47), and seems to have been an official record of

^aThis is corroborated by the reliefs.

^bEven the Poem makes no claim that Ramses captured Kadesh, as is so often stated in the histories. It seems incredible, furthermore, that there should have been a successful battle on the next day, of which the reliefs and inscriptions should show not a single trace. It is possible to conclude with Müller (*Asien und Europa*, 216, n. 1) that the entire conclusion of the poem, recounting the Hittite king's letter proposing peace, is to be referred to the actual arrangements for peace in year 21; but see my *Battle of Kadesh*, 46. In any case, the poem is clearly wrong in placing a treaty of peace after the battle of Kadesh, for Ramses continued the conflict with the Hittites until long after this.

^cUsually called "Pentaur;" that he was not the author of the poem, as formerly supposed, was shown by Erman (*Neuägyptische Grammatik*, 7).

^dSee my *Battle of Kadesh*, 7, for fuller discussion of bibliography. Three originals:

the battle. It is not as full as the Poem on the marches and positions of the two armies, but it narrates fully the inside history which led to Ramses' incautious advance to the north of Kadesh, furnishing an account of the earliest military ruse known in history. Of all this the Poem says nothing.

Date

317. 'Year 5, third month of the third season, day 9;^a under the majesty of Horus: Mighty Bull, Beloved of Truth; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Setepnere; Son of Re; Ramses-Meriamon, given life forever.

Camp South of Kadesh

318. Lo, his majesty was in Zahi (*D³ -hy*)^b on his second victorious campaign. The goodly watch^c in 'life, prosperity and health, in the tent of his majesty, was on the highland south of Kadesh.

False Message of the Shasu near Shabtuna

319. When his majesty appeared like the rising of Re, he assumed the adornments of his father, Montu. When the king proceeded

1. ABU SIMBEL (Champollion, *Monuments*, 27-29; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 100-102; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 187, c-e. I had also photographs by Grunau, kindly loaned me by Steindorff.

2. RAMESSEUM (Lepsius, *ibid.*, III, 153; Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, 2d part, 52).

3. LUXOR (Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, II, 53; Champollion, *Monuments*, 127 bis; Rosellini, *ibid.*, 106).

Of these Luxor is not given by Champollion and Rosellini, but was copied by Brugsch. Furthermore, the Abu Simbel text is bad, sometimes omitting whole passages. Champollion and Rosellini's copy of this text is unusable, two whole lines being omitted and often the sand-covered lower ends. Although I collated the Abu Simbel text exhaustively, the translation is based chiefly on the Ramesseum. For this text I had only Lepsius, *Denkmäler*; for Sharpe's copy is totally worthless. Though all the originals show lacunæ, I found these disappeared on arranging them in parallel columns. A combined text by Guieysse (*Recueil*, VIII, 126-31) I found unreliable. The line numbers herein refer to the Ramesseum text. All passages on movements of the battle are also published in my *Battle of Kadesh*.

^aThis is about the end of May (see Breasted, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 37, 129), just one month after leaving the Egyptian frontier at Tharu (Poem, l. 9).

^bThis shows that Zahi was not confined to Phœnicia, this passage making it extend inland over Lebanon and the Orontes valley. See also II, 616, ll. 9, 10.

^cCompare Thutmose III's camp at Aruna (II, 425, ll. 56, 57).

northward, and his majesty had arrived at the locality south of ³the town of Shabtuna^a (*Š³-b-tw-n*), there came two^b Shasu, to speak to his majesty as follows: "Our brethren, who belong to the greatest of the families with the vanquished chief of Kheta, have made us come to ⁴his majesty, to say: 'We will be subjects of Pharaoh, L. P. H., and we will flee from the vanquished chief of Kheta; for the vanquished chief of Kheta sits^c in the land of Aleppo (*Hy-r³-bw*), on the north of Tunip (*Tw-n-p*). He fears ⁵because of Pharaoh, L. P. H., to come southward.'" Now, these Shasu spake these words, which they spake to his majesty, falsely, (for) the vanquished chief of Kheta made them come to spy ⁶where his majesty was, in order to cause the army of his majesty not to draw up for fighting him,^d to battle with the vanquished chief of Kheta.

Positions of the Two Armies

320. Lo, the vanquished chief of Kheta came with every chief of every country, their infantry and their chariotry, ⁷which he had brought with him by force,^e and stood, equipped, drawn up in line of battle behind Kadesh the Deceitful, while his majesty knew it not. Then his majesty proceeded northward and arrived on the northwest^f of Kadesh; ⁸and the army of his majesty [*made camp*] there.

Examination of Hittite Scouts

321. Then, as his majesty sat upon a throne of gold, there arrived a scout who was in the following of his majesty, and he brought two scouts of ⁹the vanquished chief of Kheta. They were conducted into the pre-

^aOn the location of Shabtuna, see *Battle of Kadesh*, 21, 22, and *infra*, p. 139, n. d; and the plans of the battle (Figs. 7, 8).

^bAbu Simbel has "*two*," but Ramesseum has "*three*," which, of course, may be merely the plural strokes.

^cSo Abu Simbel; Ramesseum has "*is*." The former omits "*the land of*."

^dThat is, to keep the Egyptians in marching order, that he might surprise and find them unprepared for battle, as he actually did.

^eOr: "*from victories*."

^fHe had now passed northward along the west side of Kadesh, and camped on the northwest of the city ("*north*," Poem, l. 21). The text over the battle (§ 336, ll. 3, 4) also says he camped on "*the northwest of Kadesh*." In any case, the general location of his camp is certain. L. 8 perhaps began with some reference to the position of Ramses' three divisions, far in his rear, which is so carefully noted in the Poem (ll. 17, 18), but the restoration above is more probable.

sence, and his majesty said to them: "What are ye?" They said: "As for us, the vanquished chief of the Kheta has caused that we should come to spy out where his majesty is." Said his majesty ¹⁰to them: "He! Where is he, the vanquished chief of Kheta? Behold, I have heard, saying: 'He is in the land of Aleppo (*Hy-r³-b³*).'" Said they: "See, the vanquished chief of Kheta is stationed, together with many countries, ¹¹which he has brought with him by force,^a being every country which is in the districts of the land of Kheta,^b the land of Naharin (*N-hy-r-n*), and all Kode (*Kd*).^c They are equipped with infantry and chariotry, bearing their ¹²weapons; more numerous are they than the sand of the shore. See, they are standing, drawn up for battle, behind^d Kadesh the Deceitful."

The Council of War

322. Then his majesty had the princes called into the presence, ¹³and had them hear every word which the two scouts of the vanquished chief of Kheta, who were in the presence, had spoken. Said his majesty to them: "See ye the manner wherewith the chiefs (*mr*) of the peasantry^e (*yw^c-ty*) and ¹⁴the officials under whom is the land of Pharaoh, L. P. H., have stood, daily, saying to the Pharaoh: 'The vanquished chief of Kheta is in the land of Aleppo (*Hy-r³-b³-y*); he has fled before his majesty, ¹⁵since hearing that, behold, he came.' So spake they to his majesty daily. But see, I have held a hearing in this very hour, with the two scouts of ¹⁶the vanquished chief of Kheta, to the effect that the vanquished chief of Kheta is coming, together with the numerous countries [that are with] him, being people and horses, like the multitudes of the sand. They are stationed behind Kadesh the

^aOr: "*in victory*."

^bClearly showing the composite character of the Hittite kingdom at this time.

^cThis is a clear indication of the extent of Kode; all the rest of the countries from Arvad to Asia Minor are included in the term "*all Kode*." But see Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 242, 48.

^d"*Behind Kadesh*," from Ramses' present position in his camp on the north of Kadesh is, of course, south of Kadesh, where the Hittites moved out for the attack on the division of Re.

^eOr: "*infantry*;" these officials are parallel with "*the governors of the (foreign) countries*" in l. 17. It is clear that the king is chiding the officials in authority both in Asia and Egypt, that is, both his provincial and Egyptian officers.

Deceitful. But ¹⁷the governors of the countries and the officials under whose authority is the land of Pharaoh, L. P. H., were not able to tell it to us."

323. Said the princes who were in the presence of his majesty: "It is a great fault, which the governors of the countries and the officials of Pharaoh, L. P. H., have committed ¹⁸in not informing that ^athe vanquished chief of Kheta was near the king;^a and (in) that they told his^b report to his majesty daily."

The Divisions in the South Are Ordered Up

324. Then the vizier was ordered to hasten^c ¹⁹the army of his majesty, while they were marching on the south of Shabtuna^d (*Š²-b-tu-n*), in order to bring them to the place where his majesty was.

The Attack of the Asiatics

325. Lo, while his majesty sat talking^e with ²⁰the princes, the vanquished chief of Kheta came,^f and the numerous countries, which were with him. They crossed over the channel^g on the south of

^aLit., "that the vanquished chief of Kheta was where the king was."

^bViz., the false report of the Hittite which he sent out by the two Shasu (ll. 3, 4).

^cThe vizier sent the message by a horseman, and probably went also by chariot himself (§§ 333-4).

^dThis is one of the most important statements in the documents on this battle. It shows that, while Ramses is in camp on the north of Kadesh the main body of his army is south of Kadesh on the march in the vicinity of Shabtuna (see Fig. 11). Besides the division of Amon, which is with Ramses, only the division of Re has passed Shabtuna.

^eThe messenger announcing the attack on the division of Re in the south had up to this point not yet arrived, and Ramses apparently receives no notice of the attack until it is upon him.

^fSo Ramesseum; Abu Simbel has: "with [his] infantry and his chariotry likewise;" but this is incorrect; the entire battle was one of chariotry, as the reliefs show.

^gThis channel is, of course, that of Orontes, the Hittite king having previously led his forces from the west to the east side, now goes back to the west side, in order to get around the city, while keeping it between him and the Egyptians. Being a city which he commanded, he could, of course, go through it, and emerge for his attack on the south side, unless prevented by lack of gates at the proper points. But this would probably have exposed his issuing forces to the view of the marching division of Re, as the city wall was necessarily clearly in view across the moat. In any case, there must have been some cover south of the city from which the Asiatics emerged for the attack.

Kadesh, and charged into the army of his majesty while they were ²¹marching, and not expecting it. Then the infantry and chariotry of his majesty retreated before them, northward to the place where his majesty was. Lo, the foes ²²of^a the vanquished chief of Kheta surrounded^b the bodyguard of his majesty, who were by his side.

Ramses' Personal Attack

326. When his majesty saw them, he was enraged against them, like his father, Montu, lord of Thebes. He seized the adornments of battle, ²³and arrayed himself in his coat of mail. He was like Baal in his hour. Then he betook himself to his horses, and led quickly on, being alone by ²⁴himself. He charged into the foes of the vanquished chief of Kheta, and the numerous countries which were with him. His majesty was like Sutekh, the great in strength, smiting and slaying among them; his majesty hurled them ²⁵headlong, one upon another into the water of the Orontes.^c

Ramses' Own Statement

327. "I charged all countries, while I was alone, my infantry and my chariotry having forsaken me. Not one among them stood to turn about. I swear, as Re loves me, as my father, Atum, favors me, that, as for every matter which his majesty has stated, I did it in truth, in the presence of my infantry and my chariotry."

c. The Reliefs of the Battle of Kadesh^d

328. The pictured story of the battle of Kadesh presented in these reliefs, like the great epic poem on the battle, was a source of such gratification to Ramses, that he had them reproduced six times in the temples of Upper Egypt and

^aViz., "belonging to."

^bThe Hittite king, having effected the isolation of Ramses and a portion of his troops, now enfolds between his two wings the camp of Ramses, toward, and of course past, which the latter's fleeing troops have retreated (see l. 25).

^cRamses evidently attacked the enemy's right wing, before it was sufficiently strong to withstand him, and drove the enemy directly eastward into the river; see Fig. 12.

^dCut on the walls of Ramses II's temples at Abydos, Thebes (three times), Derr, and Abu Simbel:

1. ABYDOS.—On the outside of the north, west, and south walls; nearly the whole has perished, and the remains are still unpublished. Short inscriptions

Nubia, and doubtless also several times in the vanished temples of Lower Egypt. As will be seen, owing to the primitive character of Egyptian topographical and architectural drawing, these scenes cannot be made to coincide with the data of the inscriptions, but they furnish invaluable side lights on the battle, and the accompanying inscriptions add facts of the greatest importance.

I. THE COUNCIL OF WAR^a

329. Ramses sits enthroned, with his officers before him, in consultation. Below, the two Hittite scouts are being beaten, to force them to disclose the location of the enemy.

(Mariette, *Abydos*, II, 10, 11) and three scenes (Mariette, *Voyage dans la haute Egypte*, Pl. 30-32 and p. 72).

2. THEBES.

a) *Ramesseum*, first pylon: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 153-55, 157-61; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, 870-72.

b) *Ramesseum*, second pylon: Champollion, *Monuments*, 328-30; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, 585-89, 873, 874; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 109, 110; Lepsius, III, 164, 165.

c) *Luxor*, on the first pylon: Champollion, *Monuments*, 323, 324, 327-327 bis (last two incorrectly marked *Ramesseum*); Rosellini, *ibid.*, 104-7; Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, 53 (inscriptions only); *Description, Antiquités*, III, 3-6. (None at Karnak, as stated by Guieysse, *Recueil*, VIII, 126, note 1.)

d) *Karnak*, chiseled out in antiquity: Breasted, *Battle of Kadesh*, Pl. VIII, 45, 46.

3. DERR.—Now destroyed; seen by Champollion (Wiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte*, 434, note 5).

4. ABU SIMBEL.—In the great temple, first hall, north wall: Champollion, *Monuments*, 17 bis-33; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 64-66; Rosellini, *ibid.*, 87-103; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, 187, c-e.

The inscriptions from all these reliefs have been combined (from the publications) by Guieysse (*Recueil*, VIII, 120-42) in a handy form for reference, but it is not reliable. An exhaustive publication of the combined originals is very much needed. For the following translations I arranged my own combined text, placing all the publications of all the originals in parallel columns. These are published, in so far as they concern the movements of the armies, in my *Battle of Kadesh*. All the reliefs are also published there, Pl. I-VII.

^a1. *RAMESSEUM*, first pylon: Champollion, I, 870; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, 153.

2. *LUXOR*: Champollion, *Monuments*, 327 bis; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 106; *Battle of Kadesh*, Pl. IV.

3. *ABU SIMBEL*: Champollion, *Monuments*, 29; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 66; Rosellini, *ibid.*, 102; *Battle of Kadesh*, Pl. VI.

The whole scene is evidently located in the tent visible as a rectangle in the center of the camp on the northwest of Kadesh.

Beating Spies

330. ¹The arrival of the scout of Pharaoh, L. P. H., bringing the two scouts of the vanquished chief ²of Kheta into the presence of Pharaoh, L. P. H. They are beating them, to make them tell ³where the wretched chief of Kheta is.

Over Horses

Great first span of his majesty: "Victory-in-Thebes," of the great stable: "Usermare-Setepnere-Beloved-of-Amon."

II. THE CAMP^a

331. In the midst of a rectangular inclosure, barricaded with shields, appears the royal tent,^b surrounded by the small tents of the officers and the animated life of the camp, which the "*first^c division*," that of Amon, is engaged in arranging. This is the camp north or northwest of Kadesh (Record, l. 7; Poem, l. 21). Within the royal tent, Ramses sits, chiding his officers for their neglect, when suddenly the extreme north end of the Hittite right wing bursts in at the

^a1. RAMESSEUM: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 154, 155; Prisse, *Histoire de l'art égyptien* (plates unnumbered); *Battle of Kadesh*, Pl. I.

2. LUXOR: Champollion, *Monuments*, 326, 327 (no text); Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 106, 107 (no text); *Battle of Kadesh*, Pl. IV.

3. ABU SIMBEL: Champollion, *Monuments*, 30, 31; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 65, 66; Rosellini, *ibid.*, 98-99; *Battle of Kadesh*, Pl. VI.

^bThe lion behind the king's tent is his personal pet. He is shown at Luxor fettered; at Abu Simbel (Champollion, *Monuments*, 15) with the Pharaoh on the march; at Bet-Walli beside the Pharaoh's throne (Champollion, *Monuments*, 62); and finally at Derr in two scenes (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 183, b, and 184, a), where the king is sacrificing prisoners to Amon-Re. In these last scenes he is accompanied by the inscription: "*The lion, follower of his majesty, slayer of his enemies*" (cf. Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 90); and he is biting one of the prisoners. There is no basis in all this for the current statement that this lion accompanied his master in the battle, where (Champollion, *Monuments*, 25, and Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 87) a lion in the decoration of the chariot has been mistaken for the Pharaoh's pet (see *Battle of Kadesh*, 44, 45).

^cEvidently so called because of its position in the line of march.

eastern end of the barricade (upper right-hand corner), driving some members of the royal household before them. These hostile intruders are quickly dispatched by the household troops of Ramses, who are to be seen on foot poniarding them.

Over Prince in Chariot

332. ¹Fan-bearer on the king's right hand, —, ²king's-scribe, army commander — ³———— ⁴his majesty the — ⁵on his right hand —.

Over Official in Chariot

¹Arrival of ²the — of Pharaoh, L. P. H., at — — ³the mother of the royal children, together with the ⁴— of the divine mother ⁵— — fleeing to ⁶the west [side] of the ⁷camp ⁸— — before the foe.

At Top

The first division of Amon (named): "He-Gives-Victory-to-Usermare-Setepnere (Ramses II)-Given-Life," with which Pharaoh is engaged in making camp.

III. RAMSES' MESSENGERS^a

333. These messengers are the ones sent southward by the vizier (Record, § 324, ll. 18 and 19) to hasten the forces still in the south near Shabtuna. To carry such a message, they must either make a wide detour westward, to go around the enemy's lines, or hazard the dangerous passage through them. To render the arrival of the orders more certain, the vizier dispatches a horseman, and goes himself^b in a chariot. Their orders seem to concern only the division of

^a1. LUXOR: Champollion, *Monuments*, 323; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 106; *Battle of Kadesh*, Pl. IV.

2. ABU SIMBEL: Champollion, *ibid.*, 18; Rosellini, *ibid.*, 95; *Battle of Kadesh*, Pl. VI.

^bThe Luxor relief contains a fragment of inscription showing that the vizier himself probably went. Among the approaching reinforcements hastening up in the rear of the Hittites to relieve Ramses, appear the words: "*Arrival of the vizier to [assist] the army of [his majesty]*" (Champollion, *Monuments*, 324, incorrectly numbered 314). This shows that the vizier got through, and brought up the reinforcements himself.

Ptah. This is because the southern half of the division of Re was, of course, aware of the attack, and the division of Sutekh was evidently too far away for Ramses to hope to bring them up in time.

Before Horseman

334. ¹The scout of the army of Pharaoh, L. P. H., ²going to hasten the division of Ptah, ³saying: "March on! ⁴Pharaoh, L. P. H., your lord, ⁵stands ———."

IV. THE BATTLE^a

335. We here see the city of Kadesh, by which the battle was fought, so thoroughly moated that it seems to lie in the very Orontes itself, rather than on it. The four drawings of the city preserved show great differences among themselves;^b and it is evident that no clear idea of the relative positions of city and combatants can be gained from them.^c We must remember that, according to the inscriptions, the Pharaoh is north of the city. It would seem that a bend in the river enables him to charge directly toward the city, viz., southward, and to drive the enemy into the river. But if the side of the Egyptian drawing where the Pharaoh is, is north, then it represents him as on the east side of the river. Or again, if, as the texts state, he should be on the west side of the river in the Egyptian drawing, then the drawing represents him as south of the city and charging northward.

^a1. RAMESSEUM, first pylon: Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 872; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 157-61; *Battle of Kadesh*, Pl. II.

2. RAMESSEUM, second pylon: Champollion *Monuments*, 328-30; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 586-89, 873, 874; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 109, 110; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 164, 165; *Battle of Kadesh*, Pl. III.

3. LUXOR: Champollion, *Monuments*, 323, 324; Rosellini, *ibid.*, 104, 105; *Battle of Kadesh*, Pl. V.

4. ABU SIMBEL: Champollion, *Monuments*, 18-26; Rosellini, *ibid.*, 88-95; *Battle of Kadesh*, Pl. VI.

^bSee Müller's useful comparison of the four (*Asien und Europa*, 214, 215).

^cI have discussed the value of the reliefs fully in my *Battle of Kadesh*, 40-46.

In no way can any of the four ancient drawings of this battle-field be made to coincide with the data of the inscriptions. This is not remarkable when we remember that they do not coincide with each other. In these, as in all Egyptian



FIG. 13.—The Modern Mound of Kadesh (from Koldewey)

drawings, each part is drawn largely irrespective of its relations to any of the other parts. We can here gain no true conception of the plan of the battle. Some facts stated in the inscriptions may be clearly seen in the reliefs however. We observe the Hittite chariotry (above and below) enfold-ing Ramses within its extended wings. We see also how he

drives into the river those in his immediate front, including many prominent allies, officials, and even relatives of the Hittite king. The king of Aleppo is held head downward by his soldiers on the farther shore, that he may disgorge the water which he has swallowed. Here also stands the Hittite king with 8,000 foot,^a which he makes no effort to bring into action. The inscriptions are these:

Over King's Horses and Chariot

336. ¹The Good God, mighty in valor, great in victory, crushing ²all countries, King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Setepnere; Son of Re; Ramses-Meriamon. ³The stand which his majesty made while he was camping on the north⁴west of Kadesh. He charged into the midst of the foe ⁵belonging to the vanquished chief of Kheta, while he was alone ⁶by himself, and no other with him. ⁷He found surrounding him ⁸2,500 horse in four bodies on his every side. ⁹He slaughtered them, making ¹⁰(them) heaps beneath his horses. ¹¹He slew ¹²all the chiefs of all the countries, ¹³the allies of the vanquished chief of Kheta, together with his own great chiefs, ¹⁴his infantry and his chariotry. He overthrew them ¹⁵prostrate upon their faces, and hurled them down, one upon another into the waters ¹⁶of the Orontes. His majesty was behind them like a fierce-eyed lion ¹⁷——— in their place. Lo, the vanquished chief of Kheta ¹⁸stood extending backward his arms in praise of the Good God.

Among the Fleeing Enemy

337. Tergen — (*Ty-r²-g²-n —*).

Tergenenes (*Ty-r²-g²-n-n²-s²*), charioteer of the vanquished chief of Kheta.

The great horse of his majesty: "Victory-in-Thebes;" of the great stable: "Usermare-Setepnere,-Beloved-of-Amon."

^aSo Ramesseum; Abu Simbel has: "*Other warriors (tw-hy-r²) — before him, 9,000.*" The "*other*" is to distinguish them from the troops in battle. Luxor has merely: "[*The army*] of the vanquished chief of Kadesh, very numerous in men and horses." As the 2,500 Hittite chariots had (three men each) 7,500 men, we get 16,000, to 17,000 men as the total Asiatic force. Ramses will possibly have had about 20,000, and thus each of his four divisions was about 5,000 strong, or about equal to a modern army division. A body of troops mentioned in the Anastasi Papyrus No. 1, as belonging to Ramses II, contained 5,000 men, all foreign mercenaries. See *Battle of Kadesh*, 9.

Kemeth ($K^{\circ} - my - t^{\circ}$), chief of the Warriors ($Tw - hy - r^{\circ}$).

———es (——— $-s^{\circ}$), charioteer of the vanquished chief of Kheta.

Targetetethes ($Ty - r^{\circ} - g^{\circ} - ty - t - t^{\circ} - s^{\circ}$) chief of the archers of the Thebes ($Kbsw$).

Kherpesar ($H - y - r^{\circ} - p^{\circ} - s^{\circ} - r^{\circ}$), scribe of the vanquished chief of Kheta.

Egem ($^{\circ} - g - m$), chief of the archers of the vanquished chief of Kheta.

Teyeder ($Ty - y^{\circ} - dw - r^{\circ}$), chief of the bodyguard of the vanquished chief of Kheta.

Peyes ($P^{\circ} - y - s^{\circ}$), charioteer of the vanquished chief of Kheta.

Gerbetes ($G - r - b^{\circ} - tw - s^{\circ}$), chariot-warrior of the vanquished chief of Kheta.

Semretes ($S^{\circ} - my - r^{\circ} - tw - s^{\circ}$) ———.

Peyes ($P^{\circ} - y - s^{\circ}$), charioteer of the vanquished chief of Kheta.

Teder ($T^{\circ} - d^{\circ} - r^{\circ}$), chief of the warriors ($Tw - hy - r^{\circ}$).

Methrem ($My - t^{\circ} - ry - m^{\circ}$).

Rebesnen ($R^{\circ} - b^{\circ} - sw - n - n^{\circ}$), chief of the archers of Enenes ($^{\circ} n - n^{\circ} - s^{\circ}$).

Septher ($S^{\circ} - p^{\circ} - t^{\circ} - r^{\circ}$), brother of the vanquished chief of Kheta.

Thewethes ($T^{\circ} - w^{\circ} - t^{\circ} - s^{\circ}$), chief of the country of Tenes ($T^{\circ} - ny - s^{\circ}$).

Rebeyer ($R^{\circ} - b^{\circ} - yw - r$).

The wretched chief of Aleppo ($H - y - r^{\circ} - b^{\circ}$) turned upside down by his soldiers, after his majesty hurled him into the water.

Warriors ($Tw - hy - r^{\circ}$), who are in front of the 'commander', 8,000.

Town of Kadesh.

By the King of Kheta

338. ¹The vanquished, wretched chief of Kheta, ²standing before his infantry and chariotry ³with his face turned round, and his heart afraid. ⁴He went not forth to battle, for fear of his majesty, ⁵after he saw his majesty prevailing [against the vanquished chief] ⁶of Kheta and all the chiefs of all the countries ⁷[who] were with him. His majesty — — — ⁸he overthrew them — — —. ⁹[The vanquished chief of Kheta] said: "He is like ¹⁰Sutekh, great in might; Baal is ¹¹in his limbs."

V. THE DEFENSE OF THE CAMP^a

339. While Ramses was at the front early in the battle, his camp was entered by the Hittite advance; but on the arrival of the "recruits" from Amor, the latter fell upon these spoilers and slaughtered them.

In Front of Troops

340. ¹The arrival of the recruits of Pharaoh, L. P. H., from the land of Amor (²*-m-w-r*). They found that the force of the vanquished chief of Kheta had surrounded the ³camp of his majesty on its western side. His majesty had been camping alone, no army with him, [⁴awaiting the] arrival of his [⁵officers] and his army and the division with which Pharaoh, L. P. H., was, had not finished setting up the camp. Now the division ⁶of Re and the division of Ptah were on the march; they had not (yet) arrived, and their officers were in the [⁷forest] of Bewey (*B* ⁸*-w-y*). Then the recruits ⁹cut off the foe belonging to the vanquished chief of Kheta, while they (the foe) were entering into the camp, and Pharaoh's officers^b ¹⁰slew them; they left not a single survivor among them. Their hearts were filled with the mighty valor of Pharaoh, ¹¹their good lord; he was behind them like a steward of —, like a wall of iron, forever and ever.

VI. AFTER THE BATTLE^c

341. This relief shows us the king after the battle is over, enjoying his triumph. As he stands in his chariot, his officers throw down before him the hands of the slain, cut off as trophies. The relief on the Abydos temple (unpublished), though very fragmentary, contained a fuller repre-

^a1. RAMESSEUM: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 155; *Battle of Kadesh*, Pl. I.

2. LUXOR: Champollion, *Monuments*, 327; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 107; *Battle of Kadesh*, Pl. IV.

3. ABU SIMBEL: Champollion, *ibid.*, 32; Rosellini, *ibid.*, 97; Lepsius, *ibid.*, 187; *Battle of Kadesh*, Pl. VI.

^b*Sgm' w-c §.*

^c1. ABYDOS: Mariette, *Abydos*, II, 10, 11.

2. ABU SIMBEL: Champollion, *Monuments*, 18; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 95; *Battle of Kadesh*, Pl. VI.

sentation of Ramses' triumph than the meager scene at Abu Simbel. It showed the king receiving the prisoners, captured according to the accompanying inscriptions, by himself! These inscriptions^a are as follows:

Ramses' Officers Bringing Captives before Him

342. Bringing in prisoners before his majesty, being those which [he] brought off in the victory of his sword in this wretched land of Kheta, when his majesty caused to be [announced to] his infantry and his chariotry, saying: "[Behold, these are] the prisoners of my own capture, while I was alone, no infantry being with me, nor any prince with me, nor any chariotry."

Beside a Group of Prisoners

343. List (*shwy*) of those countries which his majesty slew, while alone by himself: Corpses, horses, and chariots, bows, swords, all the weapons of warfare.

Beside Another Group of Prisoners

344. Receiving the prisoners which his majesty brought off, in the victory of his sword in this wretched land of Kheta and this wretched land [of] Naharin (*N-h-ry-n*), together with the chiefs of all countries who came with the vanquished chief of Kheta, ^bas living captives.^b

Over Fleeing Chariots

345. Warriors (*Tw-hy-r*^c) of [— —] the chariots of the camp of the vanquished chief of Kheta.

The texts at Abu Simbel are not so full; they are the following:

Behind Chariot

346. ¹The Good God, who fought for his army, whose sword repulsed the Nine Bows; king, mighty in victory, ²who hath not his like; charging into the multitudes of every country, making them prostrate bodies. ³His face is fierce-eyed before the chief of Kheta, and the countries of Naharin [— —].

^aMariette, *Abydos*, II, 10, 11.

^bThis phrase is to be construed with "brought off."

Over Horses

347. Great first span of his majesty (named): "Mut-is-Satisfied," of the great stable: "Usermare-Setepnere-Beloved-of-Amon."

VII. PRESENTATION OF CAPTIVES TO AMON^a

348. As his father, Seti I, is seen presenting captives and spoil to Amon, on the north wall of the great Karnak hypostyle, so Ramses appears in a like capacity on its south wall. Here he leads and presents to Amon, Mut, and Khonsu, three rows of prisoners, accompanied by inscriptions^b which show that they are captives taken at the battle of Kadesh:

349. List of the chiefs of Kheta, which his majesty, L. P. H., brought as living captives to the house of his father, Amon: Derden (*D-r³ -d-n-y*), Pedes (*Py-d-s³*), Kele[kesh] (*Ky-r³ -[ky-š³]*) ———.

350. These are followed by four short lines of prisoners, each led by one of Ramses' sons:

a) ——— [behind his majesty, by the] ——— scribe, commander in chief of the army, Amenhirkhepeshef.

b) ——— [behind] his majesty, by the king's-son, Khamwese.

c) ——— behind his majesty, by the king's-son, Meriamon.

d) ——— behind his majesty, by the king's-son, Seti.

351. All these are designated as:

Captives from the northern countries, who came to overthrow his majesty, whom his majesty slew, and whose subjects he brought as living captives, to fill the storehouse of his father, Amon.

III. PALESTINIAN REVOLT

352. At some time between the fifth and eighth years all Palestine, doubtless incited by the Hittites, revolted^c against

^aRelief on the exterior of the south wall of the hypostyle of the great Amon-temple at Karnak; published by Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 122, 123; accompanying inscription also, Brugsch, *Recueil de Monuments*, I, Pl. 29.

^bOver the lowermost of the three rows. The inscriptions of the other two, as well as the figures of the captives, have perished. A portion of the middle row is, however, still visible.

^cIt is supposed that Ramses must have met with serious reverses between the fifth and the eighth years, for the Palestinian princes down to the Shephelah to have dared to revolt.

Ramses II, and he was obliged to take up the reconquest of his Asiatic possessions, at his very door, in the later Philistine country with the siege of Askalon.^a

I. RECONQUEST OF SOUTHERN PALESTINE^b

353. A relief at Karnak represents the storming of the city of Askalon, and the accompanying inscription refers to its rebellion. Of course, Askalon did not revolt alone, but must have been in league with the other cities of Palestine.

354. In the relief we see the king in his chariot charging the bearded defenders, lined up outside a battlemented city, which is located on an elevation. The storming ladders are up, and an Egyptian officer is demolishing the city gate with an ax, while the inhabitants appear on the walls, beseeching mercy. By the city is the following inscription:

355. The wretched city (*dmy*), which his majesty captured, when it rebelled, Askalon (ʿ-*s-k-rw-n*). It (the city) says: "It is joy to be subject to thee, and delight to cross thy boundaries. Take thou the heritage, that we may speak of thy valor in all unknown countries."

Over the king's horses appears the usual glorification of his valor.

II. RECONQUEST OF NORTHERN PALESTINE

356. By the eighth year Ramses has reached northern Palestine again, and captures the cities of western Galilee.

^aThe place of this siege in Ramses II's wars is uncertain; but as western Galilee revolted in his eighth year, it is not unlikely that the revolt of Askalon is to be connected with that of west Galilee. Indeed, one name in the list of the eighth year may be Askalon (Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 871, I, No. 2 [—1 r-n]). The date "IXth year" (Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 400) for the capture of Askalon is without any documentary support.

^bRelief and inscription on the exterior of the south wall of the great hypostyle hall at Karnak; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 195 = Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 145, c.

The only document is a list^a showing rows of battlemented cities from which Egyptian officers drive prisoners. Each city bears an inscription beginning: "*City which his majesty plundered in the year 8*;" after which appears the name of a city.^b Only a few of these names have survived, among which are: a "*city on the mount of Bethanath* ($B^{\text{3}}-y\text{-}ty\text{-}^c-n\text{-}ty$)," named Kerpet ($K^{\text{3}}-r^{\text{3}}-pw\text{-}[t]$); Merem ($M^{\text{3}}-r^{\text{3}}-m$, Hebrew, Marôm "Height"); and Sherem ($S^{\text{3}}-r^{\text{3}}-m$, Hebrew, Salôm, "Greeting"). The only place not in the west Galilean region is a city "*in the land of Amor* ($^{\text{3}}-m\text{-}w\text{-}r^{\text{3}}$), *Deper* ($D^{\text{3}}-pw\text{-}r^{\text{3}}$)," which carries us over to the region of Tabor.^c The capture of this city has been depicted with great spirit and much detail in a splendid relief at the Ramesseum.^d It shows Ramses' sons^e playing a prominent part in the battle.

357. The accompanying inscriptions unfortunately contain almost exclusively the conventional praise of the king's valor. They disclose, however, the important fact that the

^aOn the west side of the northern tower of the first pylon of the Ramesseum; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 870, 871; Burton, *Excerpta hieroglyphica*, 16; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 156, and Text, III, 127, 128. Another series of cities, on the outside of the south wall of the great hypostyle at Karnak, evidently bore inscriptions of the same form, though none is now complete; see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 20, and Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 120.

^bThere were originally at least eighteen, and possibly twenty-four of these cities. They have been studied best by Müller (*Asien und Europa*, 220-22), who is followed above.

^cBut see Müller (*Asien und Europa*, 221), who places it farther north. It seems to me that its place in this list is a good argument for a position farther south.

^d*Description*, II, 31 = Champollion, *Monuments*, 331 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 108 = Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 166 = Mariette, *Voyage dans la haute Egypte*, II, 59 = Prisse, *Histoire de l'art égyptien* = Meyer, *Geschichte*, 290 (colored). Long inscription also Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, 54, 1, and the first five lines also, Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 51.

^eOn the inhabitants of the city coming forth with their children and household goods, compare the great tablet in front of the Abu Simbel temple (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 195, a, ll. 11 f.): "*their gifts are of the varieties of the products of their lands, their soldiers and their children are before them, to crave peace from his majesty.*"

Hittites have pushed southward since the battle of Kadesh and temporarily occupied the Tabor region, from which Ramses now ejects them (ll. 11-13). This is the extreme southern limit of the Hittite advance, and was, of course, purely transitory, as their remains are not found south of Hamath. This extreme advance is undoubtedly to be connected with the revolt in Palestine.

358. It was perhaps at this time that the northern trans-Jordan region, the Hauran, again^a came under the control of Ramses, and some official erected a memorial relief^b of him there, representing him offering to one of the local gods, with possibly a Semitic name.

The Deper scene, which is our longest document on this period, contains the following inscriptions:

359. ¹Said the vanquished of Kheta in praising the Good God: "Give to us the breath that thou givest, O good ruler. Lo, we are under thy sandals; thy terror, ²it has penetrated the land of Kheta. Its chief ³is fallen, because of thy fame; we are like herds ⁴of horses, when the fierce-eyed lion ⁵attacks them."

360. ⁶The Good God, mighty in valor in the countries, stout-hearted ⁷in the array, firm on the steed, ⁸beautiful in the chariot, when he has taken the bow, shooting, ⁹(or) fighting hand to hand, — firm, whom none escapes, — — taking the ¹⁰beautiful corselet — — — in the array, and returning when he has triumphed over ¹¹the vanquished chief of Kheta. When he overthrew him, he scattered him like ¹²straw before the wind, (so that) he forsook his city, ¹³for fear of him. He (Ramses) set his fame therein for every day. His might was in his limbs ¹⁴like fire; a bull fighting upon his boundary, seizing ¹⁵upon the things ¹⁶which he has captured, a survivor of his hand he has not left. ¹⁷He is a tempest in the countries, great in tumult; bringing ¹⁸the storm-cloud against the chiefs, to desolate their cities, making all their places

^aThis region of course revolted with the rest of Palestine.

^bKnown as the "Job-stone;" discovered by Schumacher (*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, XIV, 142 ff.) at the modern village of Sa^c dtyeh, east of the Lake of Genesaret. It was published by Erman (*ibid.*, XV, 205-11).

¹⁸into desert regions. His arrows are behind them like Sekhmet ¹⁹when the wind seizes ^a — — the wretched land ²⁰of Kheta, which is his enemy. King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermare-Setepnere, ²¹Son of Re, Ramses-Meriamon.

Over Horses' Heads and again over Their Backs

361. Great first span of his majesty (named): "Meriamon," of the great stable of Ramses-Meriamon.

Six Princes, Beginning at Left

362. 1. King's-son, of his body, his beloved, Khamwese.
 2. King's-son, of his body, his beloved, Montu —.
 3. King's-son, of his body, his beloved, Meriamon.
 4. King's-son, of his body, his beloved, Amenemuya.
 5. King's-son, of his body, his beloved, Seti.
 6. King's-son, of his body, his beloved, Setepnere.

In City

———— [D]eper [D]² -pw-rw).

IV. CAMPAIGN IN NAHARIN

363. Having thus, in the Palestinian war, recovered Palestine, Ramses again pushed northward and advanced into Naharin.^b

I. CONQUEST OF NAHARIN

364. In a fragment^c at the Ramesseum we find him fighting at Tunip. He has, it would seem, already held this important city of the north, and had set up in it a statue of himself. The city had then revolted, and Ramses is now recapturing it. The inscription evidently narrated some personal exploit of Ramses without his coat of mail.

^aOr: "taking the breath — — —." Brugsch shows some impossible words in this lacuna.

^bAlthough this campaign in Naharin is not dated, it is impossible to place it between the battle of Kadesh (year 5) and the recovery of Galilee (year 8). It can only have followed the campaign of year 8.

^cChampollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 888; Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, II, 54, 2; Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 51.

365. ¹King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Setepnere, Son of Re: Ramses-Meriamon, given life. The king himself, he says: "I swear as Re loves me, as my father Atum favors me, as my nostrils are rejuvenated with satisfying life ²—— the 'palace'." As for this 'overthrow', they stood fighting the city of Kheta, wherein the statue of his majesty, L. P. H., was. His majesty made it ³—— his infantry and his chariotry. His majesty was at the front of his infantry and his chariotry ⁴—— the vanquished of Kheta, who were in the districts of the city of Tunip (*Tw-n-p*) in the land of N[aharin]. His majesty took his coat of mail ⁵—— twice.^a He stood fighting the city of the vanquished of Kheta, at the front of his infantry and his [chariotry] —— [not having¹ his] coat of mail upon him. [His] majesty came to take his coat of mail again. It was placed upon him, when ⁷—— [the vanquished] of Kheta, who were in the districts of the city of Tunip (*Tw-n-p*) in the land of Naharin (*N-h-r-n*), while his coat of mail was not upon [him].

366. In harmony with this fragment, we find that the lists^b of cities and countries, which Ramses claims to have conquered, mention Naharin, Lower Retenu, Arvad, Keftiyew, and Ketne^c in the Orontes valley. The fact that these northern regions had to some extent already been under Ramses' control indicates long and arduous campaigning against the Hittites. The revolt of these regions, evident from the Ramesseum fragment just translated, was therefore undoubtedly late in the Asiatic war, and probably had something to do with Ramses' willingness to make peace, later sealed by a treaty of alliance with the Hittites in the year 21, seventeen years after the beginning of the war.

^aThe date "year 12," usually read here is impossible; it is not supported by any of the three copies.

^bOn a colossus at Karnak (Mariette, *Karnak*, 38) and another at Abydos (Mariette, *Abydos*, II, 2). The list on the north wall of Karnak (Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 119; Brugsch, *Geographische Inschriften*, II, 75; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 144) attributed by Müller to Ramses II, I have credited to Seti I (p. 57, n. b). See also Daressy, *Recueil*, XX, 119.

^cThe mention of Shinar (Babylonia), Assur, Cyprus, and the like, can, of course, only mean the receipt of gifts from the kings of those countries, as under Thutmose III, who controlled none of them but probably Cyprus.

II. TREATY WITH THE HITTITES^a

367. After possibly fifteen years of warfare in Syria, Ramses II consents to a peace with the Hittites. This peace is sealed in a treaty of alliance which forms one of the most remarkable documents which have survived from ancient Egypt. The copy preserved to us is clearly a translation from an original in a foreign language,^b and in his rendering the Egyptian translator has not always succeeded too well.

368. For recording upon the temple walls, the royal scribe has prefixed: (1) the date (l. 1); (2) the account of the arrival of two Hittite messengers with the treaty on a silver tablet; and (3) the heading of the copy as preserved in the royal archives. In content the treaty which follows is clear and well arranged. After a title or caption, it proceeds with the following eighteen paragraphs:

1. Review of the former relations of the two countries, the immemorial peace of earlier times, and the later war.

^aThere are two originals: (1) At Karnak on wall extending south of the great hypostyle, published by Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 195-204 (only 30 lines); Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 116; Burton, *Excerpta hieroglyphica*, 17 (not used); Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 146; Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, I, 28 (ll. 1-20); Bouriant, *Recueil*, XIII, 153-60; collation of the geographical names by Sayce, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXI, 194 ff.; Müller, *Vorderasiatische Gesellschaft*, VII, 5, Taf. I-XVI; I had also photographs by Borchardt. (2) At the Ramesseum; only fragments of the last 10 lines; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 585, 586; Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 50; Bouriant, *Recueil*, XIV, 67-70. In spite of the mutilated condition of the two monuments, the frequent repetitions make restoration certain in almost all cases. Müller's edition is the only one which is done with care and accuracy; a number of readings may be added to Müller's text from Sharpe's copy, which seems to have escaped him. The following translation was already in my manuscript when Müller's publication appeared. His text added a few new readings, but otherwise the translation remains unchanged.

^bIn view of Amarna Letter No. 35, from the Hittite king, Seplel (see Knudtzon, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 35, 141 f.), in Babylonian writing and language, the original of this treaty may have been in the same form.

2. Formal declaration of the new peace pact, which is made binding upon future generations.^a

3. Mutual resignation of all projects for further conquest in Syria, but without any statement of the boundary adopted.

4. Reaffirmation of the former treaty of the time of Khetasar's grandfather, Seplel,^b which had continued till interrupted by the war with Khetasar's brother, Metella; but with no restatement of its articles.

5. Egypt makes a defensive alliance with Kheta, depending upon the latter's assistance against all foreign foes.

6. Egypt is to enjoy the co-operation of Kheta in the chastisement of rebellious Syrian (?) subjects.

7. Analogous to 5, in Kheta's favor.

8. Analogous to 6, in Kheta's favor.

9. Extradition of Egypt's political fugitives to Kheta.

10. Extradition of emigrants from Egypt to Kheta.

11. Extradition of Kheta's political fugitives to Egypt.

12. Extradition of emigrants from Kheta to Egypt.

13. The witness of the gods of Kheta and Egypt.

14. Curse on the violator of the treaty.

15. Blessing on the observer of the treaty.^c

16. Appendix exacting humane treatment of persons

^aIt was kept by them in fact, as is shown by the relations of Merneptah with Kheta (§ 580, l. 24).

^bKnudtzon (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 35, 141 f.) has found in the Amarna collection a cuneiform letter (No. 35) from this king (called *Su-ub-bi-lu-li-u-ma*) to a king of Egypt, called Khuri[ya], who, from the content of the letter, is certainly Napkhurtya, the cuneiform for Neferkheprure (Amenhotep IV). Seplel desires, in this letter, to continue with the Pharaoh the friendly relations hitherto existing between himself (S.) and the Pharaoh's father, who has just died. This is clearly Amenhotep III, to whom we may therefore carry back the first treaty between Egypt and Kheta. But the Amarna letters show how badly the Hittites observed the treaty. On the chronological difficulty, see p. 167, n. c.

^cThese two paragraphs form a frequent conclusion of documents intended to be valid in perpetuity, and they mark the logical conclusion here.

extradited from Kheta, who are to suffer no injury in person, family, or property.

17. The same regarding those extradited from Egypt.

18. This final paragraph belongs only to the copy, and not to the treaty. It describes the figures and seals on the silver tablet, and records the words accompanying these seals.

369. Space does not permit further discussion of this remarkable document,^a but it will be evident that, notwithstanding Ramses' conquest of such northern cities as Tunip in Naharin (§§ 344 f.), he never succeeded in breaking the power of the Hittites. Evidently his complete success in stopping the further southward advance of so powerful an invader was no small reason for congratulation.

Date

370. ¹Year 21, first month of the second season, twenty-first day, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Setepnere, Son of Re: Ramses-Meriamon, given life, forever and ever, beloved of Amon-Re-Harakhte, Ptah-South-of-His-Wall, lord of "Life-of-the-Two-Lands," Mut, mistress of Ishru, and Khonsu-Neferhotep; shining upon the Horus-throne of the living, like his father, Harakhte, forever and ever.

Arrival of the Hittite Messengers

371. ²On this day, lo, his majesty was at the city (called): "House-of-Ramses-Meriamon," performing the pleasing ceremonies of his father, Amor-Re-Harakhte-Atum, lord of the Two Lands of Heliopolis; Amon^b of Ramses-Meriamon, Ptah^b of Ramses-Meriamon, "— great in strength, son of Mut," according as they gave to him eternity in jubilees, everlastingness in peaceful years, all lands, and all countries being prostrate beneath his sandals forever. ³There came the king's-messenger,

^aSee discussion of special points by W. M. Müller (*Vorderasiatische Gesellschaft*, VII, 215-40).

^bForms of Amon and Ptah, worshiped in Ramses' temple at Tanis.

the deputy and butler —,^a together with the king's-messenger —^a [bringing¹ to the king] Ramses II [the messenger¹] of [Kheta¹, Ter]teseb and the [second messenger¹] of Kheta [bearing¹ a silver tablet^b] which the great chief of the Kheta, Khetasar (*H-t²-s²-r²*) [caused]^b to be brought to Pharaoh, L. P. H., to crave peace [from [the majesty] of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ramses II,^c given life, forever and ever, like his father, Re, every day.

Heading of the Copy

372. Copy of the silver tablet, which the great chief of Kheta, Khetasar (*H-t²-s²-r²*) caused to be brought to Pharaoh, L. P. H., by the hand of his messenger, ⁵Terteseb (*T²-r²-ty-s-bw*), and his messenger, Ramose, to crave peace from the majesty of Ramses II, the Bull of rulers, making his boundary as far as he desires in every land.

Caption of the Treaty

373. The treaty which the great chief of Kheta, Khetasar, the valiant, the son of Merasar (*M-r²-s²-r²*),⁶ the great chief of Kheta, the valiant, the grandson^d of Seplel (*S²-p²-[rw-rw]*), [the great chief of Kheta, the valiant, made, upon a silver tablet for Usermare-Setepnere (Ramses II), the great ruler of Egypt, the valiant, the son of Menmare (Seti I), the great ruler of Egypt, the valiant, the grandson of Menpehtire (Ramses I), ⁷the great ruler of Egypt, the valiant; the good treaty of peace and of brotherhood, setting peace [between them^e], forever.

^aThe names of two Egyptian envoys have here disappeared. Whence they came is not clear. They may have gone out to meet the two Hittite envoys a day's journey or two; or they may have been the Egyptian commissioners who had negotiated the treaty at the court of Kheta.

^bThe restoration is based on l. 4, where we have a verbatim repetition of this connection.

^cDouble name.

^dThere is no word for "grandson" in Egyptian; text has "*son of the son*."

^eThe loss is greater than this by several words. In view of the preceding words ("*setting peace*") and similar phrases frequent in the treaty (e. g., ll. 9, 10), it seems to me that Müller (*Vorderasiatische Gesellschaft*, VII, 215-21) overemphasizes the alliance side of the document. It is not only a treaty of alliance, but also a treaty of peace, and the war evidently continued until the negotiations for the treaty began, which could hardly have been earlier than a year before the date of the arrival of the messengers in Egypt. They reached Egypt in late winter or early spring (twenty-first of Tybi), somewhere around the first of February; and the preceding summer may have seen the last of the hostilities. The treaty distinctly states (ll. 8, 9) that it marks the beginning of a relation designed by the gods to conclude hostilities between the two nations.

Former Relations of the Two Countries

374. 1. Now, at the beginning, since eternity, the relations of the great ruler of Egypt with the great chief of Kheta were (such) that the god prevented hostilities between them, by treaty. Whereas, in ⁸the time of Metella (*Mw-t-n-r* ⁹), the great chief of Kheta, my brother, he fought w[ith Ramses II],^a the great ruler of Egypt, yet afterward, beginning with this day, behold, Khetasar, the great chief of Kheta, is [in] a treaty-relation for establishing the relations which the Re made, and which Sutekh made,^b for the land of Egypt, ⁹with the land of Kheta, in order not to permit hostilities to arise between them, forever.

The New Peace Pact

375. 2. Behold then, Khetasar, the great chief of Kheta, is in treaty relation with Usermare-Setepnere (Ramses II), the great ruler of Egypt, beginning with this day, in order to bring about good peace and good brotherhood between us forever, ¹⁰while he is in brotherhood with me, he is in peace with me; and I am in brotherhood with him, and I am in peace with him, forever. Since Metella (*Mw-t-n-r* ⁹), the great chief of Kheta, my brother, succumbed to his fate,^c and Khetasar sat as

^aA cartouche is visible.

^bRe and Sutekh are here the gods of Egypt and Kheta respectively.

^cLit., "*departed (hnn) after his fate*," this, of course, indicates his death. The succession of his brother justifies the suspicion that his death was due to his brother; but this is not certain. Furthermore, this death of Metella is clearly the occasion of the peace, and not the occasion of the war with Ramses II, as often stated (Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 389). Thus the opponent of Ramses II was Metella (l. 8), and Khetasar hastens to make peace soon after his accession (l. 10). We may roughly reconstruct thus:

Amenhotep III, end of reign	}	Seplel, father of
Ikhnaton		
Ikhnaton's ephemeral successors	}	Merasar, father of
Harmhab		
Ramses I	}	Metella
Seti I		
Ramses II to about year 20	}	Khetasar
Ramses II from year 20 on		
		} brothers

The three generations of Hittite kings ruled accordingly over 110 years—over 37 years each—an exceptionally high average for three successive kings in the orient. This would indicate some uncertainty as to the identity of Seplel and Šubbiluliuma of Amarna Letter No. 35, which carries him back to Amenhotep III (see note, p. 164). He may therefore possibly be no earlier than Harmhab, and, as Müller has suggested (*op. cit.*, 226), the Amarna letter may be from an earlier Seplel.

¹¹great chief of Kheta upon the throne of his father, behold, I am together with Ramses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, and he is [with^a me in] our peace and our brotherhood. It is better than the former peace and brotherhood which were in the land. Behold, I, even the great chief of Kheta, am with ¹²[Ramses II], the great ruler of Egypt, in good peace and in good brotherhood. The children of the children of the great chief of Kheta shall be in brotherhood and peace with the children of the children of Ramses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, being in our relations of brotherhood and our relations ¹³[of peace], that the [land of Egypt] may be with the land of Kheta in peace and brotherhood like ourselves, forever.

Mutual Renunciation of Further Conquests

376. 3. There shall be no hostilities between them, forever. The great chief of Kheta shall not pass over into the land of Egypt, forever, to take anything therefrom. Ramses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, shall not pass over into the land ¹⁴[of Kheta, to take anything] therefrom, forever.

Reaffirmation of the Former Treaties

377. 4. As for the former^b treaty which was in the time of Seplel (*S² -p² -rw-rw*), the great chief of Kheta, likewise the former^b treaty which was in the time of Metella (*Mw-t-n-r²*), the great chief of Kheta, my father,^c I will hold to it. Behold, Ramses-Meriamon, the great

^aSo Müller, but he does not give room for "with."

^bThis word (*mty*) has not been hitherto understood in this connection; there is no doubt about its meaning, "customary, usual, habitual," and then "former." Compare Amāda Stela (II, 798), where a new four-day list of offerings is established for Anuket "as an increase upon the 3 days of her customary (*mty*) feast;" or II, 619; after new offerings are presented, the old ones are to be offered "according to the measure of the customary (*mtt*) offering which is in this temple;" after a feast a god returns to his "customary (*mt(t)*) seat" (*Recueil*, 16, 56, l. 6, above).

^c"Father" is either used here as in Egypt, where any predecessor on the throne is called "father;" or the name "Metella" is an error for Merasar, who was certainly the father of Metella and Khetasar. Now, as Khetasar has already (ll. 7, 8) referred to the ancient peace as continuing down to, but broken under, Metella, a new treaty under Metella above mentioned (l. 14) is surprising. He may be marking the beginning and end of the same treaty: beginning under Seplel and ending, because broken, under Metella. The Pharaoh with whom Metella's treaty was maintained can hardly be any other than Seti I. (See "it," ll. 14, 15.)

ruler of Egypt, will hold ¹⁵[to it] with us ¹together], beginning with this day. We will hold to it, and we will deal in this former manner.^a

Egypt's Defensive Alliance with Kheta

378. 5. If another enemy come against the lands of Usermare-Setepnere (Ramses II), the great ruler of Egypt, and he shall send to the great chief of Kheta, saying: "Come with me as reinforcement against him," the great chief of Kheta shall ¹⁶[come], and the great chief of Kheta shall slay his enemy. But if it be not the desire of the great chief of Kheta to come, he shall send his infantry and his chariotry, and shall slay his enemy.

Chastisement of Syrian Subjects

379. 6. Or if Ramses-Meriamon, ¹⁷[the great ruler of Egypt], be provoked against ¹delinquent] subjects,^b when they have committed some other fault against him, and he come to slay them, then the great chief of Kheta shall act with the lord of Egypt ¹— —].

Kheta's Defensive Alliance with Egypt

380. 7. If another en[emy come] against the great chief of Kheta, [and he shall send] to the great chief (sic!) [of Egypt], Usermare-Setepnere ¹⁸[^cfor reinforcements] then he] shall come to him as reinforcement, to slay his enemy. But if it be [not]^d the desire of Ramses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, to come, he shall [send his infantry and his chariotry ¹and shall slay his enemy]]. ¹Or] ——— ¹⁹— seeing them, besides returning answer to the land of Kheta.^e

^aThe stipulations of the former treaty, as known to both parties, are not stated.

^bThis word (modified by *s p' w*, which Müller regards as a conjunction) must refer to Asiatic subjects of Egypt, who rebel or fail to pay tribute. Kheta is not, in such a case, to interfere in Egypt's attempts at punishment, but is to act in harmony with Egypt. Egypt's obligation in the corresponding clause is much more elaborate, but is unfortunately not clear, owing to its fragmentary condition. Evidently the two clauses mean that both are to act in harmony in Syria; each is to assist the other there, and not take advantage of any revolt in the other's dependencies, for self-aggrandizement.

^cThere is not room for the message, as in the corresponding paragraph.

^dOmitted in original.

^eThere is evidently a second alternative of some kind here, to which the Egyptian king may resort, which is not found in the corresponding clause defining the Hittite obligation.

Chastisement of Syrian Subjects

381. 8. Now if subjects of the great chief of Kheta transgress against him, and Ramses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, shall ——— the land of Kheta and the land of Egypt ²⁰— — — [— — —], that is to say: "I will come after [their punishment],^{1a} to Ramses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, living forever, — — — the land of Kheta.
^b their appointing him for them, to be lord, to cause that Usermare-Setepnere, the great ruler of Egypt, shall be silent from his speech forever.^c If he — his — — the land of Kheta, and he shall turn back [again to] the great chief of Kheta ———.

Extradition of Political Fugitives in Kheta

382. 9. [If any great^d man of the land of Egypt shall flee and shall come to] the great chief of Kheta, from either a town ²²[or] — of the lands of Ramses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, and they shall come to the great chief of Kheta, then the great chief of Kheta shall not receive them, (but) the great chief of Kheta shall cause them to be brought to Usermare-Setepnere, the great ruler of Egypt, t[heir] lord therefor.

Extradition of Emigrants to Kheta

383. 10. Or if there flee a man, or two men who are unknown ²³—, and they shall come to^e the land of Kheta, to become foreign subjects, then they shall not be settled in the land of Kheta, but they shall be brought to Ramses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt.

^aOr: "fate;" have we here: *hr-s ˁ-p ˁ yf* (or *p ˁ ysn*) *š ˁ y*, as in l. 10?

^bA few unintelligible fragments are omitted; about one-fifth line.

^cThis last is the legal phraseology of receipts, by which all future claim is renounced. From the end of l. 19 on we have additional enactments not found in the corresponding clause of the Hittite obligations.

^dThe persons who flee are of two classes: "great men" and "men who are not known," viz., people of no consequence from the Egyptian point of view, but merely mechanics, artisans or servants.

^eThese, being people of no rank, come only "to the land of Kheta;" but the "great men" go personally "to the great chief of Kheta." The verb used for the "great men" shows also the distinction between the two classes; it is *šsp*, "receive," whereas, referring to the unknown persons, we find *w ˁ h* (possibly "admit"), probably "settle," that is, allow them to settle down (but *w ˁ h* is also used once of the "great men," l. 24).

Extradition of Political Fugitives in Egypt

384. 11. Or if any great man shall flee from the land of Kheta, [and he shall come to] Usermare-Setepnere, the great ruler of Egypt, (from) either a town or a district,^a or ²⁴[any region of] those belonging to the land of Kheta, and they shall come to Ramses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, then Usermare-Setepnere, the great ruler of Egypt, shall not receive them, (but) Ramses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, shall cause them to be brought to the great chief of Kheta. They shall not be settled.

Extradition of Emigrants to Egypt

385. 12. Likewise, if there flee a man, or two, or three, ²⁵[who are not] known, and they shall come to the land of Egypt, to become foreign subjects, then Usermare-Setepnere, the great ruler of Egypt, shall not settle them, (but) he shall cause them to be brought to the great chief of Kheta.

The Witness of the Gods of Kheta and Egypt

386. 13. As for the words of this 'contract'^b of the great chief of Kheta, with Ramses-Meriamon, the great ruler ²⁶[of Egypt], written upon this silver tablet; as for these words, a thousand gods of the male gods and of the female gods, of those of the land of Kheta, together with a thousand gods, of the male gods and of the female gods of those of the land of Egypt, they are with me as witnesses ['to'] these words: the Sun-god, lord of the heavens, the Sun-god, of the city of Ernen^c (²-r-n-n²), ²⁷Sutekh, the lord of the heavens, Sutekh of Kheta, Sutekh of the city of Ernen, Sutekh of the city Zepyerened (^D²-pw-y²-r²-n-d²), Sutekh of the city of Perek (^P²y-r²-k²), Sutekh of the city of Khesesep (^Hy-s²-s²-p²), Sutekh of the city Seres (^S²-ry-sw), Sutekh of the city of Aleppo (^Hy-r²-p²), Sutekh of the city of Rekhsen (^R²-h²-sy-n²), Sutekh ²⁸[of the city of —], ——— '—', Sutekh of the

^aCf. the use of this word (*k^ch*, "corner") for a distant region in Harkhuf (I, 335), and for any district as here, in the Twenty-second Dynasty, Dakhel stela (IV, 726, l. 2), and two more examples (*ibid.*, note).

^bWe expect here the name of the Hittite king; hence the above (Müller) is very uncertain.

^cA city in the district called by the Assyrians "Kammanu . . . on the border of the territory of the Cappodocian Comana," according to Sayce (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 23, 98).

city of Sekhpen ($S^{\circ} - y - \text{hy} - p^{\circ} y - n^{\circ}$), Antheret ($^c n^a - t - r^{\circ} - ty$) of the land of Kheta, the god of Zeyethekhrer ($D^{\circ} y - y^{\circ} - t - \text{hy} - r - ry$), the god of Kerzet — ($K^{\circ} - r - \text{d}^{\circ} y - t^{\circ} -$ —), the god of Kherpenteres ($H - r - p^{\circ} - n - ty - ry - s^{\circ}$), ²⁹the goddess of the city of Kerekhen — n — ($K^{\circ} - r - \text{h} - n -$ — — —), the goddess of 'Khewek' ($^f H^1 - w^{\circ} - ^f k^{\circ} - ^b$), the goddess of Zen — ($D^{\circ} - y - n -$), the god of Zen — wet ($^f D^{\circ} - n - ^f nw^1 - ty$), ^c the god of Serep ($S^{\circ} - r^{\circ} - p^{\circ}$), ^d the god of Khenbet ($H - n - b^{\circ} - t^{\circ}$), ^e the queen of the heavens, gods, lords of swearing, the goddess, the mistress of the soil, the mistress of swearing, Teskher ($T^{\circ} - s^{\circ} - \text{h} - r^{\circ}$), the mistress of ³⁰the mountains, and the rivers of the land of Kheta, the gods of the land of Kezweden ($Ky - \text{d}^{\circ} - w^{\circ} - d^{\circ} - n^{\circ}$), Amon, the Sun-god, Sutekh, the male gods and the female gods of the mountains and the rivers of the land of Egypt, of the heavens, the soil, the great sea, the wind, and the storms.

Curse on the Violator of the Treaty

387. 14. Now, these words, ³¹which are upon this silver tablet, are for ^fthe land of Kheta and for the land of Egypt. As for him who shall not keep them, the thousand gods of the land of Kheta, and the thousand gods of the land of Egypt shall desolate his house, his land, and his subjects.

Blessing on the Observer of the Treaty

388. 15. Now as for him who shall keep these words, which are upon this silver tablet, whether they^g be of Kheta, or whether they be people ³²of Egypt, and they shall not devise (ought) against them; the thousand gods of the land of Kheta, together with the thousand gods of the land of Egypt, shall preserve his health, and his life, together with his issue, with his land,^h and his subjects.

^aMüller corrects to *s* and reads Astarte, which is probable.

^bSayce's reading *h* ², with *h* and ² is, of course, impossible.

^cSo Bouriant and Müller; Sayce has *D* ² - *y* - *ty* - *ty*.

^dSo the old texts; Müller has a lacuna for *S* ².

^eUncertain.

^fThe fragments of the Ramesseum duplicate begin here; but Bouriant's reconstruction begins with l. 33.

^gThe change of number is in the original.

^hAccording to Müller, this word is omitted in the original, and he is corroborated by the photograph.

Treatment of Extradited Persons by Kheta

389. 16. If a man flee from the land of Egypt, or two or three, and ³³come^a to the great chief of Kheta, the great chief of Kheta shall seize upon them, and shall cause them to be brought back to Usermare-Setepnere, the great ruler of Egypt. Now, as for the man who shall be brought (back) to Ramses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, let not his crime be set up against him; let not ³⁴his house be injured, nor his wives, nor his children, [let] him [not be killed], and let no injury be done to his eyes, to his ears, to his mouth, nor to his feet. Let not any crime be set up against him.

Treatment of Extradited Persons by Egypt

390. 17. Likewise if a man flee from the land of Kheta, be it one, be it two, (or) be it three, and they shall come to Usermare-Setepnere, ³⁵the great ruler of Egypt, let Ramses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, seize [upon them, and let him cause] that they be brought to the great chief of Kheta; and the great chief of Kheta shall not set up their crime against them; let not his house be injured, nor his wives, nor his children, let him not be killed, and let no injury be done to his ears, ³⁶to his eyes, to his mouth, nor to his feet. Let not any crime be set up against him.

Figures and Seals on the Front of the Silver Plate

391. 18. ^bThat which is in the middle of this silver tablet: on its front side is a figure^c in the likeness of Sutekh embracing the likeness of the great chief of Kheta, surrounded by the following [words]: "The seal of Sutekh, the ruler of the heavens; the seal of the treaty which Khetasar, the great chief ³⁷of Kheta, the valiant, the son of Merasar (*M-r³-s³-r³*), the valiant, the great chief of Kheta, the valiant, made."

^aFrom here on, see Bouriant's reconstruction, *Recueil*, XIV, 68, 69.

^bThat this phrase begins the description of the silver plate is self-evident; but is rendered still more clear by the parallel phrase in l. 37 and l. 38.

^cThis word (*hpyw*) is the usual one for inlay-figures in descriptions of Egyptian monuments; it may equally well mean "design" or "device." The sculptures of Boghazköi show a figure of the Hittite ruler embraced by his god (see Messerschmidt, *Corpus Inscriptionum Hettitarum*, Taf. 27 E; di Cara, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 13, 196; and Müller, *Vorderasiatische Gesellschaft*, VII, 233 f.). [Later: Krall's review of Müller's publication of the text contains the same explanation of the figures on the plate.]

That^a which is in the midst of the surrounding design^b is the seal [of Sutekh, the ruler of the heavens]. [That which is 'in the middle' on] its other side is a figure, in the likeness of '—' ^c of Kheta, embracing the figure of the princess of Kheta, surrounded by the following words: "The seal of the ³⁸Sun-god of the city of Ernen (²-r-n-n²), the lord of the land; the seal of Petkhep (*Pw-tw-hy-p*²), the princess^d of the land of Kheta, the daughter of the land of Kezweden (*Ky-d*² -w²-d-n), the — — — of Ernen, the mistress of the land, the votress of the goddess. That which is in the midst of the surrounding design is the seal of the Sun-god of Ernen, the lord of every land."

RELATIONS OF EGYPT WITH THE HITTITES AFTER THE WAR

392. Ramses II regarded the conclusion of his war with the Hittites as a triumph for himself. Peace once established, he referred to himself continually as the conqueror of the Hittites.^e Especially at Abu Simbel is this noticeable, where his inscriptions speak of him as one:

"Who has made the land of Kush as if it had not existed; who has caused the land of Kheta to cease the contradiction of its mouth smiter of the land of Kheta smiter of the land of Kheta, which is made heaps of dead."^f

This attitude is also evident in his obelisk inscriptions, e. g., at Tanis he is spoken of as "*carrying off the chiefs of Retenu as living prisoners, crushing the land of Kheta,*"

^aSo here and in l. 38, as the duplicate (Sharpe's copy) shows.

^bLit., "*the surrounding of the design,*" the same also in the last line.

^cSome female divinity, as the word for figure (*rpy't*) shows.

^dLit., "*chieftainess,*" being the feminine (*wr't*) of the word which we render "*chief*" (*wr*), lit., "*great one.*"

^eBesides the following, it should be noticed that the latest copies of the Kadesh Poem represent Ramses in the same light (see Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 216, n. 1; and *infra*, § 314, n.).

^fStela on the front of the Abu Simbel temple (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 195, a, portions of ll. 2-9).

and again, "*penetrating this land of Kheta, capturing it with valor, making a great slaughter among his heroes.*"^a

393. This is the light then, in which the Egyptians chose to represent their relations with Kheta. But the peace was not broken, and we are able to trace the amicable relations between the two nations through the thirty-fifth year of Ramses' reign, and we know it continued also into that of his successor. The documents are:

I. Blessing of Ptah (§§ 394-414).

II. Marriage Stela (§§ 415-24).

III. Message of the Chief of Kheta to the Chief of Kode (§§ 425, 426).

IV. Coptos Stela (§§ 427, 428).

V. Bentresh Stela (§§ 429-447).

I. THE BLESSING OF PTAH^b

394. This remarkable document contains a long address of Ptah to Ramses II, which promises him all possible good fortune (ll. 3-28). To this Ramses replies by enumerating some of his good works for the god (ll. 29-37). The document is chiefly of religious interest, but both addresses contain references to historical events of importance.

395. The speech of Ptah mentions his building of the

^aAll of Ramses II's obelisks were erected at least nine years after the close of the Hittite war; the above texts are translated from Petrie, *Tanis*, I, VII, No. 45, and VIII, No. 49.

^bEngraved on a large stela in the first hall of the great Abu Simbel temple, and is published by Champollion, *Monuments*, 38 (without relief at top); Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 194, from which Rheinisch, *Chrestomathie*, XIII, is copied; Naville, *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, VII, 119 ff. and plate, made from a squeeze. The document was later appropriated by Ramses III and engraved by him upon the first pylon of the Medinet Habu Temple, published by Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, I, 7-10; Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, II, 131-38. The translation herein is made with constant reference to the later version (called M), which is very useful, as the older text (called A) omits the first person singular ending frequently and is in places corrupt. Important variants from M are given in the notes.

residence city, Tanis (ll. 16-18), and the visit of the Hittite king (ll. 24-28), bringing his eldest daughter, which had occurred in the year 34, a year before the erection of our stela. It furnishes us with a shorter account of the incident than the Marriage Stela (§§ 415-24). It is interesting to note that the visit is attributed to the influence of Ptah (ll. 15 and 25), just as in the Coptos Stela (§§ 427, 428), which refers to the same or a similar incident.

396. The reply of Ramses mentions in particular his temple buildings at Memphis (ll. 32-34) and their endowment (ll. 34, 35).

397. A relief at the top of the stela shows Ramses II smiting three Asiatic enemies before Ptah-Tatenen, who is leading to him six captives, one of whom is a Negro, and the rest are bearded; but, as the names show, the latter should be Negroes (p. 202, n. c). The inscription below, of thirty-seven lines, is as follows:

Date

398. ¹Year 35, first month of the second season, day 13, under the majesty of ². Ramses II, ^a given life.

Introduction

399. Utterance of Ptah-Tatenen, of lofty plumes and ready horns, begetter of the gods, to his son, his beloved, ³firstborn of his body, the divine god, sovereign of the gods, great in royal jubilees like Tatenen, King Ramses II, given life:^b

Speech of Ptah; Birth of Ramses

400. "I am thy father, who begat thee as the gods, all thy limbs are of the gods. I assumed my form as the Ram, lord of ⁴Mendes,^c and begat thee in thy august mother,^c since I knew that thou wouldst be

^aFull fivefold titulary.

^bDouble titulary.

^cM has: "I cohabited with thy august mother, in order to fashion thy form (ky) as lord of [the Two Lands]."

my champion, that thou wouldst indeed do profitable things for my ka. I fashioned thee to rise like Re, exalted thee before the gods, King Ramses II, given life. The companions of ⁵Ptah jubilate,^a thy Meskhenet^b rejoices in jubilation since ^cthey have seen me, ^fa likeness to^c my august, great, and mighty body. The priestesses^d of the house of Ptah, the Hathors^b of the house of Atum are ⁶in festivity, their hearts are in joy. Their hands are uplifted in acclaim since they have seen thy beautiful form. Thy amiability is like my ^fmajesty¹; the gods and goddesses acclaim thy beauty, praising, ⁷and assigning to me laudation, saying: "Thou art our august father, who hast fashioned for us a god like thee, Ramses II, given life."

Ptah Promises Happiness

401. "When I see thee my heart rejoices, and I receive thee in an embrace of gold, I enfold thee with ⁸permanence, stability and satisfaction; I endow thee with health and joy of heart; I immerse thee in rejoicing, joy, gladness of heart, and delights, — forever."

Ptah Promises Wisdom

402. "I make thy heart divine like me, I choose thee, I weigh thee, I prepare thee, that thy heart may discern, that thy utterance may be profitable. There is nothing ⁹whatever which thou dost not know, (for) I have completed thee ^ethis day and before, that thou mayest make all men live by thy instruction,^e O King Ramses II, given life."

Ptah Promises Power

403. "I have set thee as everlasting king, ruler established forever. I have wrought ¹⁰thy limbs of electrum, thy bones of copper, thy organs of iron. I have given to thee the divine office, that thou mayest rule the Two Lands ^flike the King of Upper and Lower Egypt."^f

^aFollowing M, which the parallelism shows to be more probably correct, A has: "*The companions of Ptah are (thy) nurses.*"

^bGoddess of birth.

^cFollowing M; a lacuna makes A unintelligible. M would mean that in seeing Ramses they see Ptah.

^dLit., "*great, august ones,*" a title of these priestesses.

^eM has: "*in the counsels of life, that thou mayest make others live by thy designs.*"

^fM: "*as thy kingdom.*"

Ptah Promises Agricultural Wealth

404. "I give thee a great Nile, I endow for thee the Two Lands with wealth, produce, food, and luxuries, giving ¹¹plenty^a in every place where thou treadest. I give to thee constant harvests, to feed the Two Lands at all times; the sheaves^b thereof are like the sand of the shore, their granaries approach heaven, and their grain-heaps are like mountains. There is joy and laudation ¹²at seeing thee, (for) plenty of fish and fowl are under thy feet.^c The South and North are satisfied with thy ka.^c Heaven is given to thee and that which is in it; earth^d is led to thee and that which is in it; ^ethe pool comes to thee bearing its fowl.^e Harsekha^f ¹³bears her provisions, the best of the ka of Re; Thoth has set them on thy every side, that thou mayest open thy mouth, to enrich whom thou pleasest, according as thou art the living Khnum, and thy dominion is in victory and might like (that of) Re when he ruled ¹⁴the Two Lands, O King Ramses II, given life."

Ptah Promises Mineral and Industrial Wealth

405. "I cause the mountains to shape for thee great, mighty, perfected monuments; I cause the countries to fashion for thee [all] splended, costly stone, for ¹employment¹ in monuments in thy name. ¹⁵I make profitable for thee all works;^g I cause all labor^h to serve thee, everything that goes on two legs, (or) upon four legs, everything that flies, and all that soars. I put it into the heart of every land ⁱto offer and to labor for theeⁱ themselves;ⁱ ^kchiefs, great and small,^k with ¹⁶one accord do profitable things for thy ka, King Ramses II, given life."

^aRead *sqj* ².

^bM: "grain."

^cM.

^dOriginal has "Keb," the earth-god.

^eIn M the word "pool" is determined with a wild fowl, and it reads: "the (bird-) pools lead to thee the fowl of heaven" (*yry'w-pt*). A similar notion is found in IV, 265, l. 2.

^fA rare goddess of unknown functions.

^gPerhaps: "workmen."

^hLit., "all artisanship" (fem.); but M shows as determinative a man.

ⁱM: "to offer their labor (impost) to thee."

^jThe same idea is found in the Coptos stela of Ramses II (§ 428).

^kPossibly: "chiefs and petty kings;" M has only "great and small."

Ramses' Residence City and its Buildings

406. "Thou hast made an august residence, to make strong the boundary of the Two Lands (named): "House-of-Ramses-Meriamon-Given-Life," ^athat it may flourish on earth like the four pillars ¹⁷of heaven — — — a sovereign therein, ^a that thou mayest celebrate the royal jubilees that I celebrated therein. I put on thy crown with my own two hands, when thou appearest upon the great double staircase. Men and gods acclaim thy name ^{18b}like mine when thou celebratest the royal jubilees.^b Thou fashionest the statues, thou buildest their holy places as I^c did at the first beginning."

Ptah Promises Long Life and Prosperity

407. "I give to thee years of royal jubilees, my rule, my place, my throne. I endow thy limbs with life, satisfaction and protection behind thee, ^dwith ¹⁹prosperity and health. I protect Egypt under thy authority, the Two Lands are diffused with the satisfying life of^d Ramses II, given life."

Ptah Promises Power

408. "I have set for thee the might, victory, and strength of thy sword in every land, I have bound for thee the hearts of all lands, ^e ²⁰I have set them beneath thy feet. When thou appearest every day, ^fthe captives of the Nine Bows^f are brought to thee, the great chiefs of every land present to thee their children, I assign them to thy mighty sword, to do what thou pleassest with them, ²¹O King Ramses II, given life. I have put thy terror in every heart, thy love in every body; I have set thy might in every country, thy fear encircles the mountains, and the

^aM has: "plentiful in provisions for Egypt, flourish[ing] like [the four pillars of] heaven; thy majesty abides in its palace, that I may build the wall of my seat therein."

^bM has: "when thou appearest at the jubilees, like me."

^cCompare the great Ptah inscription of Memphis, which says of him: "He made likenesses of their (the gods') bodies to the satisfaction of their hearts, he made the gods enter into their bodies of every wood, of every costly stone, of every [metal]" (l. 60); also: "He formed the gods he set the gods in the holy places" (ll. 59, 60; *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1901, Taf. I, II).

^dM has: "As the protection of (thy) limbs. Victorious art thou, every land is under thee, Egypt is diffused with thy beauty."

^eM has: "the lands of the Asiatics (St' tyw)."

^fM has: "the captives of thy two hands."

chiefs tremble at the mention of thee. Thy majesty flourishes, ²²steadfast as their head; they come to thee, crying out together, to crave peace from thee. Thou lettest live whom thou wilt, and thou slayest whom thou wilt. Lo, the throne of every land is under thy authority."

Ptah the Author of Ramses' Prosperity

409. "I cause to befall thee ²³thy ^agreat^a wonders, and every good thing to happen to thee. The Two Lands^b under thee are in acclamation, Egypt flourishes, rejoicing, O Ramses II, given life. I have transferred my dignity to thee; thy great and marvelous ²⁴excellence approaches heaven; the Two Lands are in joy, they who are therein rejoice at that which has happened to thee. As for the mountains, the waters, and the buildings upon the land, they remove at thy good^c name, when they behold this command."

Visit of the Hittites

410. "I have made ²⁵for thee the ^dland of Kheta^d into subjects of thy palace; I have put it into their hearts to present themselves, with fearful steps to thy ka, bearing their impost which their chiefs have captured, all their possessions as tribute to ²⁶the fame of his majesty, L. P. H. His eldest daughter is in front thereof, to satisfy the heart of the Lord of the Two Lands, King Ramses II, given life. ¶It^e is a mysterious marvel; she knows not the excellent matter which I have done at thy desire, ²⁷that thy great name should be excellent forever. The success of the victorious hero is a great mystery for which he prays. It has not been heard since (the time of) the gods; the mysterious records have been in the house of books from the time of Re until thy majesty, ²⁸L. P. H., (but) the relation of Kheta in one accord with Egypt has not been known. Lo, it was commanded to slay them beneath thy feet, in order to make thy name live forever, O King Ramses II, given life."

^aM.

^bM has: "*the lands*."

^cM has: "*victorious*."

^dM modifies these statements to suit the times of Ramses III; it has: "*every land*" here; and in place of "*his eldest daughter, etc.*" (l. 26), it has: "*their sons and their daughters as slaves to thy palace*."

^ePossibly: "*she*;" all this is omitted in M.

Reply of Ramses

411. ²⁹Utterance of the divine king, Lord of the Two Lands, ^alord of the form of^a Khepri, in whose limbs is Re, who came forth from Re, whom Ptah-Tatenen begat, King Ramses II, given life; to his father, from whom he came forth, Tatenen, ³⁰father of the gods: "I am thy son whom thou hast placed upon thy throne. Thou hast assigned to me thy kingdom, thou hast fashioned me in thy likeness and thy form, which thou hast assigned to me and hast created. I shall do again every good thing that thou desirest, while I am sole lord, as thou wast, to settle the 'affairs'^b of the land. I have created Egypt for thee anew, I have made it as at the beginning, I have wrought the gods' forms from thy limbs, even to their color and to their bodies; I have equipped Egypt according to their desire, I have built it up with ³¹temples."

Building of Memphis Temple

412. "I have enlarged thy house in Memphis,^c protected with everlasting works, with excellent labor, in stone, wrought with gold and genuine costly stones, I constructed thy forecourt ³²on the north with an august double façade before thee. Their doors are like the horizon of heaven, causing (even) strangers to praise thee. I made for thee an august temple in the midst of the inclosure. Thou god, 'whom I have' fashioned, art in its secret chapel, ³⁴resting upon its great throne."

Endowment of Memphis Temple

413. "It is equipped with priests, prophets, peasant-slaves, lands, and cattle. It is made festive with innumerable divine offerings consisting of all things. I have celebrated thy great feast of royal jubilees, ³⁵as thou commandest them me. All things that are, are brought to thee in great offerings, at thy desire: bulls (*wn-dw*), cattle beyond limit. I have brought all their number in millions; as for the fat thereof, it has reached heaven, and the dwellers in heaven have received it."

^aSo M; A has: "*becoming as (= like, or merely introducing the predicate) Khepri.*"

^bSee Ineni, l. 17, note (II, 341).

^cSee §§ 530-37.

Foreign Conquests

414. ³⁶"I have caused every land to see the beauty in the monuments which I have made for thee. I have branded the people of the Nine Bows and the whole land with thy name, they belong to thy ka, forever, for thou art the creator of them; by command of this thy son, who is upon thy throne, ³⁷lord of gods and men, sovereign celebrating the jubilees like thee [when thou] bearest the two sistrums, ^ason of the white crown, heir of the red crown, ^apossessing the Two Lands in peace, Ramses II, given life, forever and ever."

II. MARRIAGE STELA^b

415. This monument enables us to trace more fully the further relations between Egypt and the Hittites after the peace had been negotiated. A relief at the top shows the king of the Hittites and his daughter in the presence of Ramses. Before the daughter are the words: "*Matnejrure, c daughter of the chief of Kheta.*" A mutilated inscription accompanying the two visitors contained their words of praise to Ramses II. The beginning is entirely lost for five lines, where it proceeds:^d

Speech of King of Kheta

Thou didst command the land of Kheta, thou takest captive the people — with all their possessions, the eldest^e daughter being at their

^aAmend so; see Naville's commentary.

^bCut in the face of the south wall of the excavated court in front of the temple of Abu Simbel. The lower half being covered by sand, Lepsius saw only the relief at the top and eighteen lines (of the forty-one lines) below; this much he published (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 196), but without indication that it was not the whole. The entire inscription, without the relief, was published by Bouriant (*Recueil*, XVIII, 164-66). In ll. 36-39, I was able to control Bouriant's publication by the copy of Steindorff, which he kindly placed at my disposal. The original is much mutilated, and so indistinct that some passages have been omitted as too uncertain in text for translation.

^cMisread by Lepsius; for proper reading, see § 417.

^dBouriant did not copy this; the following translation is made from Steindorff's copy of the original.

^eAs the Hittite king is speaking, one expects "my daughter" as in l. 32 of the long inscription, which repeats these words.

head, to ——— before thy beautiful face. Thou commandest them — — under thy feet forever and ever, together with the whole land of Kheta. While thou shinest upon the throne of Re, every land is under [thy] feet, forever.

416. Below the relief is a long inscription of forty-one lines beginning with the date "*year 34*," Three-fourths (twenty-nine lines) of this inscription are devoted to an extravagant encomium of the Pharaoh, containing only the hackneyed phrases of conventional praise, relieved by two references to the defeat of Kheta. The last fourth of the document (ll. 30-41) then proceeds with an incident, of which the mutilated condition of the monument and the excessively inaccurate publication permit us to gain only the meagerest outline. After a reference to the treaty of peace, the king of the Hittites is represented as reverting to their defeat by Ramses, and he apparently proposes that they proceed to Egypt. This they do, bringing rich gifts, and the news soon reaches Ramses, who is filled with delight, and prepares to receive his visitors; the chiefs of Kheta, Kode, and "*the chiefs of every land*." He seems to be concerned for their arrival in the uncertainties of winter travel, and offers an oblation to Sutekh on their behalf. When finally, with the escort he had sent to meet them, they arrive in safety, they appear with the Hittite king's eldest daughter at their head, the troops of Egypt "*mingling with the foot and horse of Kheta*." A great feast seems to have been immediately held, where those who had once faced each other in combat now eat and drink together, while the Asiatic princes approach the Pharaoh in audience.

417. It is probably at this feast that the Hittite princess thus brought to Egypt was married to Ramses. The historical character of this marriage is further evidenced by the colossus of Ramses II at Tanis, attached to which is a statue of a queen bearing the inscription:^a

^aMariette, *Recueil*, IX, 13; Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 74; Petrie, *Tanis*, I, 24, Pl. 5, 36 B.

"Great king's-wife, mistress (*hn't*) of the Two Lands: Matnefrure (*M ʿt-n/r-w-R ʿ*),^a a daughter of the great chief of Kheta."

This inscription, therefore, renders unquestionable the main facts of the following narrative on the Marriage Stela.

The Treaty of Peace

418. ³⁰. The chief of Kheta sent, asking of me permanent^b peace. Never did he — for them. Now^c afterward¹ ³¹ under the great fame of the Lord of the Two Lands, King Ramses (II).

The Chief of Kheta Counsels with His Officers

419. Then spake the chief of the land of Kheta to his 'army'^c and his nobles, saying: "Now is our land devastated; Sutekh 'is' our lord to 'protect us', (but) [The has] not ³² fighting with them. We have been taken captive with all our possessions; my eldest daughter being before them^d"

They Proceed with Gifts to Egypt

420. Then they ['came'] with [their] possessions, and [their] splendid ['gifts'] before ³³ them, of silver and gold, marvels many and great, horses to — them, — living things

The News Reaches Ramses

421. to delight the heart of his majesty, saying: "Behold, the great chief of Kheta comes, ³⁴ bringing his eldest daughter, bearing much tribute, being everything The chief of Kheta, together with the chief of ['Kode^e and people'] of Kheta, are bringing them. They have traversed many mountains and difficult ways, that they

^aMeaning: "She who sees the beauty of Re" (the sun). It is the name of the last hour of the night (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, IV, 845; Petrie, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXVI, 36).

^b*N rnp't n rnp't*, "year by year?"

^cThe word is lost except the determinative of men and plural strokes; of course, the first *f* is a misread *n*.

^dThese words are among those used by the chief of Kheta in addressing the Pharaoh in the relief above (§ 415).

^eThis restoration, in view of the letter in *Anastasi*, II (§§ 425, 426), is exceedingly probable.

might reach the boundaries of his majesty. . . . ³⁵. . . .” His majesty received the ‘word’ — — [in] the palace, with joy of heart.

Ramses Makes Preparations to Receive Them

422. When he heard such strange and unexpected matters he commanded ³⁶the army and the princes to receive in front of them in haste.

Ramses’ Sacrifices to Sutekh for Good Weather

423. Then his majesty took counsel ‘for’ the army^a with his own heart, saying: “What are these newcomers like! When there goes not a messenger^b to Zahi (*D³-h³*) in these days of flood ³⁷on the upper ‘heights’^c in winter.”^d Then [he] offered an oblation for ‘—’ and for Sutekh. Then he came [‘pray’]ing, saying: “Heaven is — and earth is under ‘thy feet’. That which thou commandest is all that happens. Thou — to make the flood and the cold upon the ‘heights’ ³⁸. . . . which thou hast assigned to me, King Ramses (II).” Then his father, Sutekh, heard every [wor]ld

Arrival of Ramses’ Escort with the Visitors

424. his army came, their limbs being sound, and they were long in stride ³⁹. The daughter of the great chief of Kheta marched in [‘front’] of the army of his majesty in following her. They were mingled with foot and horse of Kheta; they were ⁴⁰warriors^e as well as regulars; they ate and they drank [‘not’] fighting face to face between them, after the manner of the

^aThis is probably the “army” escort of the visitors, by which term (“army”) Ramses refers to the whole expedition now on the way to Egypt.

^bLit., “they go not by messenger,” or “as a messenger.”

^cBouriant has miscopied the word, as is shown by its second occurrence in this same line; it is perhaps *k³*, “height.”

^dIt is evident that Ramses expresses to himself here his wonder that these visitors are coming in the winter rainy season, when hardly a state messenger could reach Zahi; though the language he uses is obscure and difficult. He now offers to Sutekh a gift for the sake of good weather and the safe arrival of the visitors. The similar reference in the poem (§ 426) on the same occasion to Ramses’ power over rain and storm is hardly accidental. The author of the poem knew of the Abu Simbel Stela. For a similar offering for favorable weather on a voyage, see Punt Expedition (II, 252).

^eMercenaries.

god himself, King Ramses (II). The great chiefs of every land came; they were bowed down, turning back in fear, when they saw [this majesty; the chief of] Kheta [came] among them, [to seek the favor] of King Ramses (II).

III. MESSAGE OF THE CHIEF OF KHETA TO THE CHIEF OF KODE^a

425. This poetic fragment perhaps indicates that Ramses II invited the chief of Kheta and other Asiatic chiefs, at least the chief of Kode, to Egypt, and this invitation a court poet of course regards as a command (Poem below, l. 2). To this invitation the Abu Simbel stela (§§ 415-24) makes no reference, and the whole ten-line poem, being of course only the fancy of a court poet to embellish his description of the glories of Ramses' capitol, to which the Hittite visitors came, may have no foundation in fact. Such a visit, however, and the marriage alliance which it consummated, as we know from the Amarna Letters, must have occasioned much preliminary correspondence, of which this poem offers us a hint.

426. The great chief (*wr-ꜥꜣ*) of Kheta sent to the chief (*wr*) of Kode (saying):

"Equip thyself that we may proceed to Egypt,
That we may say: 'The behest of the god comes to pass;'
Let us make overtures to Ramses II, L. P. H.,
For he gives breath to whom he will,
And every country lies at his disposition.
Kheta is in his power alone,
If the god accepts not his offering,
It (Kheta) sees no rain,^b
For it is in the power of Ramses (II), L. P. H.,
The Bull, loving valor."

^aPapyrus Anastasi II, Pl. II, ll. 1-5 = *ibid.* IV, Pl. VI, ll. 7-10. Their connection with the Hittite king's visit was first noted by Erman, *Aegypten*, 707.

^bLit., "*water of heaven*;" it can hardly be an accident that the prose account (§ 423) also narrates an instance of Ramses' power with the god in respect of rain and storm.

IV. COPTOS STELA^a

427. This document recorded the visit to Egypt of a number of the Asiatic princes bearing gifts for the Pharaoh. It is a visit precisely like that of the Hittite king (§ 410) and his neighbors, and reference is made to "*his other daughter*," as if another princess were being brought to Ramses in marriage. As the mention of this princess occurs directly after a reference to Keshkesh, one of the allies of the Hittite king; as the envoys are later (l. 13) said to be "*the children of the great chiefs of the land of Kheta*," and as there is a reference to a coming "*to Egypt for the second time*," this may possibly be the account of Ramses' marriage to a second Hittite princess. The pious priests attribute both the visit and the gifts, to the gods (l. 9), and particularly, among the gods of Egypt, to Ptah, precisely as is done in the Blessing of Ptah in referring to the visit of the Hittite king with his daughter (§ 410, l. 25).

428. ^{3b}———— [chiefs of]^c all countries conveying their tribute, ⁴———— of much gold, of much silver, of all costly stones, ⁵———— very many captives of Keshkesh (*Kš-kš*), many captives ⁶[of] ——— in writing for King Ramses (II) ⁷———— many [herds] of goats, many herds of small cattle^d before his other daughter ⁸———— Ramses II, given life, to Egypt for the second time. It was not troops who brought them; it was not ⁹———— [the god]s of the land of Egypt,

^aA "black quartzose" stela found by Petrie in the Coptos temple; it had contained an older, probably Middle Kingdom, inscription, which Ramses II had dressed off for the reception of his own inscription (Petrie, *Coptos*, 15). It has been broken so that about half the document is missing, the line of breakage being from the beginning of the first to the end of the last line. Text, *ibid.*, XVIII; I had also a copy by Schaefer, which added a little at the broken edge, and furnished one correction.

^bThe extreme ends of the first two lines show remains of the titulary.

^cBoth the following context and the remains seen by Schaefer render this restoration probable, if not certain.

^dThe published *ḥḫ* 't, "goats," is an error; original has *y w' t* (Schaefer's copy).

the gods of every country, while they caused the great chiefs of every country to convey ¹⁰——— their — themselves to King Ramses (II), given life. ¹¹——— to convey their gold, to convey their silver, to convey their vessels of green ¹²[stone to King] Ramses (II), given life; to bring their herds of horses, to bring their herds of ¹³——— their herds of goats, to bring their herds of large cattle. The children of the great chiefs of the land of Kheta ¹⁴came^a bearing them themselves, from the boundaries of the lands of King Ramses (II), given life, ¹⁵—— themselves. It was not a prince who came to bring them, it was not the infantry who came to bring them, it was not the chariotry who came to bring them, it was not ¹⁶the 'mercenaries' who went to bring them; it was Ptah, father of the gods, who has put all lands, and all countries under the feet of this Good God, forever and ever.

V. BENTRESH STELA^b

429. It is clear that the visit of the Hittite king to Egypt was for the purpose of personally presenting his daughter to Ramses II in marriage. This marriage made a great impression upon the people, and the story of it circulated among them as the introduction to a legend which had grown up from another incident closely connected with the marriage. In the Eighteenth Dynasty, Dushratta, king of Mitanni, sent to Egypt the goddess Ishtar of Ninevah, in the year 35 or 36 of Amenhotep III,^c doubtless for the sake

^aRemains of the determinative of the verb of going may be seen.

^bDiscovered by Rosellini in a small temple of Græco-Roman age now perished, which stood by the Khonsu-temple at Karnak (Erman, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1883, 58; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, II, 48 f.; but when first seen by Champollion it was in the "ruines du Sud-Est" (Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 280). It was carried to Paris by Prisse, and is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale. It was published by him (*Monuments égyptiens*, XXIV) afterwards from Champollion's copy (*Notices descriptives*, II, 280-90); Birch, *Egyptian Texts*, 77-81; Rougé, *Etude sur une stèle égyptienne appartenant à la Bibliothèque Impériale*, Paris, 1858 (*extrait du Journal Asiatique*, August, 1856; August, 1857, June and August to September, 1858; Rheinisch, *Chrestomathie*, Taf. 12; finally Ledrain, *Les monuments Eg. de la Bib. Nat.*, Pl. 36-44. The publications contain a number of inaccuracies, and it was possible to correct a good many errors from my own copy of the original, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.

^c*Amarna Letters*, ed. Winckler, 20, 13-29.

of the old king's health;^a she had likewise gone to Egypt in the time of Dushratta's father. The chief of Kheta sent in like manner to Egypt, desiring that Khonsu be brought to Kheta for the purpose of healing his daughter, the younger sister of Ramses' queen, Matnefrure. This was done,^b and although no contemporary record of the incident has survived, it gradually found place among the folk-tales of the time.

430. Some eight or nine hundred years later, in Persian or early Greek times, the priests of Khonsu at Thebes determined to record the story to the greater glory of their god. They put the current tale into language as archaic as they could command, and engraved it upon a stela, which is now our source for the document.^c In doing this they evidently found some difficulty. The current version, of course, spoke of the king only as Ramses or Ramses-Meriamon. The priests, desiring to lend an official air to their stela, attempted to prefix to the king's name his full titulary, and in doing so used that of Thutmose IV! Nor was their knowledge sufficient to correct the errors or remove the absurdities of the popular version of the story. They consistently carry through seventeen months as the length of time necessary to go from Egypt to Bekhten^d (*Bh̄tn*), a land otherwise unknown; Nefrure, a corruption of Matnefrure, the real name of the Hittite chief's daughter; a date before the year 23 for the marriage of Matnefrure, which

^aSee Meyer, *Festschrift für Georg Ebers*, 65, 66.

^bA tradition of the visit of an Egyptian god in Syria is preserved in Macrobius; see Birch, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1874, 67 f.

^cThe real age and origin of the Bentresh Stela were first noticed by Erman (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1883, 54 ff.), but as the earlier case of Ishtar (*Amarna Letters*, ed. Winckler, 20) was then unknown, Erman naturally denied the content of the stela much of an historical basis.

^dA corruption of Bactria?

really took place in the year 34—these and other errors, which will be evident to the reader, were calmly accepted by the priestly editors. Incidentally, this document therefore shows clearly how utterly ignorant of earlier Egyptian history were these late priests; and suggests caution in the use of the priest Manetho's work, who lived at about the time when this tale was put into writing.

431. The upper fourth of the stela is occupied by a relief, showing on either side the two sacred barques of the Khonsu's borne on the shoulders of priests. That on the right is Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest, to whom Ramses II is offering incense; while that on the left belongs to "*Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes, Great God, Smiter of Evil Spirits.*" Before him his priest, offering incense, is accompanied by the inscription:

432. The name of the prophet, priest of Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes, is Khonsuhetnerneb (*Hnsu-h³ t-ntr-nb³ t*, sic!).^a

Below the relief is the long inscription, as follows:

Introduction

433. ¹Horus: Mighty Bull, Likeness of Diadems, Abiding in Kingship, like Atum; Golden Horus: Mighty of Strength, Expelling the Nine Bows;^b King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Setepnere; Son of Re, of his Body: Ramses-Meriamon, ²beloved of Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, and all the gods of Thebes. . . .
4.^c

Tribute in Naharin

434. Lo, his majesty was in Naharin (*N-h-r-[n]*) according to his yearly custom, while the chiefs of every country came bowing down in

^aMeaning: "*Khonsu is chief of all gods.*" The form, both of this name and this short inscription, is unknown in the time of Ramses II.

^bThese three names (the second title, "*Favorite of the Two Goddesses,*" has been omitted before "*Abiding, etc.*") are those of Thutmose IV! The last two, however, show clearly that Ramses II is meant.

^cThe usual epitheta of the kings, running through ll. 2-4 (beginning).

peace, because of the fame of his majesty. From the marshes^a was their tribute; silver, gold, lapis lazuli, ⁵malachite and every sweet wood of God's-Land were upon their backs, each one leading his neighbor.

Marriage of Ramses and Chief of Bekhten's Daughter

435. Then the chief of Bekhten (*Bḫtn*) caused his tribute to be brought, and he placed his eldest daughter in front thereof,^b praising his majesty, and craving life from him. Now, ⁶she was exceedingly beautiful to the heart of his majesty, beyond everything. Then they affixed^c her titulary as: "Great King's-Wife, Nefrure (*Nḫr'w-R*)."^d When his majesty arrived in Egypt, she fulfilled all the functions of king's-wife.

Arrival of the Messenger from Bekhten

436. When the year 23, the tenth month, the twenty-second day, came, while his majesty was in Thebes, the victorious, the mistress of cities, performing ⁷the pleasing ceremonies of his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, at his beautiful feast of Southern Opet (Luxor), his favorite seat, of the beginning (of the world), came one to say to his majesty: "A messenger of the chief of Bekhten has come, bearing many gifts for the King's-Wife." Then he was brought ⁸before his majesty together with his gifts. He said, praising his majesty: "Praise to thee, Sun of the Nine Bows! Give us life from thee." So spake he, smelling the earth before his majesty. He spake again before his majesty: "I come to thee, ⁹O king, my lord, on account of Bentresh (*B-n-t-r-š*), thy great^e sister of the King's-Wife, Nefrure. Sickness has penetrated into^f her limbs. May thy majesty send a wise man to see her."

^aAt the northern limits of the earth. The division may be wrong here; "*from the marshes*" goes better with the verb "*came*," but too much seems to intervene. The following would then be: "*Their tribute, silver, etc., were upon their, etc.*"

^bExactly as in the documents on the coming of Matnefrure, especially the Ptah Stela (§ 410), with which the above passage is also in verbal agreement.

^cTo all seals and documents; that is, she takes an official Egyptian name on becoming a queen. On the use of this word "*affix*" (*wd*), see my *New Chapter* (Sethi, *Untersuchungen*, II, 2, 19, 20).

^dThis is, of course, an error of the late priests for *M'ḫ-t-nḫr'w-R*, the real name of the Hittite king's daughter (§ 417).

^ePossibly to be rendered "*oldest*."

^fLit., "*has mingled with*."

Dispatch of the Wise Man to Bekhten

437. Then said his majesty: "Bring to me the sacred scribes^a and the officials ¹⁰of the court." They were led to him immediately. Said his majesty: "Let one read to you, till ye hear this thing. Then bring to me one experienced in his heart, who can write with his fingers, from your midst." The king's-scribe, ¹¹Thutemhab,^b came before his majesty, and his majesty commanded that he go to Bekhten together with this messenger.

Arrival of the Wise Man in Bekhten

438. The wise man arrived in Bekhten; he found Bentresh in the condition of one possessed of a spirit. He found ¹²her^c [unable] to contend with him.

Message of the Chief of Bekhten to Ramses

439. The chief of Bekhten repeated in the presence of his majesty,^d saying: "O king, my lord, let his majesty command to have this god brought ———." ^e [Then the wise man whom his majesty had sent, returned] ¹³to his majesty in the year 26, the ninth month, at the feast of Amon,^f while his majesty was in Thebes.

^a*Tt nt pr c nh*=lit., "those in charge of the writings of the house of life," a title especially common in Ptolemaic times. In the Canopus Decree it is rendered by the Greek *οι λογογραμματοεις*.

^bA man of this name and of the same office lived in the time of Ramses II, and his stela is in Leyden (Lieblein, 884; Erman, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1883, 55).

^c*Sw* for *sy*; several words, now no longer visible on the stone here, were seen and copied by Prisse, but more correctly by Rheinisch.

^dThis alone would indicate that the chief of Bekhten, finding the wise man unable to cast out the spirit, went himself to Egypt to ask that the god be sent to do so. The loss between the two parts of the stela, just below this point, makes it difficult to trace the connection, but it seems more probable that the words of the chief of Bekhten are a message, sent by the returning wise man to Ramses, for it is clear that he received some message at the beginning of l. 13; and, further, the chief of Bekhten is found in Bekhten by the god on his arrival there. The chief therefore certainly remained in Bekhten.

^eLacuna of uncertain length, between the two fragments of the stela.

^fAs the god later consumes one year and five months (l. 17) in going to Bekhten, the round trip between Egypt and Bekhten should take some thirty-four months. This exactly suits the above passage, according to which the returning wise man has been absent nearly three years, which allows for a short stay in Bekhten.

Ramses' Interview with the Two Khonsu's

440. Then his majesty repeated (it) before Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest, saying: "O my good lord, I repeat before thee concerning the daughter of the chief of Bekhten." ¹⁴Then they led Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest to Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker, the great god, smiting the evil spirits. Then said his majesty before Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest: "O thou good lord, if thou inclinest thy face to Khonsu-¹⁵the-Plan-Maker, the great god, smiting the evil spirits, he shall be conveyed to Bekhten." There was violent nodding. Then said his majesty: "Send thy protection with him, that I may cause his majesty^a to go to Bekhten, to save the daughter of the chief of Bekhten." ¹⁶Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest nodded the head violently. Then he wrought the protection of Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes, four times.

Departure of Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker

441. His majesty commanded to cause Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes to proceed to a great ship, five transports (*kḫ·t*), numerous chariots ¹⁷and horses of the west and the east.

Arrival of the God in Bekhten

442. This god arrived in Bekhten in a full year and five months. Then the chief of Bekhten came, with his soldiers and his nobles, before Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker. He threw himself ¹⁸upon his belly, saying: "Thou comest to us, thou art welcome with us, by command of the King Usermare-Setepnere (Ramses II)."

Cure of Bentresh

443. Then this god went to the place where Bentresh was. Then he wrought the protection of the daughter of the chief of Bekhten. She became well ¹⁹immediately.

Conciliation of the Spirit

444. Then said this spirit which was in her before Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes: "Thou comest in peace, thou great god, smiting the barbarians. Thy city is Bekhten, thy servants are its people, I am thy servant. ²⁰I will go to the place whence I came, to satisfy thy

^aMeaning the god.

heart concerning that, on account of which thou comest. (But) let thy majesty command to celebrate a feast-day with me and with the chief of Bekhten." Then this god nodded to his priest, saying: ²¹"Let the chief of Bekhten make a great offering before this spirit." While these things were happening, which Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes wrought with the spirit, the chief of Bekhten stood with his soldiers, and feared very greatly. Then ²²he made a great offering before Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes and the spirit; and the chief of Bekhten celebrated a feast-day [with] them. Then the spirit departed in peace to the place he desired, by command of Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes, ²³and the chief of Bekhten rejoiced very greatly, together with every man who was in Bekhten.

Retention of the God in Bekhten

445. Then he took counsel with his heart, saying: "I will cause this god to remain with me in Bekhten; I will not permit that he return to Egypt." ²⁴Then this god tarried three years and nine months in Bekhten.

Vision of the Chief of Bekhten

Then the chief of Bekhten slept upon his bed, and he saw this god coming to him, to forsake his shrine; he was a hawk of gold, and he flew upward toward Egypt. ²⁵He (the chief) awoke in fright.

Departure of the God for Egypt

446. Then he said to the priest of Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes: "This god, he is still with us; let him depart to Egypt; let his chariot depart to Egypt." ²⁶Then the chief of Bekhten caused this god to proceed to Egypt, and gave to him very many gifts of every good thing, very many soldiers and horses.

Arrival of the God in Egypt

447. They arrived in peace at Thebes. Then came the city of Thebes, and ²⁷the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes to the house of Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest. He set the gifts which the chief of Bekhten had given to him, of good things, before Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest, (but) he gave not every thing thereof into his house. Khonsu-the-

²⁷Khonsu has probably been omitted by mistake.

Plan-Maker-in-Thebes arrived ²⁸[at] his [plac]e in peace in the year 33, the second month, the ninth day,^a of King Usermare-Setepnere; that he might be given life like Re, forever.

NUBIAN WARS AND REFERENCES TO NORTHERN WARS

448. The temples of Nubia contain many references of an indefinite character to Ramses II's Nubian wars, from which it is impossible to gain any idea of them, the localities conquered, or the date of the campaigns. These references are often so mingled with those of the northern wars against the Asiatics and Libyans that it is not possible to separate and classify them all. They are continued through the temples of Egypt also.^b Of the Libyan war we learn little more than the fact, though the Tanis Stela furnishes an important hint of an alliance of the Libyans with the Sherden and a naval battle^c (§ 491). To our knowledge of

^aThe round trip consumed 34 months (1 year and 5 months each way, l. 17), and he had remained in Bekhten 45 months (l. 24), a total absence of 79 months, or 6 years and 7 months. As he left Egypt in the ninth month of the year 26 (l. 13, date of wise man's return to summon him), if that date be late in the year 26, an absence of 6 years and 7 months would put his return in the year 33, as the priestly author of the inscription has done.

^bScenes showing Ramses sacrificing foreign captives of the north and south are found in practically all his temples; e. g., at the Ramesseum (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 159, b), where we find beside the scene the words: "*Slaying their chiefs, making them as if they had not been;*" and again: "*The chiefs of the countries of the south and the north, whom his majesty carried away as living captives.*" On his obelisks also there are very general references to his wars; thus at Tanis (Petrie, *Tanis*, I, VII, No. 45) he is called one, "*capturing Nubia by his valor, wasting Tehenu;*" and "*great in valor like a bull in Retenu;*" again (*ibid.*, No. 47): "*carrying off the chiefs of Retenu as living prisoners, crushing the land of Kheta.*" At Kurna, in the temple, some divinity addressed Ramses thus (Piehl, *Inscriptions*, I, 145 A): "——— the gods of Khenhennojer and Wawat in their nomes, and lands; the chiefs of God's-Land, who fashion every splendid costly stone for their son, Ramses II ——— lapis lazuli of Tejrer, every costly stone that is in the two mountains, the products of Nun. The subjects of the Negroes come to thee by land and water, bringing¹ down-stream all the reckonings of Nubia in the records of Thoth, in order to make festive the temple of thy father, Amon, lord of gods." (See also Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 38.)

^cThe hymn to Ramses II, in Papyrus Anastasi II, says: "*Libya falls before his sword*" (III, 4).

the Asiatic wars nothing definite is added. The materials are:

- I. Abu Simbel Temple (§§ 449-57).
- II. Bet el-Walli Temple (§§ 458-77).
- III. Assuan Stela (§§ 478, 479).
- IV. Luxor Temple (§§ 480-84).
- V. Abydos Temple (§§ 485, 486).
- VI. Tanis Stelæ (§§ 487-91).

I. ABU SIMBEL TEMPLE

449. The following scenes^a in the great temple at Abu Simbel contain references to Ramses II's Asiatic wars, a war against the Libyans, and the Nubian war.

Scene^b

450. Ramses II, with bow and sword in hand, rides slowly in his chariot, evidently accompanying his army on the march. Beside his horses runs his tame lion, while an orderly with bow, quiver, and staff, his sandals strung on his arm, marches at the horses' heads. Before them are driven two lines of bound Negro prisoners.

Inscription

451. Good God [—], who smites the south, who crushes the north; king, fighting with his sword, carrying off the furthest ends^c of those who transgress his inviolable 'places'. When his majesty arrives in the countries, he overthrows myriads; he desolates them. He has — Retenu, slaying their chiefs; he causes the Negroes to say: "Away! He is like flame, when it comes forth, and there is no water to quench

^aThe publications will be found with each scene. The great battle scene of Kadesh will be found in §§ 335-38.

^bChampollion, *Monuments*, 15, 16 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 84, 85: Champollion, *Monuments*, also adds (Pl. 16 bis) two Negro heads, in full size of original.

^cThere is possibly a lacuna here.

it." He makes the rebels to cease the contradiction which their mouths offered, when he took them.

Scene^a

452. Ramses II, with bow in hand, leads two lines of captive Negroes, and presents them to Amon, Mut, and Khonsu.

Inscription over Ramses and Negroes

453. The bringing of the tribute, by the Good God, to his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, after his arrival from the country of Kush, overthrowing the rebellious countries, crushing the Asiatics in their place; consisting of silver, gold, lapis lazuli, malachite, and every splendid costly stone, according as he decreed for him might and victory against every country.

The wretched chiefs of Kush, whom his majesty brought from his victories in the country of Kush, in order to fill the storehouse of his august father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, according as he gave might against the south, victory against the north, forever and ever.

Scene^b

454. Ramses II, with drawn bow, stands in his chariot, charging a Syrian city, situated on a hill. The inhabitants on the city walls are nearly all pierced with arrows; just outside, a fleeing Syrian drives off his cattle to refuge in the city. Behind Ramses, three princes dash forward, each in his chariot.

Inscription over Ramses

455. Good God, valiant son of Amon, lord of the sword, protector of his army 'in' battle, mighty in strength, knowing where to place his hand, firm in the chariot like the lord of Thebes, lord of victory, fighting millions, mighty Bull among multitudes, piercing through the allies,

^aChampollion, *Monuments*, 35 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 86 (both without inscription over Ramses and Negroes); Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 66; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 188, a.

^bChampollion, *Monuments*, 12-14 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 80-82 = Gau, *Antiquités de la Nubie*, 61.

crushing the rebellious upon the mountains; they enter into their valleys like grasshoppers. Thou makest the sword to cut off their place, 'where' thy enemies come forth, O king, mighty of sword.

Over Three Princes

456. King's-son, of his body, his beloved, Amenhirkhepeshef.

King's-son, of his body, his beloved, Ramses.

King's-son, of his body, his beloved Perehirunamef.

Scene^a

457. Ramses II, standing over a fallen Libyan, hurls backward another Libyan, whom he is thrusting through with his spear.

Inscription

The Good God, slaying the Nine Bows, crushing the countries of the north, — valiant in the countries, a mighty swordman, like Montu, bringing the land of the Negroes to the land of the north, the Asiatics (^c *m·w*) to the land of Nubia. He has placed the Shasu (^š *·s·s*) into the land of —, he has settled the Tehenu on the heights, filling the strongholds, which he built, with the captivity of his mighty sword, 'slaying' Kharu (^ḫ *·rw*), 'wasting' Retenu (*Rtnw*), which his sword overthrew.

II. BET EL-WALLI TEMPLE^b

458. The impressive reliefs in this temple represent the northern and southern wars of Ramses II: the northern wars, against Asiatics and Libyans, are on the northern wall of the forecourt, and the southern wars, against the

^aChampollion, *Monuments*, 17 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 83. The scene is copied from that of Seti I on the north wall of Karnak (Scene XIII, §§ 123-32).

^bThese scenes are cut on the rock side-walls of the excavated forecourt of the Bet el-Walli temple. Young published the complete series from drawings by Wilkinson (*Hieroglyphics*, 81-87, b). An effective colored reproduction of the ensemble is given by Bonomi-Arundale, *Antiquities*, Pl. 38, Figs. 155, 156; the separate scenes are published by Champollion, *Monuments*, 63-73, 92, No. 4; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 154; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 65-75; Gau, *Antiquités de la Nubie*, 12, 14, 15; and fragments, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 176, a, b, d, e, f, g.

Nubians, are on the southern wall. Thus each series indicates by its position the locality where the wars it depicts took place. In each series the movement of events is toward the temple door, where the king sits in both final scenes, receiving the captives from his wars.

I. NORTHERN WARS

459. The scenes in this series are chiefly, if not exclusively, symbolical, and therefore do not depict specific events. They were evidently devised to form a pendant to the other series on the southern wall, which does depict an actual Nubian campaign.

Scene^a

460. Ramses II, charging in his chariot, leans over and seizes two of the enemy by the turban, and cuts them down with his sword; before him the mass of the enemy flees. They are bearded, and are undoubtedly Semites.

Inscription

461. ——— valiant son of Amon, lord of the sword, protector of his army in battle, mighty against — — — his hand, firm in the chariot, like the lord of Thebes, ——— victorious, fighting millions, mighty Bull among myriads, ——— smiting the rebellious ———.

Scene^b

462. A symbolic scene showing an Asiatic city, on the walls of which the inhabitants gather, with hands uplifted, beseeching mercy. The city chief or petty prince in the citadel is seized by the gigantic Ramses, who stands over him with upraised sword. A prince (with sidelock) advances to the gate with a battle axe.

^aChampollion, *Monuments*, 64 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 67 = Bonomi-Arundale, *Antiquities*, Pl. 38, Fig. 156 = Gau, *Antiquités de la Nubie*, 12, 14, 3.

^bChampollion, *Monuments*, 65 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 68 = Bonomi-Arundale, Pl. 38, Fig. 156 = Gau, *Antiquités de la Nubie*, 12, 14, 3.

Inscriptions

463. The inscriptions have all perished^a except the words of the captured chief:

By the Citadel

Said the wretched chief,^b in magnifying the Lord of the Two Lands: "— — there is no other like Baal, O ruler, his real son, forever."

Scene^c

464. Ramses II slays with the sword a Libyan^d whom he has seized by the hair and forced to the knees. A hound leaps upon the Libyan's hip. Approaching Ramses in front, with uplifted arms, are two rows of officials, now almost vanished.

Inscription behind Ramses

465. O Good God, great in terror, victorious lion, lord of the sword, embracing the rebellious lands of Tehenu (*Tḥnw*); thy sword has overthrown the Nine Bows, slaying him who is beneath thy sandals, like Re, every [day] forever and ever.

Before Officials, Upper Row

466. Said the princes who are in the presence of his majesty, in magnifying the Lord of the Two Lands: "— — — [migh]ty in valor, victorious when thou hast shown thy might among the rebellious — the sun shines not because of thy rage therein ———."

Before Official, Lower Row

467. Said the fan-bearer on the right of the king, prince, — real king's-scribe, his beloved, king's-son, Amenhirunamef, in [celebrating^g]

^aFragments of three columns over the city show the main inscription to have been of the usual conventional character.

^bThe absence of the name shows the purely typical character of the scene.

^cChampollion, *Monuments*, 63 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 66 = Bonomi-Arundale, *Antiquities*, Pl. 38, Fig. 156 = Gau, *Antiquités de la Nubie*, 12, 14, 2.

^dA similar scene within the temple (rear wall, Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 151; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 176, c) bears the words: "Good God, slaying Tehenu."

the praise of his lord, in magnifying his might: "——— in the countries. Thou hast slain their chiefs ———."

Over Hound

Anath (c *nty*)-is-Protection.

Scene^a

468. Ramses II, standing, battle axe and bow in hand, grasps three Syrians by the hair, as they kneel before him. A king's-son (from his dress), doubtless Amenhirunamef, leads up a line of prisoners, consisting of a Libyan and three Asiatics.

Inscriptions

469. The inscriptions have all disappeared except two short lines:

Behind Ramses

Thy might and thy victory are in all lands and all countries; thy terror is in their hearts.

Scene^b

470. Ramses II, enthroned in state, with his tame lion by his side, gives audience to his vizier (from the costume), followed by six officers; and to his son, Amenhirunamef, leading Asiatic prisoners.

Inscription before Vizier

471. Said the princes, who are in the presence of his majesty: "Praise to thee, O good and amiable ruler, son of Amon, who came forth from his limbs. When thou camest forth upon earth, thou wast like Re on high^c Black land (Egypt) and Red land (desert)

^aChampollion, *Monuments*, 66, 67 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 69, 70 = Bonomi-Arundale, *Antiquities*, Pl. 38, Fig. 156 = Gau, *Antiquités de la Nubie*, 12, 14, 1.

^bChampollion, *Monuments*, 62 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 65 = Bonomi-Arundale, *Antiquities*, Pl. 38, Fig. 156 = Gau, *Antiquités de la Nubie*, 12, 14, 2.

^cConventional praise.

are under thy sandals; Palestine and Kush are in thy grasp. Egypt rejoices, O 'good' ruler, because thou hast extended their borders, forever."

Over King's-Son

The fan-bearer on the right of the king, prince, real king's-scribe, his beloved, Amenhirunamef.

II. SOUTHERN WAR

472. This series evidently depicts particular events in Ramses II's Nubian war. When this war took place it is difficult to say with certainty,^a but it was under the administration of Amenemopet as viceroy of Kush, and must, therefore, have fallen in the first half of Ramses' reign.^b The scene of the war is equally uncertain. The three lists^c of conquered Nubian countries consist of unfamiliar names, from which little can be obtained as to the locality of the war. Brugsch thinks that the Abu Simbel list does not extend above Napata.^d

Scene^e

473. Ramses, standing in his chariot with drawn bow, charges the Negroes, who flee in a horde before him into a palm grove, in which two Negroes lead away a wounded

^aThere is a current statement that Ramses II was viceroy of Ethiopia before Seti I's death, and that the battle depicted in our reliefs took place then. Not only is there no evidence that Ramses II was ever viceroy of Kush, but our reliefs further show that Amenemopet was viceroy at this time.

^bThe Assuan stela (§§ 478, 479), which is dated in the year 2, may possibly have been erected on this campaign.

^cMariette, *Abydos*, II, Pl. 2, a, b, Pl. 3; and a list of six names at Abu Simbel (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 194), which are those of Negro peoples, in spite of the beards (see Brugsch, *Geschichte*, 529, and 346 f. Nos. 25, 28, and 77). Southern countries are also mentioned on the Karnak wall (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 148, d).

^dBrugsch, *Geschichte*, 529, note.

^eChampollion, *Monuments*, 71, 72 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 74, 75 = Bonomi-Arundale, *Gallery*, Fig. 155; and Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 176, a, b.

comrade to his family. Behind him charge two princes in their chariots.^a

Inscriptions

474. An inscription over the enemy has disappeared, except the words: "——— *those who transgress his boundaries.*" Two others have survived:^b

Over First Prince

Said the fan-bearer on the right of the king, the hereditary prince, the king's-son, of his body, his beloved, Amenhirunamef: ". in the South; I rejoice, my heart is joyful, (for) my father smites his enemies; he puts forth the might of his strength against the Nine Bows."

Over Second Prince

The king's-son, of his body, his beloved, the divine water that came forth from the Mighty Bull, Khamwese.

Scene^c

475. On the right sits Ramses enthroned; approaching from the left are two long lines of Negroes, bringing furniture of ebony and ivory, panther hides, gold in large rings, bows, myrrh, shields, elephants' tusks, billets of ebony, ostrich feathers, ostrich eggs, live animals, including monkeys, panthers, a giraffe, ibexes, a dog, oxen with carved horns, an ostrich. At the end are also two Negro women, one carrying her children in a basket. Led by two Egyptians

^aA scene inside the temple shows Ramses II smiting a Negro, with the words: "*Good God, repulsing the Nine Bows, smiting the chiefs of Kush, the wretched.*" (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 176, d.)

^bIn Bonomi-Arundale are the fragments of a text over the palm grove in which one may discern: "——— *ruler like Baal,*" probably belonging to words of the Negroes.

^cChampollion, *Monuments*, 68-70 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 71-73 = Bonomi-Arundale, Fig. 155; and Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 176, e, f = Gau, *Antiquités de la Nubie*, 15.

at the head of the lower line are two bound Negroes. The lower line is introduced by the vizier, and two officials, followed by the viceroy of Kush, bearing a table hung with skins and decorated with flowers. At the head of the upper row (which represents the scene a moment after that of the lower row) is the king's-son, Amenhirunamef, presenting the gifts which together with the splendid table have been placed on the ground. Behind the table which he has just set down appears the viceroy of Kush, receiving decorations for good service.

Inscriptions

476. Behind Ramses are four columns containing an elaborate titulary, in which is the phrase: "*making boundaries as he pleases in Retenu.*" The other texts are brief and fragmentary.

Over Viceroy of Kush, Lower Row

477. King's-son of Kush, Amenemopet, son of Peser, triumphant.

Over King's-Son, Top Row

The fan-bearer on the right hand of the king, real king's-scribe, his beloved, hereditary prince, first king's-son, of his body, Amenhirunamef, triumphant, revered (sic!).

Over Viceroy of Kush, Top Row

King's-son of Kush, Amenemopet, son of Peser, triumphant.

III. ASSUAN STELA^a

478. This monument contains only a fulsome eulogy of Ramses II, in which reference is made to all his wars. Its position at the Nubian frontier would indicate that it was

^aCut on the rocks at Assuan; published by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 175, g=Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 252, 253, =de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 6.

erected on some Nubian expedition of Ramses II, and its date, "year 2," may, therefore, be that of the Nubian war, recorded at Bet el-Walli.

479. 1. Year 2, eleventh month, twenty-sixth^a day, under the majesty of ²Ramses II,^b beloved of Amon-Re, king of Gods, and Khnum, lord of the cataract region.

³Live the Good God, Montu of millions, mighty like the son of Nut, fighting for [—], strong-hearted lion. He has overthrown ⁴myriads in the space of a moment; great wall of his army in the day of battle, whose fear has penetrated all lands. ⁵Egypt rejoices when the ruler is among them (i. e., the lands); he has extended its boundaries forever, plundering the Asiatics (*Sṯ tyw*) and capturing their cities. ⁶He has crushed the foreigners of the north, the Temeh^c have fallen for fear of him, the Asiatics are anxious for breath from him, ⁷who sends Egypt on campaigns; their hearts are filled with his designs, as they sit in the shadow of his sword, and ⁸they fear not any country. He plunders the warriors (^c *ḥ ḏ w*) of the sea, the great lake of the north, while they lie sleeping. ⁹A vigilant king, accurate in design; there fails not anything that he has said. The foreigners come to him carrying their children, to ask ¹⁰the breath of life; his battle-cry is mighty [ⁱⁿ] the land of Nubia (*T ḏ -p d t*), his strength repels the Nine Bows; Babylon (*S ḏ -[n] g ḏ -r ḏ*), Kheta and A— (²—)^d come to him, bowing down, because of his fame.

IV. LUXOR TEMPLE

480. Besides the reliefs and inscriptions relating to the battle of Kadesh (§§ 305-51), the Luxor temple contains a number of references to Ramses II's wars, conquests, and relations with foreign countries. On a granite statue,^e under a list of northern and southern countries, is the usual statement of the extent of Pharaoh's power, including the

^aRougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, has 27.

^bFull titulary.

^cText has *Ty-m-ḥ-nw*! It may be that Tehenu is meant.

^dProbably Arvad or Isy-Cyprus.

^e*Recueil*, 16, 50, 51.

"Great Circle (§n wr), the sea, the southern countries of the land of the Negro as far as the marsh lands, as far as the limits of the darkness, even to the four pillars of heaven."

481. More important is a scene among the reliefs which portrays the presentation of annual dues^a by the king's sons and the chief officials of the kingdom. These dues consist of both "tribute" (yn-w) and taxes or impost (bk·w), besides "dues" (hsb·t); and they come from Nubia, Asia, and Egypt. At the head of the procession are seventeen sons of Ramses, of whom the first four are:

482. 1. Hereditary prince, king's-son, crown prince, of his body, commander in chief of the army, Amonhirkhepeshef.

2. King's-son, of his body, commander of the army^b of the Lord of the Two Lands, Ramses.

3. Captain of archers, master of horse, Perehirunamef.^c

4. Khamwese.

483. These are all well known elsewhere, especially Khamwese, as they took part in the king's wars (§ 362). The thirteenth in the row is Merneptah, who, on the death of his twelve elder brothers and his father, became king.

Behind the princes is a line of men bearing "des offrandes, conduisant des bœufs à cornes singulières comme à Abydos." Above them all is an inscription, designating them as:

484. The hereditary prince [of the palace], king's-son, crown prince; [the king's-sons], the grandees of the palace [—]^d their lord, their father, Ramses II, given life. The governors of the city and

^aRelief and accompanying inscriptions in the first court of the Luxor temple, south side; *Recueil*, XIV, 31, L, but without the reliefs.

^bPersonal troops of the king.

^cA list of seventeen daughters is on the west wall of this court (*Recueil*, XIV, 32). They are preceded by the first three sons above, but No. 3 has the title, "First charioteer of his majesty." The queen Nefretiri heads the line.

^dSome verb like "come to" has here been miscopied, as is evident from the parallelism with the second group, also followed by the name of Ramses after a verb of coming.

viziers,^a companions, treasurers of the palace, overseers of the silver- and gold-house, commanders of the army, commanders of 'infantry' (*mnfy't*), captains of archers, 'master builders', governors of southern and northern countries, chief treasurers, chief mayors, stewards, leaders of leaders, and town commandants, overseers of horns,^b overseers of hoofs,^b overseers of feathers,^b [—] of Egypt, the marshal of the two thrones of Upper and Lower Egypt, the counts, and superior prophets, coming with bowed head, bearing their tribute of the impost of Nubia (*T²-pd't*), every product of Asiatic countries, the dues (*hsb't*) of Egypt, to behold the beauty of their lord, King Ramses II.

V. ABYDOS TEMPLE^c

485. Ramses II's mortuary temple at Abydos, as we have already noted, contains reliefs from the Kadesh series (§ 328), as well as a copy of the Kadesh poem (§§ 305-15). Besides these, the mortuary reliefs also contain references to his wars.^d These reliefs show a long procession of priests and officers, bringing an immense and varied array of offerings for Ramses II's mortuary temple, in which these reliefs appear. Like others of their class, these scenes are of purely religious and mortuary significance, except the last.^e This represents a section of the procession headed by a superb bull, and an ibex; these animals, with their attendants and some lesser offerings, face a long procession in a double line of Egyptian troops who are summoned by a

^a"Governors" is clearly plural, but "vizier" is not so written; the relief would probably determine whether we have here the two viziers.

^bLive-stock and poultry.

^cA series of mortuary reliefs on the walls of the first court; published by Mariette, *Abydos*, II, 6-10.

^dMariette indicates other historical materials in this temple; he says: "La face antérieure du pylône semble présenter un résumé des campagnes de Ramsès. Le roi a la hache, la masse d'armes, et l'enseigne de victoire. Des officiers lui amènent des prisonniers. Aucun personnage n'est visible en entier. On croit cependant reconnaître des Lybiens, des nègres et des Asiatiques."

^eMariette, *Abydos*, II, Pl. 10; long inscription also Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1222, 1223.

trumpeter. Four men at the head of the troops are followed by a royal span drawing an empty chariot, accompanied by an orderly with sandals strung on his arm as usual. Behind the troops who follow the chariot are Negroes, Asiatics, Puntites, and perhaps Libyans. Over the whole is an inscription in one long line, the beginning of which is very fragmentary; scattered among the figures were also some inscriptions, most of which have now disappeared:

Over Chariot Horses

486. Great span of his majesty, L. P. H., (named): "Beloved-
_____."

Over Asiatics

Chiefs of the countries _____.

Long Inscription

.....^a Utterance of the Son of Re, Ramses-Meriamon: "O ye Kings of Upper and Lower Egypt, who shall come after, who shall assume the double crown upon the throne of Horus, who shall desire Abydos, region of eternity; may your ka's exist for you without ceasing, may your time be happy like my time, may the full Nile come for you at his season, may valor be yours without flinching, like the victories of my sword in every country, may ye take captive those that rebel against Egypt, may ye put those whom ye capture in them, into my august temple. Lo, as for a king, he is the divine seed,^b while he is a dweller in heaven, as when he was on earth; he assumes the forms, which he desires, like the Moon-god. Establish ye the offerings of this my temple of Osiris, whose august image rests therein, the divine ennead which follows him, being united at his side; (then) shall favors be craved from them, making sound your limbs. An excellent reward shall be his who doeth it, according as ye protect my house for its gods, and hearken to the Good God, Ramses II, given life."

^aThe mutilated beginning contained an address to Ramses II.

^bLit., "divine water."

VI. TANIS STELÆ

487. The Tanis temple contained at least four large granite stelæ commemorating Ramses II's prowess in war. Of two^a of these only insignificant fragments have survived; and the third^b contains a conventional encomium much mutilated. At the end was the narrative of some specific event, of which the following is discernible:

He (Ramses II) said to the king's-messenger ——— fortresses equipped with everything for ———.

488. The fourth stela^c is almost entirely the conventional praise of the king's valor; but the last three lines contained a reference to rebellious Sherden and ships of war, which would indicate a naval battle in connection with the Libyan war, with whom the Sherden were, of course, allied.

Ramses' Valor

489. ¹Live the Horus, Mighty Bull Ramses (II), given life, ²forever, victorious king, valiant in the array, mighty, fighting myriads, overthrowing on his right, slaying on his left, like Set in his hour of rage, ³mighty Bull, shaking every opposing country with the victories of his sword; protector of Egypt, repulsing the Nine Bows. Every land fears before him; he is like ⁴a lion when he has tasted combat; no land can stand before him, King Ramses II; charging into the array, ⁵he turns not back, he is the first of the front rank of his army; valiant upon the steed, when he takes his bow, shooting on his right, and he who stands in the rear^d escapes him not; mighty in strength, ⁶with victorious arm, bearing the mace and the shield; crushing the chiefs beneath his feet; no one is able to sustain the combat, every country flees before him, the terror of him is like fire behind them.^e

^aPetrie, *Tanis*, II, Pl. II, 76, 77.

^b*Ibid.*, 78, *bis*.

^cRougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 68-70 = Petrie, *Tanis*, II, Pl. II, 78. Both publications show many errors, for which each furnishes control of the other; Rougé has even omitted half a line (l. 8).

^dLit., "behind the land."

^e*Tanis*, II, has: "in their heart."

Triumphs in Asia and Nubia

490. ⁷King Ramses II, given life; capturing the lands of the Asiatics (*St tyw*) with his sword, carrying off their chiefs as living captives; ⁸great ruler, — — — — by the might of his youthful strength; ^abrave-hearted¹ before the mighty, valiant like Montu, defender of the land, ⁹husband of Egypt, rescuing her from every country. His fame is mighty in — — — — the land of the Negro, with valor, slaying the Troglodytes of wretched Kush ¹⁰in the victories of his mighty sword. He causes Egypt to be joyful, and sets gladness of heart in Tomeri (Egypt), King [Ramses II] ———; ¹¹plundering the chiefs of the Asiatics in their land. He has wasted the inheritance of —, making them to be ———, ¹²slain under his feet, whose great sword is mighty among them.

Triumphs in the West

491. He has captured the countries of the West, causing them to be as that which [is] not ——— ¹³[Sute]kh on his right, of the battle, King Ramses II. [He] has ferried over^b ——— [come] ¹⁴to him, bearing their tribute; [his] fear [penetrates⁷] their heart. The rebellious-hearted Sherden^c (*Š³ -r³ -d-ny*) ——— ¹⁵them; mighty — — — ships of war in the midst of the [sea] ¹⁶——— before them.

BUILDING INSCRIPTIONS

492. Although the name of Ramses II is more widely found upon the monuments of Egypt than that of any other king, no comprehensive building record of his, such as those

^aThe remainder of l. 8 from this point on was omitted by Rougé, who passes to the second half of l. 9 which he represents as the beginning of l. 9 ("*the land of the Negro, etc.*").

^bThis is the word used for crossing a river; it probably refers to a crossing of one of the branches of the Nile in the western Delta by Ramses or his western foes (see IV, p. 49, n. b).

^cThe Kadesh poem refers to the capture of Sherden before that campaign (§ 307); and Papyrus Anastasi II mentions "*the Sherden whom thou hast taken in thy might*" (V, 2), who have been sent as Egyptian mercenaries against the "*tribes of the desert*." The reference to the "*Sherden of the sea, who are of the captivity of his majesty*," may belong to the reign of Merneptah (Anastasi II, verso of Pl. 8, l. 1).

of the Eighteenth Dynasty, has survived to us. The great inscription of Abydos concerns almost solely Seti I's temple there, which is chiefly the work of Seti himself. The account of Ramses I's buildings preserved in his inscriptions is therefore but a slight indication of the vast extent of his building achievements; and this fact must be clearly borne in mind, in using the following inscriptions.^a

493. They comprise:

I. Great Temple of Abu Simbel (§§ 495-99).

II. Small Temple of Abu Simbel (§§ 500, 501).

III. Temple of Serreh (§ 502).

IV. Temple of Derr (§ 503).

V. Temple of Sebû^c a (§ 504).

VI. Temple of el Kab (§ 505).

VII. Temple of Luxor (§§ 506-8).

VIII. Temple of Karnak (§§ 509-13).

IX. The Ramesseum (§§ 514, 515).

X. Temple of Kurna (§§ 516-22).

XI. Seti I's Temple at Abydos and Great Abydos Inscription (§§ 262-77).

XII. Ramses II's Temple at Abydos (§§ 524-29).

XIII. Memphis Temples (§§ 530-37) and further:

1. Great Abydos Inscription (§ 260, l. 22).

2. Blessing of Ptah (§§ 412-413, ll. 32, 35).

XIV. City of Tanis (Blessing of Ptah, § 406, ll. 16-18).^b

^aFor example, in Nubia Ramses II built at least six new temples: (1) Bet el-Walli; (2) Gerf Husen; (3) Es-Sebû^c a; (4) Derr; (5) Abu Simbel (large temple); (6) Abu Simbel (small temple). Of these I was able to find the dedication inscriptions of the last four only.

^bPoetical description of the city by an Egyptian scribe: Papyrus Anastasi II, Pl. I, l. 1-Pl. II, l. 5 = *ibid.*, IV, Pl. V, Pl. VI, ll. 1-10. It is in this passage that the message of the chief of Kheta (§§ 425, 426) to the chief of Kode is found (cf. Chabas, *Mélanges égyptologiques*, 2^e sér., 151. Maspero, *Du genre épistolaire*, 102; Erman, *Aegypten*, 242). A longer description of the city in a similar vein is found in Papyrus Anastasi III, Pl. I, l. 11-Pl. III, l. 9 (cf. Chabas, *op. cit.*, 132-34, Maspero, *op. cit.*, 103-6; Brugsch, *Geschichte*, 545-48).

494. Besides the above, there are occasional unimportant doorway inscriptions, giving the building record in the conventional form as at Bet el-Walli, Kalabsheh^a or a similar statue dedication as at Sebû^ca. There must also be a number of architrave dedication inscriptions, like those of the Ramesseum, which are still unpublished.

I. GREAT TEMPLE OF ABU SIMBEL^b

495. This, the most remarkable of the grotto temples of Egypt, was already far advanced in its construction, in the reign of Seti I. It is impossible to find any other explanation of the fact that an inscription of Ramses II's first year^c is found in the doorway at the rear of the first hall, which connects it with the second hall.

496. The building inscription accompanies a relief^d showing Ramses II enthroned, with an official named Ramses-eshahab (*R^c-ms-sw-^cš³-ḥb*) bowing before him. The inscription shows that Ramses II is instructing him to build a temple in honor of Horus of He,^e which may be some other temple than that of Abu Simbel. There is no mention of any previous work by Seti I; and the interesting references to the use of foreign prisoners in the work might imply that it was done after the wars of Ramses had begun.

^aSharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 59.

^bSee Champollion, *Monuments*, 3-37; *Notices descriptives*, 43-77; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 114; Gau, *Antiquités de la Nubie*, 57-61; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 185-193; Dümichen, *Der ägyptische Felsentempel von Abu Simbel*, 1869.

^cLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 189, a.

^dThis relief has been published (with inscription) only in Champollion, *Monuments*, 9, where the text is plainly very badly copied. Wiedemann (*Ägyptische Geschichte*, 452, 453) would refer this inscription to some other as yet undiscovered building.

^eThis may be the temple of Ramses II at Serreh (called Aksche, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 191, m, n), ten miles north of Wadi Halfa (Sayce, *Recueil*, XVII, 163). It occurs also in the Middle Kingdom; see I, 602.

Before the said officer are the words:

King's-butler of his majesty, L. P. H., Ramses-eshahab, triumphant; he says: "As for all that comes out of thy mouth, it is like the words of Harakhte."

497. A longer inscription above and behind him is introduced by the full fivefold titulary of Ramses II, accompanied by poetic epithets, such as "*he who spreads out his wings over his army*," and closing appropriately with "*maker of monuments in the house of Horus, his august father*." The inscription then proceeds:

498. Behold, as for his majesty, L. P. H., he is vigilant in seeking ¹¹every profitable occasion, by doing excellent things for his father, Horus, ¹²lord of He (*H²*), ^amaking for him his house of myriads of years, by excavating in this mountain of He, [which no] one before [did], except the son of ¹³Amon, lord of —. His might is in all lands; bringing for him multitudes of workmen from the captivity of his sword in every country. He has filled the houses (*pr¹w*) of the gods ¹⁴with the children of ^bRetenu (*Rtnw*). ¹Afterward he ³gave orders ^cto the king's-butler, Ramses-eshahab, to equip the land of Kush anew in the great name of his majesty, L. P. H. He said: "Praise to thee! O valiant king of Egypt, sun of the Nine Bows. There is no rebel in thy time, every land is pacified. Thy father, Amon, has decreed for thee that every land be beneath thy feet; he gives to thee south as well as north, west and east, and the isles in the midst of the sea."

499. A dedication ^dto Harakhte is as follows:

Ramses II; he made (it) as his monument for his father, Harakhte, ^egreat god, lord of Nubia (*T²-pd¹t*).

II. SMALL TEMPLE OF ABU SIMBEL

500. The smaller grotto temple on the north of the large temple was made by Ramses II for his queen, Nefretiri, as the divinity to whom it was dedicated:

^aName of the region in which Abu Simbel is located (see I, 602).

^b"*The chiefs of*," is probably omitted.

^cRead *rdy m hr n*.

^dSharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 29; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 187, a, b.

^eVariant: "*Amon-Re, king of gods*."

^aRamses II; he made (it) as his monument for the Great King's-Wife, Nefretiri, beloved of Mut —, a house hewn in the pure mountain of Nubia (*T³-pd·t*), of fine, white and enduring sandstone, as an eternal work.

Its origin is sometimes also ascribed to the queen herself.

^bThe Great King's-Wife, Nefretiri, beloved of Mut; she made a house in the pure mountain.

501. Other references to the construction of the monument are these:

^cRamses-Meriamon, beloved of Amon, like Re, forever, made a house of very great monuments, for the Great King's-Wife, Nefretiri, fair of face — —.

His majesty commanded to make a house in Nubia (*T³-pd·t*), hewn in the mountain. Never was done the like before.

III. TEMPLE OF SERREH^d

502. "Southward of the village of Serreh, . . . on the western bank of the Nile, and about ten miles north of Halfa, are the foundations of a temple built by Ramses II." The architrave dedications have perished, but one of the doors still bears the words (twice):

Great door of Usermare-Setepnere; he made (it) as his monument for his living image in the land of Nubia (*T³-pd·t*); its beautiful name, which his majesty made, is: "Usermare-is-Splendid-in-Strength."

Ramses II was thus himself the god of this temple, as Amenhotep III was at the Nubian temple of Soleb.

IV. TEMPLE OF DERR

503. This temple was dedicated to Re-Harakhte by Ramses II. On its later history, see IV, §§ 474-83.

^aDedication from the hypostyle (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 192, *d*); variations of it in abbreviated form appear on the front, between the statues.

^bSharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 58; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 192, *c*.

^cOn façade; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 192, *b*.

^dSayce, *Recueil*, XVII, 163 f.

^aRamses II; he made (it) as his monument for his father, Harakhte; making for him the "House-^bof-Usermare-Meriamon-in-the-House-of-Re."

Ramses II; he made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes (*Ns-wt-t' wy*); making for him a temple in the House of Re.

V. TEMPLE OF SEBÛ^c A

504. A so-called hemispeos, by the village of Sebû^c a, built by Ramses II, who called it "*House of Amon*." He was himself one of the deities worshiped in it.

The dedications are as follows:

^cRamses II; he made (it) as a monument for his father, Amon-Re, king of gods.

A pillar in the forecourt bears the following:^d

Ramses-Meriamon in the House of Amon; he made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, making for him a great and august pillar, adorned with every splendid costly stone; that he might be given life, stability, and satisfaction, like Re, every day.

VI. TEMPLE OF EL KAB

505. A small temple to Nekhbet, built within the city wall by Ramses II, bears the following dedication:

^e[^fRamses II^g; he made (it) as his monument for his mother, Nekhbet], making for her a great pylon, — [—] of fine white sandstone, its length is 15 cubits; its door is of cedar, the [mounting^h] thereof of copper, [withⁱ] the great name of [my majesty^j] ———.

^aChampollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 94 (first 94, there are two!); Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 183, a.

^bAlso called "*Temple-of-Ramses-in-the-House-of-Re*;" Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 91.

^cTwice in the cella; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 180.

^dLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 182, b.

^eAlong bottom of the left pylon of sandstone; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, IV, 37.

VII. TEMPLE OF LUXOR^a

506. Ramses II built a peristyle court in front of the Eighteenth Dynasty Luxor temple, with a façade of two large pylon-towers. To do this, he destroyed a beautiful granite chapel of Thutmose III, which had stood in front of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple. The architect was the High Priest of Amon, Beknekhonsu, who has left a brief record of the building on his statue (§§ 561-68). The king's only building record, as far as published, is contained in the following dedication inscriptions:

507. ^bMighty Bull, exalter of Thebes, Favorite of the Two Goddesses, establishing monuments in Luxor for his father, Amon, who placed him upon his throne; Golden Horus, seeking excellent things for him who fashioned him; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Setepnere. He made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, king of gods, making for him the "Temple (*ht-ntr*)-of-Ramses-Meriamon^c-in-the-House (*pr*)-of-Amon," of fine white sandstone, which the Son of Re, Ramses-Meriamon, given life, like Re, forever, made for him.

508. The other two dedications are substantially the same as far as the words: "*house of Amon*;" one^d then proceeds:

In front of Luxor, erecting for him a pylon (*bḥn't*) anew; its flag-staves approach heaven; which the Son of Re, etc. (as above).

The other continues:^e

Its beauty is unto the height of heaven, a place of the appearance for the lord of the gods, at his feast of (Luxor).

^aOn the history and construction of this temple, see the paper by Borchardt (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1896, 122-38); and Daressy, *Notice explicative des ruines du temple de Louxor* (Le Caire, 1893).

^bLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 149, a.

^cThe words "*Possessed of Eternity*" are added to Ramses' name in the name of this temple in at least one other occurrence of it (northwest corner, letter from Borchardt).

^dChampollion, *Monuments*, 338, and Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1241.

^eBrugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1242; verified from a photograph.

VIII. TEMPLE OF KARNAK

509. Ramses II brought to completion at Karnak the works begun by his two predecessors. He erected all of the columns in the southern half of the great hypostyle hall, except the two short rows immediately south of the nave, Seti I having completed the northern half, the nave with both rows of flower-columns and the first row of bud-columns of the southern half. Ramses II further built a girdle wall entirely around the Eighteenth Dynasty temple, to widen it to the increased width of the new hall in front. The Nineteenth Dynasty Karnak temple thus became the largest temple ever erected in the history of building, whether ancient or modern.

510. Although the conception, and for the most part the erection, of the great hall belong to Seti I and his father, the dedication inscriptions were largely added by Ramses II in his own name.

^aRamses II, mighty king, making monuments in the house of his father, Amon, building his house in eternal work, established forever. Lo, the Good God inclined his heart to make monuments, sleeping or waking, he ceased not seeking to do excellent things. It was his majesty who gave the regulations, and led the work on his monuments. All his plans come to pass immediately, like those of his father, Ptah-South-of-His-Wall, a likeness indeed of that which the excellent maker, the maker of excellent things, made, which his majesty made ——— of excellent and eternal work. Every country is beneath thy feet, O king, ruler of the Nine Bows, Lord of the Two Lands, Ramses II. He made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes (*Ns'wt t'wy*), making for him the "Temple-of-the-Spirit- (*Y'p*)-of-Ramses-Meriamon-in-the-House-of-Amon-over-against-Karnak (*Y'p't-ys'wt*)," of fine white sandstone; a resting-place for the lord of gods, a beautiful refuge for the divine ennead; surrounded by — columns; the walls thereof are like the two mountains of Aphroditopolis,

^aChampollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 66-68.

established, made very [—]; its beauty (reaches) to the height of heaven.

Amon Speaks to the Gods

511. ^a“Behold ye, this beautiful, pure and enduring monument, which my son, of my body, my beloved, King Ramses II, hath made for me; whom I brought up from the womb, to make excellent things for my house; whom I have begotten in the fashion of my (own) limbs, to celebrate the ‘Going Forth’ of my ka. Ye shall endow him with satisfying life, ye shall form his protecting suite, and be his associate when he is with you. He shall be a spirit as ye are spirits; his name shall flourish as your names flourish to the end of the two periods (of sixty years) and forever; according to that which he has built for Karnak for the first time, of fine white sandstone. He hath given joy to my dwelling more than (his) predecessors have done.”

512. Ramses II; he made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, making for him the “Temple-of-the-Spirit-of-Ramses-Meriamon-in-the-House-of-Amon,” of fine white sandstone. Its beauty (reaches) to the height of heaven, over against Karnak; its august columns are of electrum, made like every place that is in heaven. (It is) mistress of silver, queen of gold, it contains every splendid costly stone. “I have made it for thee with a loving heart, as a profitable son does for his father, by enlarging the monuments of him that begat him, and establishing the house of him that caused him to take the whole land.”

^bLive the Good God, who makes monuments for his father, Amon-Re.

513. The dedications on the architraves^c of the nave, above the windows, are also of Ramses II, and only repeat the above dedications. The architect who erected the gigantic columns of the hypostyle was Hatey, who reverts to his achievement among his titles^d thus:

^aArchitrave of first row of columns on the right; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 83, 84.

^bColumns of the first row on the left, Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 79.

^cChampollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 85.

^dStatue in Lady Meux's collection; see *Some Account of the Collection of Egyptian Antiquities in the Possession of Lady Meux*, by E. A. Wallis Budge, 143. I am indebted to Mr. Alan Gardiner for the reference.

Great chief of works on all the monuments of his majesty, erecting great columns in the House of Amon.

IX. THE RAMESSEUM

514. The beautiful mortuary temple of Ramses II on the west side at Thebes, known as the Ramesseum, was combined with a palace^a which has since perished. The temple itself, while it has preserved some of the most important historical records of Ramses II's reign contains no building inscription except the usual dedication^b on the architraves:

515. Ramses II; he made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, making for him a great and august broad-hall (*wsḥ't*) of fine white sandstone, its nave^c of great flower-columns, surrounded by bud-columns: a place of rest for the lord of gods at his beautiful "Feast of the Valley;" that he might, through him, be given life ———^d shaping his sacred barque like the horizon-god, founding daily offerings, doing the things which please his father, causing that his house should be for him like Thebes, supplied with every good thing, granaries reaching heaven, an august treasury containing silver, gold, royal linen, every real costly stone, which King Ramses II brought for him.

^aLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 159, shows an "*Appearance of the king, like Re, in his palace (ḥ'ḥ) which is in the temple (ḥ't ntr)*." This fact was already noticed by Erman, *Aegypten*, 107, 108.

^bSharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 53; Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, 53, No. 2; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 134 (see also 133). The name of the Ramesseum was: "*The-House (ḥ't)-of-Usermare-Selephere (Ramses II), -L.-P.-H., -in-the-House-of-Amon*" (Wiedemann, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1883, 34); also mentioned on a stela at Vienna (*Recueil*, IX, 50, 51). An architect of the Ramesseum is mentioned on his fragmentary statue at Cairo (Daressy, *Recueil*, 22, 143); its treasurer (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 249); and its deputy (*ibid.*, 250).

^cThe text has *ḥft ḥrs*, evidently meaning "*its center*," as the columns of the Ramesseum hypostyle are so arranged, and no other colonnades are thus placed in this temple. It is not an error, for it is repeated on another architrave (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 134, with a slight mistake).

^dThe connection has been omitted by Sharpe, but it is evidently the conclusion of a second dedication.

X. TEMPLE OF KURNA

516. This mortuary temple of Seti I was left unfinished by him, and his son, Ramses II, states the fact in his inscriptions, narrating also that he completed it for his father; in doing which he made his own dedication inscriptions more prominent than those of his father.

517. ^aHe made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, king of gods, lord of heaven, ruler of Thebes, restoring the house of his father, King Seti I, triumphant. Behold, he went to his retreat, he attained heaven, he joined Re in heaven; while this his house was in course of construction. Its doors were in ruin at their stations, and all its walls of stone and brick; no work therein was finished, neither inscriptions nor sculpture. Then his son, the Lord of the Two Lands, Ramses II, commanded to build the works in his house of millions of years, over against Karnak, and [to fashion] his^b image resting in his house, gilded with electrum, when the god sails in 'person' at his feast of the valley to rest in^c his house, as the first of the kings.

518. ^dUtterance of the gods and goddesses who are in the North-land, to their son, King Ramses II, given life: "We have come to thee, our arms bearing offerings, and supplied with provision and food. We have gathered to thee every good thing of all that grows upon earth,^e in order to make festive the house of thy father. As thou art his beloved son, so art thou like Horus, the protector of his father, in taking the inheritance of the Two Lands. How goodly is the [son] who restores what is ruined! Thou hast built the house of thy father, completed in its work, thou hast fashioned his image for ——— of gold ——— thou hast — divine offerings ——— I have — that

^aDevéria, *Bibliothèque égyptologique*, IV, 292, 293; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 694; Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, 51, 3; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 152, a; beginning also Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 91.

^bFrom here on, this text is found also in Devéria, *Bibliothèque égyptologique*, IV, 293, 294.

^cSee Piehl (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1887, 38), whose reading is confirmed by the duplicate.

^dSee also Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 693.

^eThe following, to the word "gold," is also in Devéria, *Bibliothèque égyptologique*, IV, 294, 295.

which thou hast done 'again for' the house of their father. Thou hast endowed it with satisfying life; as a benevolent son is, so art thou.

519. ^aRamses II; he made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, presider over Karnak; restoring the house of his father, King Seti I. ——— they erected all its walls of — stone; no work therein was finished,^b neither inscriptions nor sculpture
.....^c

520. ^dRamses II; he made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, restoring for him the house of his father, King Seti I. Lo, (he is) in heaven ——— its doors are of real cedar, surrounded with walls of brick established forever, which the Son of Re, Ramses-Meriamon, made for him.^e

521. Ramses II recognized the temple, however, as sacred also to his grandfather, as he indicates in these dedications:

^fRamses II; he made (it) as his monument for his father's father, the Good God, Ramses I, triumphant.

^fRenewal of the monument which King Ramses II made for his father's father, the Good God, Ramses I, in the monument of his father, the Lord of the Two Lands, Seti I.

^gRamses II; he made (it) as his monument for his father, the Good God, Menpehtire (Ramses I), making for him a house of millions of years on the west of Thebes, of good white sandstone, wherein Amon rests, like Re, in the horizon of heaven.^h

^aPiehl, *Inscriptions*, I, 145 A f.

^bRestored from the duplicate passage in § 517.

^cFrom here on, as in duplicate (§ 517).

^dChampollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 296; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 152, b; Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, 51, 1.

^eAnother fragmentary dedication, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 100; and a fragmentary door-dedication, Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, 51, 2.

^fChampollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 307 and 704; Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, 52, 5; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 152, g; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 94, 95.

^gChampollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 705; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 152, f, also *e* with slight variant.

^hSee further, Wilkinson, *Materia hieroglyphica*, Pl. I.

522. While acknowledging thus the original dedication of the temple to the mortuary service of his father and grandfather, Ramses added also a series of dedications in his own name alone. These are as follows:

^aRamses II; he made (it) as his monument to his father, for his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, making for him a house of millions of years on the west of Thebes, (of) fine white sandstone, the doors thereof of real cedar, which [the Son of Re], Ramses-Meriamon, given life, like Re, made for him.

.....^b making for him a broad-hall of appearance in front of his Great House, a place of appearance for the lord of gods at the "Feast of the Valley" ———.

XI. SETI I'S TEMPLE AT ABYDOS

523. See Great Abydos Inscription (§§ 262-77).

XII. RAMSES II'S TEMPLE AT ABYDOS^c

524. This inscription contains a brief record of the building and endowment of Ramses II's mortuary temple at Abydos.

525. Lo, his majesty, L. P. H., was "Son-Whom-He-Loves," the champion of his father, Wennofer, by making for him a beautiful, august temple, established for eternity, of fine limestone of Ayan; a great double pylon of excellent work; portals of granite, the doors thereto of copper, wrought with figures in real electrum; a great seat of alabaster, mounted in granite, his excellent seat of the beginning; a mesken-chamber for his divine ennead, his august father who rests therein, and Re when he has reached heaven. His protecting image is beside him that fashioned him, like Horus, upon the throne of his father.

526. (He) established for him permanent daily offerings, at the beginnings of the seasons, all feasts at their times, offered to his ka.

^aChampollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 696.

^bOmitting introductory formula, which is as in preceding.

^cInscription engraved on the exterior of the south wall of Ramses II's temple at Abydos; published by Mariette, *Abydos*, II, Pl. 3 (cf. *ibid.*, II, § 139); see also Mariette, *Voyage dans la haute Egypte*, I, 29.

He filled it with every thing, overflowing with food and provision, bulls, calves, oxen, geese, bread, wine, fruit; (it) was filled with peasant-slaves, doubled in fields, made numerous in herds; the granaries were filled to bursting, the grain-heaps approached heaven, —^a for the store-house of divine offerings, from the captivity of his victorious sword.

527. His treasury was filled with every costly stone, silver, gold in blocks; the magazine was filled with every thing from the tribute of all countries. He planted many gardens, set with every (kind of) tree, all sweet and fragrant woods, the plants of Punt. The Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, Ramses-Meriamon, beloved of Osiris, First of the Westerners, great god, lord of Abydos, made (it) for him.

528. The dedications of the temple doors are as follows:^b

1. He made (it) as his monument for his father, Osiris, residing in "House (*h·t*)-of-Ramses-Meriamon-Possessing-Abydos;" making for him a doorway of black granite, the doors mounted with copper, and gilded with electrum,^c which his son, Ramses II, made for him.

2. Live the god, the Lord of the Two Lands, Ramses II. He made (it) as his monument for his father, Osiris, lord of Abydos, making for him a great doorway of pink granite, the doors of bronze in beaten work (called): "Portal-of-Usermare-Setepnere-Raiser-of-Monuments-in-Abydos."

529. The dedication inscription of the shrine-chamber is partially preserved on a fragment of alabaster, thus:

He made (it) as his monument for his father, Osiris, making for him a "Great Seat" of pure alabaster ———.

XIII. MEMPHIS TEMPLES^d

530. Ramses II built largely at Memphis, and a temple on the south of the sacred lake was chiefly due to him.

^aThere is a sign for "slave" here, but a verb (?) is lacking in the lacuna.

^bBrugsch (*Recueil de monuments*, I, Pl. XII), who does not state (p. 22) in which temple he found them. The numbers refer to those on his plate.

^cThese doors are said to be "of electrum" in an inscription at the base of the same door. Its name is also given there as the "Portal-of-Usermare-Setepnere-Possessed-of-Eternity."

^dSee Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 422, 423; Wiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte*, 445, note 3; H. Brugsch, (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, VII, 2),

One of his temples there was called "*The-House-of-Millions-of-Years-of-King-Usermare-Setepnere-in-the-House-of-Amon-in-Memphis.*"^a But Ramses' works in Memphis have perished with the city. The chief literary references to them are in the Great Abydos Inscription (§ 260, l. 22), and the Blessing of Ptah (§§ 412, 413, ll. 32-35). A paragraph in a letter of instructions from an official to his subordinate refers to Ramses II's Thoth-temple in Memphis, and mentions repairs on the Sphinx, which may be of later date:

531. ^bI have heard that thou hast taken the eight laborers (*h³ y*) who were working in the "House-of-Thoth-of-Ramses-Meriamon,-L.-P.-H.,-Satisfied-with-Truth" in Memphis. Thou shalt deliver them to draw stone for^c the Sphinx in Memphis.

532. References to Ramses II's Ptah-temple are rare. The following interesting building inscription^d is so fragmentary that the name of the king is uncertain. As it lies in the temple chiefly due to Ramses II, he is the most probable king to whom we may refer it. It was upon a great stela which marked the "*Station of the King*," or ceremonial station occupied by the Pharaoh during the official ritual ceremonies. Like similar stelæ at Thebes in the temples

gives brief mention of Mariette's excavations here (see also Mariette, *Monuments divers*, 31). De Morgan's later excavations are briefly described by E. Brugsch (*Egypt Exploration Fund Archaeological Report*, 1892-93, 24, 25). Daressy studied the remains exhumed in 1887-8 and 1892 by the Service, with plan of the temple of Ramses II (*Annales*, III, 22-31).

^a*Ynbw-hd*, Mariette, *Monuments divers*, 62, *b*=Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, XXX; cf. also Mariette, *Monuments divers*, 63 f.

^bSpiegelberg, *Recueil*, 17, 158. Papyrus Turin, 19, 2.

^cOr: "*to*." Vyse found an incomplete stela of Ramses II between the feet of the Sphinx.

^dFragment of a large stela of gritstone still 13 feet high and over 2½ feet wide. The beginnings of 12 horizontal lines are preserved. It was found in the ruins of Ramses II's Memphite temple of Ptah; published by Daressy, *Annales*, III, 27, 28. Fragments of two other similar stelæ, too scanty for use here, were also found by Daressy in this temple (*ibid.*, 28).

of Amenhotep III (II, 904, 910), Elephantine (II, 791), and Amâda (II, 791-97), it bore an account of the erection of the building in which it stood. As in the building inscriptions of Thutmose III (II, 131 ff.), Amenhotep III (II, 878-92), and others, it is introduced by an account of the king's coronation. Enough of the fragmentary inscription is preserved, to show that, as in the coronations of Thutmose III and Harmhab, Amon appeared in public, delivered an oracle proclaiming him king, and proceeded to the palace to crown him. In all probability, therefore, the oracle and the crowning by Amon, were the regular custom at the accession of every king in the Empire. Hence the innumerable conventional references to Amon's having fixed the diadem upon the Pharaoh's head designate an actual ceremony. That this prerogative of Amon was not originally his, but was usurped from Re, is evident. Undoubtedly a similar ceremony took place at Heliopolis at the accession of every Pharaoh, from the Fifth Dynasty on, to the assumption of the rite by Amon at an uncertain date after the rise of Thebes.

Amon and His Gods Come Forth

533. 1— 2— his house of Luxor, with his ennead (*psd.t*) behind him. When the land brightened again, and day came ———.

Oracle Naming King

534. ——— 3Thou art my son, the heir who came forth from my limbs. As I am, shalt thou be, with none except thee ———. 4Their offerings shall be doubled, they shall recognize thee as my son who came forth from my limbs. I have gathered ———.

Coronation in the Palace

535. ——— 5coming to him, to the palace. He placed himself before him in the shrine of his august son ——— 6Amon 1—1. Lo, Amon came, with his son before him, to the palace, to fix his diadem upon his head, to exalt the two plumes ———.

Character of Reign

536. ——— "that he might do what satisfies thee. He has avoided deceit, and expelled lying from the land, while his laws are firm, in the administration of the regulations of the 'ancestors' ———
 "diadem ———. He has ——— the circuit of the sun, all lands are together doing the 'service' of this great god, ——— like ———.

Station of the King, and Building Inscription

537. "He made (it) as his monument for his father, Ptah-South-of-His-Wall, making for him a "Station of the Ruler"^a of gritstone, over against ———^b ——— "doors upon them^c of real cedar, in order to make splendid the house of ———^d, in order to purify the way which his father, Ptah, treads. He gave to him a house anew ——— "of — cubits, of every splendid costly stone; its flagstaves are of real cedar, wrought with Asiatic copper, their tips of electrum. A broad-hall was made ———^e^e

XIV. CITY OF TANIS

See Blessing of Ptah (§ 406, ll. 16-18); see also above note on XIV, p. 211.

STELA OF THE YEAR 400^f

538. This monument was erected at Tanis by an important official of Ramses II, named Seti. He had been dispatched thither to erect a stela in honor of Seti I, and improved the

^aThe determinative is a stela, as elsewhere. The place meant is the same as at Thebes, Elephantine, and Amâda, see II, 140, note. The material above mentioned, "*gritstone*," is that of the stela bearing the inscription, which is here meant. It stood therefore in the holy of holies, and not at the front of the temple, as Daressy thought (*Annales*, III, 28).

^bY³ dr³ t, with determinative of a house.

^cProbably "w hr³ sn.

^dPossibly Daressy has omitted R³, and we should read "*Ramses*;" or *ms* is vulgar writing for *ms-sw* = "*He who begat him*."

^eThe last line is obscure, but it is clear that the account of the building is concluded in l. 11.

^fGranite stela discovered at Tanis by Mariette and reburied there by him. It could not be found at the excavation of Tanis by Petrie (*Tanis*, II, 32); hence

opportunity to place a stela of his own, bearing a record of his visit in the temple, to which he appended prayers for the favor of the god, as so many officials did in Abydos. Although headed with the full titulary of Ramses II, the document is dated in the four hundredth year of King Opehtiset-Nubti, a Hyksos ruler. This remarkable fact shows that the reign of this king began an era—the only one known in Egypt—which had survived in use at Tanis into the Ramessid times.^a Unfortunately, the stela does not give the year of Ramses II in which it was erected. Wiedemann dates it, as it seems to me with probability, at Ramses II's death. In any case, the knowledge of the lapse of 400 years between the Hyksos Nubti and some year of Ramses II is of great value.

539. At the top of the monument is a relief, showing Ramses II offering wine to Set. Behind the king stands Seti, the author of the monument, praying, as follows:

— — — thy ka, O Set, son of Nut, mayest thou grant a happy life following thy ka, to the ka of^b [Seti].

540. Below the relief is Seti's record of his commission, with the appended prayer, as follows:

Live^c King Ramses II, sovereign, who equips the Two Lands with monuments in his name, so that Re rises in heaven for love of him, King Ramses II.

541. His majesty commanded to make a great stela of granite

it has never been in Bulak, as stated by Birch (*Records of the Past*, IV, 33). A notice of the discovery was published by de Rougé (*Revue archéologique*, N. S., IX, 1864, 128–36), and the monument itself by Mariette (*ibid.*, N. S., XI, 1865, Pl. IV and pp. 169–90); and Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, 2d ed., V, 734 f. See also Chabas, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1865, 29 ff.; Wiedemann, *ibid.*, 1879, 138 ff.; and Piehl, *Recueil*, II, 121, 122.

^aWiedemann thought that it was still later in use, and that Manetho, as excerpted by Africanus, dates the death of Bokchoris in the year 990 of this era (see *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1879, 138 ff.); but this conclusion is due to a misunderstanding.

^bSeti's titles as below.

^cFull fivefold titulary.

(*ynr-n-m³·t*), in the great name of his fathers, in order that the name of his grandfather,^a King Menmare, Son of Re: Seti-Merneptah, might be exalted, enduring and abiding forever, like Re, every day.

542. In the year 400, in the fourth month of the third season, on the fourth day, of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Opehtiset (*ꜥ³-phty-St*); Son of Re, his beloved: Nubti,^b whom Harakhte desires to be forever and ever; came the hereditary prince, governor of the (residence) city, vizier, fan-bearer on the right of the king, chief of bowmen, governor of foreign countries, commandant of the fortress of Tharu (*T³-rw*), chief of the foreign gendarmes, king's-scribe, master of horse, chief priest of the Ram-god, lord of Mendes, High Priest of Set, ritual priest of Buto-Upet-Towe, chief of prophets of all gods, Seti, triumphant, son of the hereditary prince, governor of the (residence) city, vizier, chief of bowmen, governor of foreign countries, commandant of the fortress of Tharu, king's-scribe, master of horse, Peramses, triumphant; born of the lady (*nb·t-pr*), the musician of Re (*P³-Rꜥ*), Teya (*Ty-ꜥ*), triumphant. He said: "Hail to thee, O Set, son of Nut, great in strength in the barque of millions of years, overthrowing enemies¹ in front of the barque of Re, great in terror, ——— [grant me] a happy life following thy ka, while I remain in ———."

ROYAL JUBILEE INSCRIPTIONS

543. The sources for the jubilee celebrations of Ramses II are fuller than for those of any other king. Unfortunately, his obelisks, although far more numerous^c than those of his

^aSeti I was not the grandfather, but the father, of Ramses II; hence Wiedemann has suggested (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1879, 142) that when the upper part of the stela containing the titulary, etc., of Ramses II had been completed, Ramses died, and "his majesty" refers to his son and successor, who sent confirmatory orders for the erection of the monument in Seti I's honor. Seti I could then be referred to as his majesty's grandfather. The rendering "grandfather" is, however, open to objection; it is possible that we should render: "father of his fathers," although it is a question how much attention should be paid to the plural strokes after "father" in a text of this age.

^bThis name is thought by some to refer to the god Set, but, of course, no one in the time of Ramses II believed that Set ruled 400 years before! [Later: See the same view by Ed. Meyer, *Aegyptische Chronologie*, 66.]

^cRamses II erected no less than fourteen obelisks at Tanis alone (Petrie, *Tanis*, I, Pl. VII-XI; Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 194-97); then the well-

ancestors, bear inscriptions of a very vague and general nature, extolling the king's power and glory,^a and containing no references to the royal jubilees, to celebrate which they were erected. Indeed, they do not, for the most part, show even the former conventional dedication inscription.^b

544. A good example of this, is the Heliopolis obelisk, left uninscribed by Seti I, which was then inscribed by Ramses II, who with, for him, unusual generosity, appropriated only one side for his own inscription. Its inscriptions are as follows:^c

North Side

545.^d (Seti I), whose monuments are excellent in Heliopolis seat of eternity, like the four pillars of heaven, abiding, enduring at

known pair in Luxor (one now in Paris); a pair in Karnak (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 148, a); four now in Rome (one a forgery); one now in Florence; besides usurping those of his predecessors, particularly that of his father, Seti I, at Heliopolis. A Berlin scarab (No. 1947, *Ausführliches Verzeichniss des Berliner Museums*, 420), commemorates the erection of obelisks by him. A pair of obelisks taken out of the Elephantine quarry, probably by Ramses, are commemorated by the official in charge in an inscription on the island of Sehel, thus: "Real king's-confidant, his beloved, conducting the work on two great obelisks, High Priest of Khnum, Anuket, and Satet, Amenhotep." (Mariette, *Monuments divers*, V, 70, No. 17 = Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1214 = de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 94, 140 = Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, IV, 125, [6]. Not in Petrie, *Season in Egypt*, but see No. 58, *ibid.*)

^aThe historical references in the obelisk inscriptions will be found in § 392 and § 448, note.

^bAs the obelisks at Tanis are all prostrate, there may be dedications on the hidden sides, which have never been turned up. The only dedication to be found on any of Ramses II's obelisks thus far is on the two Luxor obelisks. The one still in Luxor reads (Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 66): "He made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, erecting for him two great obelisks of granite." The other one, now in Paris, reads: "Ramses II; he made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, making for him a great obelisk (called): 'Ramses-Meriamon-is-the-Beloved-of-Atum.'" (Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, I, 42, 43; Saint-Maur, *Voyage du Luxor en Egypte* [Paris, 1835], Pl. II; Champollion-Figeac, *L'Obélisque de Louqsor transporté à Paris* [Paris, 1833].) For Beknekhonsu's record of the erection of these Luxor obelisks, see his statue inscription (§§ 561-68).

^c*Interpretatio Obeliscorum Urbis* digesta per A. M. Ungarellum (Romæ, MDCCCXLII), Tab. II; Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 66; *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, 2d ser., I, opp. p. 176 (drawings by Bonomi), Marucchi, *Gli Obelischii Egiziani di Roma* (Rome, 1898), Tav. III, IV.

^dFull titulary, except fifth name.

the forecourt of Re. The ennead of gods is satisfied with his deeds. (May) the Son of Re, Seti-Merneptah, beloved of the gods of Heliopolis, [live] like Re.

South Side

546. (Seti I), who adorned Heliopolis for him who is therein, who purified it for Re, its lord; the lords of heaven and earth rejoice; his favor is doubled because of his deeds. May the Son of Re, Seti-Merneptah, beloved of Harakhte, live through him, like Re.

West Side

547. (Seti I), who filled Heliopolis with obelisks, shining with rays; the house of Re is flooded with his beauty, and the gods of the Great House rejoice. May the Son of Re, Seti-Merneptah, beloved of the ennead of gods which is in the Great House, be given life through him (*n*/).

East Side

548. Ramses (II), who has made his monuments like the stars of heaven, whose works mingle with the sky, rejoicing over which Re rises in his house of millions of years. It was his majesty who beautified^a this monument for his father, in order to cause that his name should abide in the house of Re. May Ramses (II)-Meriamon, beloved of Atum, lord of Heliopolis, be given life through him (*n*/).

549. It will be seen that the obelisk has become more and more a monument of a general character in celebration of the king's glory, and has lost its exclusive significance as a memorial of the royal jubilee. This is indicated also by the fact that memorial inscriptions commemorating the celebration of the royal jubilees are to be found in Upper Egypt from el Kab to Philæ, as if other record than the obelisks were necessary. From these commemorative inscriptions the following table of jubilees may be reconstructed:^b

^aThat is, added the inscriptions. "*Beautifying*" is used in the same way by Thutmose IV on the obelisk of his grandfather, Thutmose III (II, 833).

^bThe Roman numerals in the following footnotes refer to the nine inscriptions (§§ 552-60). My list (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 39, 60, note), which follows Brugsch, is to be corrected as herein.

550. Year 30,^a first jubilee.

Year 33,^b
Year 34,^c } second jubilee.

Year 37,^d third jubilee.

Year 40,^e fourth jubilee.

Year 41,^f
Year 42, } fifth jubilee.

Year 44,^g sixth jubilee.

Year [47?],^h seventh jubilee.

Year [50?],ⁱ eighth jubilee.

Year [53?],ⁱ ninth jubilee.

551. Most of these celebrations, at least as far as the year 41, were in charge of Ramses II's favorite son, Khamwese,^j assisted by another son, Khay, who continued later.

I. FIRST GEBEL SILSILEH INSCRIPTION^k

552. Year 30. First occurrence of the royal jubilee of the Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare-Setepnere, given life forever.

[His majesty commanded] to celebrate the royal jubilee in the whole land.

King's-son, (sem-) priest, Khamwese, triumphant.¹

^aI, II, III, IV, V.

^bII, p. 232, n. b.

^cII, III, IV, V.

^dII, III, IV (called by mistake the fourth jubilee), V (so Champollion; Brugsch has 36).

^eIII, IV, V, VI.

^fYear 41, VII; year 42, VIII.

^gVIII.

^hYear unknown; its celebration is rendered certain by the certainty of eighth and ninth.

ⁱBerlin scarabs, No. 3549 (*Ausführliches Verzeichniss des Berliner Museums*, 420) and No. 5081 (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1891, 128), giving only number of jubilee without date.

^jOn the monuments of this son, which are too fragmentary for insertion here, see Wiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte*, 464-66.

^kLeopsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 175 f.; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1127 (without relief); and Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 252.

¹Relief showing Khamwese in the costume of a high priest of Memphis.

II. BIGEH INSCRIPTION^a

553. Year 30. First occurrence of the royal jubilee. Year 34.^b Repetition of the royal jubilee. Year 37.^c Third occurrence of the royal jubilee.

Of the Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Setepnere, Lord of Diadems: Ramses-Meriamon, given life forever. His majesty commissioned the (*sm*-) priest, the king's-son, Khamwese, to celebrate the royal jubilees in the whole land.

III. SECOND GEBEL SILSILEH INSCRIPTION^d

554. Year 30. First occurrence of the royal jubilee.

Year 34. Repetition of the royal jubilee.

Year 37. Third occurrence of the royal jubilee.

Year 40. Fourth occurrence of the royal jubilee.

Under the Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare-Setepnere, Lord of Diadems, Ramses-Meriamon, given life forever.

His majesty commanded to commission the (*sm*-) priest, king's-son, Khamwese, to celebrate the royal jubilees in the whole [land] in South and North.

IV. THIRD GEBEL SILSILEH INSCRIPTION^e

555. This inscription is a duplicate of the preceding, the lacuna in which it supplies. It shows an incorrect variant, calling the jubilee of year 37, the fourth.

^aOn the rocks of the island of Bigeh: Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 162; Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 58; Young, *Hieroglyphics*, 42; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, IV, 175; Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, II, 83, 3. De Morgan (*Catalogue des monuments*) has omitted this inscription.

^bAnother inscription on the island of Sehel (Bigeh, Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1128; but Mariette, *Monuments divers*, 71, No. 32, and de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 88. No. 62, give Sehel) has: "Year 33; repetition of the royal jubilee of the Lord of the Two Lands, Ramses II."

^cThe "39" given by Wiedemann (*Aegyptische Geschichte*, 465) is taken from Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, which has 39; but it is an error, as all the other publications have 37, except Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, which has 36.

^dAt the right of the entrance of the great rock temple of Harmhab at Gebel Silsileh (Champollion, *Monuments*, 116). Over the inscription Ramses II and Khamwese appear in a relief, worshipping Ptah and Sebek of Gebel Silsileh.

^eAt the left of the entrance of the great rock temple of Harmhab at Gebel Silsileh: Champollion, *Monuments*, 115. Above the inscription is a relief in which Ramses II and Khamwese appear in worship before Ptah-Tatenen and Amen-rasonther.

V. FOURTH GEBEL SILSILEH INSCRIPTION^a

556. Year 30. First occurrence of the royal jubilee.

Year 34. Repetition of the royal jubilee.

Year 37.^b Third occurrence of the royal jubilee.

Year 40. Fourth occurrence of the royal jubilee.

Under the Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare-Setepnere, Lord of Diadems: Ramses-Meriamon, given life, like Re, forever.

His majesty commanded to commission the hereditary prince, (*mry-ntr*-) priest, attached to Nekhen, prophet of Mat, chief justice, judge, governor of the (residence) city, vizier, Khay, triumphant, to celebrate the royal jubilees [in the] whole [land], in South and North.

VI. SEHEL INSCRIPTION^c

557. Year 40. Came the king's-son, (*sm*-) priest of Ptah, satisfying the heart of the Lord of the Two Lands, Khamwese, to celebrate the [fourth] royal jubilee [in the who]le [land in South and North].

VII. EL KAB INSCRIPTION^d

558. Year 41. Came the king's-son, (*sm*-) priest of Ptah, satisfying the heart of the Lord of the Two Lands, Khamwese, to celebrate the fifth royal jubilee [in the wh]ole [lan]d.

^aLarge stela at the right of the door of the great rock chapel of Harmhab at Gebel Silsileh, published by Champollion, *Monuments*, 118; Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, II, 83; and Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1128 (without relief and quite incorrectly). Over the inscription, before the dates, kneels Khay, and still higher appears Ramses II before Amon-Re, Harakhte, Mat, Ptah-Tatenen, and Re-Sebek of Gebel Silsileh.

^bBrugsch has 36.

^cOn the rocks of the island of Sehel at the first cataract: Mariette, *Monuments divers*, 71, No. 33, and de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 103, No. 33, where de Morgan's copyists have evidently reproduced Mariette's copy, without finding the original. The second jubilee is also referred to on Sehel (see II, p. 232, n. b).

^dAccording to Lepsius, this inscription is in the temple of Amenhotep III (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 174, d); whereas Brugsch puts it in the tomb of Setau (*Thesaurus*, V, 1128). Wiedemann (*Aegyptische Geschichte*, 465, n. 5) evidently thinks there are two such inscriptions; one in the temple, and one in the tomb; but that given by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, is certainly the same as that placed by Brugsch in the tomb of Setau. A relief over the inscription shows Khamwese in obeisance to his father, enthroned as Osiris.

VIII. FIFTH GEBEL SILSILEH INSCRIPTION^a

559. Year 42, first month of the second season, day 1, of King Ramses II, given life, forever and ever. His majesty commanded to commission the vizier Khay (*H^c y*), to inaugurate the fifth royal jubilee of King Ramses II, in the whole land.

IX. SIXTH GEBEL SILSILEH INSCRIPTION^b

560. Year 44.^c First month of the second season, day 1, under the majesty of the king, the Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare-Setepnere, given life forever — —; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, Ramses-Meriamon, given life, like Re, forever.

His majesty commanded to com[mission] the hereditary prince (*mry-ntr-*) priest, chief justice, judge, governor of the (residence) city, vizier, Khay, [triumphant, to celebr]ate the sixth royal jubilee, in the whole land, in the districts of South and North.

INSCRIPTION OF BEKNEKHONSU^d

561. The most important of Ramses II's officials who has transmitted a mortuary autobiography to us, was Beknekhonsu, the High Priest of Amon. He tells us every step in his career, with the length of each office, as follows:

^aLegrain, *Recueil*, XXVI, 219, n. 3.

^bStela on the right of the entrance of the great rock chapel of Harmhab at Gebel Silsileh; published by Champollion, *Monuments*, 119; Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, 83, 2; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1128, IV. A relief above the inscription shows Ramses II accompanied by Mat, before Amon, Mut, Khonsu, Harakhte, and Sebek of Gebel Silsileh. Below the inscription is Khay kneeling, with a few lines of adoration before him.

^cSo Brugsch; Champollion, *Monuments*, has 45.

^dOn the back of a squatting statue of Beknekhonsu, now in the Glyptothek at Munich (No. 30). It was carefully published by Devéria, *Mémoires de l'Institut égyptien*, 1862, I, 701-54; reprinted in *Bibliothèque égyptologique*, IV, 276-323 (plate opposite p. 288). A collation with a photograph showed the text to be without error. It was again inaccurately published by Brugsch (*Thesaurus*, 1240 f., where even a year is incorrect: 6 for 27! l. 3). The tomb of Beknekhonsu was found by Champollion (*Notices descriptives*, I, 538) at Thebes in Assasif; smaller objects from his tomb are noted by Devéria (*Bibliothèque égyptologique*, IV, 295, 296).

Infancy, 4 years, from 1 to 4.

Youth, 12 years, from 5 to 16. (Being chief of the stable at least a part of this time.)

Priest, 4 years, from 17 to 20.

Divine father, 12 years, from 21 to 32.

Third prophet, 15 years, from 33 to 47.

Second prophet, 12 years, from 48 to 59.

High Priest,^a 27 years, from 60 to 86.

562. Beginning under Seti I, he must have been of about the same age as Ramses II, and was likewise the only official known to us who survived almost if not quite, as long as the aged Ramses himself.^b In addition to his sacerdotal duties, he was also chief architect, and as such built a temple for Ramses II, "*at the upper portal of the house of Amon,*" which can only be the Luxor temple of Ramses II. He also refers to its obelisks, its flagstaves, its lake, its gardens, and other accessories which he provided for the temple. He is further found serving as judge in a civil suit in the forty-sixth year of Ramses II.^c

Titles

563. ¹Hereditary prince, count, High Priest of Amon, Beknekhonsu, triumphant; he says:

Career

564. "I was a truthful witness, profitable to his lord, extolling the instruction of his god, proceeding upon his way, performing the excellent

^aLit., "*First prophet.*" Brugsch's six years as the length of service in this office (*Thesaurus and Geschichte*, 566) is an error; I have especially compared the photograph on this point.

^bThe statue of a Beknekhonsu, High Priest of Amon under Ramses III, found in the temple of Mut (Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 343-47), cannot, for reasons of chronology, as well as because at least two high priests held office in the interim, be identified as that of our Beknekhonsu.

^cPapyrus Berlin No. 47, l. 4; *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, XVII, 1879, 72, and Taf. I.

ceremonies in the midst of his temple. I was chief overseer of works in the house of Amon, satisfying the excellent heart of his lord. O all ye people, take account in ²your hearts; ye who are on earth, who shall come after me, in millions of millions of years, after old age and infirmity, whose hearts are versed in discerning worth; I will inform you of my character while I was upon earth, in every office which I administered since my birth."

565. 1. "I passed four years in extreme childhood (*nds*).

2. I passed twelve years as ³a youth (*hwn*), while I was chief of the training-stable^a of King Menmare (Seti I).

3. I acted as priest (*w^c b*) of Amon, during four years.

4. I acted as divine father of Amon, during twelve years.

5. I acted as third prophet of Amon during fifteen years.

6. I acted as second prophet of Amon during twelve years.

7. He^b favored me, he distinguished me, because of my rare merit. He appointed me to be High Priest^c of Amon during twenty-seven years."

Character

566. "I was ⁴a good father to my serf-laborers, training their classes, giving my hand [to] him who was in trouble, preserving alive him who was in misfortune, performing the excellent duties in his temple. I was chief overseer of works before Thebes for his son, who came forth from his limbs, King Ramses II, given life, maker of monuments for his father, Amon, ⁵who placed him on his throne."

The assistant, the High Priest of Amon, Beknekhonsu, triumphant, made (it).

Building of Luxor Temple

567. He says as follows: "I performed the excellent duties in the house of Amon, being chief overseer of works of my lord. I made for him a temple (called): 'Ramses-Meriamon-Hearer-of-Petitions,' at

^a*S. bpr.* See Erman, *Festschrift für Georg Ebers*, 444, 445.

^bThis may refer to either the king or the god, but it probably refers to the god, as in l. 4.

^cLit., "*first prophet of Amon*," being in direct succession from the rank of third and second prophet.

the upper^a portal of the house (*pr*) of Amon. I erected obelisks^b therein, of granite, whose beauty approached heaven. A wall ⁶was before it of stone over against Thebes; it was flooded;^c and the gardens were planted with trees. I made very great double doors of electrum; their beauty met the heavens. I hewed very great flagstaves, and I erected them in the august forecourt in front of his temple."

Sacred Barges

568. "I hewed great barges of the 'Beginning-of-the-River,' for Amon, Mut, and Khonsu; by the hereditary prince, High Priest of Amon, Beknekhonsu."

^aThis is the southern gate of the temenos of the Karnak temple toward Luxor, to which the four southern pylons of Karnak led. At this portal the great obelisk of Thutmose III was erected by Thutmose IV (Lateran Obelisk, II, 835), who also calls it the "*upper portal of Karnak*." The only temple of Ramses II at this portal is the Luxor temple; but the name given it by Beknekhonsu does not accord with the name of Luxor temple (see § 507).

^bThese are the two Luxor obelisks of Ramses II, of which one is still in situ, and the other in the Place de la Concorde, Paris.

^cHe means that the wall surrounded or gave access to a temple lake. Cf. the work of Ramses IX (Mariette, *Karnak*, 40, l. 7), whose wall (*d' d'* as here) gave access to the Karnak lake. There is certainly no reference to the Kurna temple and the Ramesseum, as some have thought.

REIGN OF MERNEPTAH

THE INVASION OF LIBYANS AND MEDITERRANEAN PEOPLES

569. For this, one of the most serious invasions which have ever threatened Egypt, we possess a series of four documents, which furnish a fairly full account of its course, the ensuing battle, and the resulting relief in Egypt. They are the following:

I. The Great Karnak Inscription (§§ 572-92).

II. The Cairo Column (§§ 593-95).

III. The Athribis Stela (§§ 596-601).

IV. The Hymn of Victory (§§ 602-17).

570. These sources enable us to see the already aged Merneptah facing the evil conditions on his Libyan frontier, inherited from the decades of neglect which concluded his great father's reign. The Libyans have for years past been pushing into and occupying the western Delta.^a They pressed in almost to the gates of Memphis, eastward to the district of Heliopolis, and southward to the two oases nearest the Fayûm. Worse than this, they had made a coalition

^aGolénischeff's interesting and suggestive letter (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 40, 101-6) draws geographical data from a new papyrus in his possession, on the basis of which he would place this immigration and invasion (as well as those under Ramses III) south of the Fayûm near Ehnas. His arguments are not without force, but the conclusion seems to me to be refuted by the statement that this invasion and the battle which repelled it occurred in the "western *rwd*" (Karnak Inscription, l. 30, where "western" is omitted, and Athribis stela, l. 7). *Rwd* is a term used only of the Delta, the two halves of which are called the eastern and western *rwd* (Spiegelberg, *Rechnungen*). The invasions under Ramses III were also in the "western *rwd*" (IV, 405). See also Harris, 10, 8 (IV, 224). Furthermore, the improbability that the Libyans would enter Egypt by way of the northern oases, going around the south side of the Fayûm, to reach the region of Memphis, is evident.

with the maritime peoples of the Mediterranean, who now poured into the Delta from Sardinia on the west to Asia Minor on the east. The mention of these peoples in these documents is the earliest appearance of Europeans in literature, and has always been the center of much study and interest.^a With the sympathy, if not the direct assistance of the Kheta, the Libyan king, Meryey, put himself at the head of these combined allies and invaded the Delta, bringing his wives and belongings, and apparently intending a permanent occupation. Some time during the first half of the tenth month (late in March), in Merneptah's fifth year, a messenger reached him with the news. Rallying his forces immediately, Merneptah met the enemy on the third of the eleventh month (about April 15) at Perire in the western Delta, and in six hours' fighting routed their combined forces with immense slaughter. He pursued them from Perire to the rise of the Libyan desert, called the "*Mount of the Horns of the Earth*."

571. It is difficult to understand the exact interrelation of the numbers given in the Great Karnak Inscription and the Athribis Stela, but over 9,000 of the enemy were slain, possibly as many more taken prisoners, while many horses and cattle, and vast numbers of weapons were captured. The Libyan king was forced to ignominious flight, his camp, his wives, and his personal belongings falling into the hands

^aThe layman has long been misled regarding this event by such titles for it as "Invasion of the Greeks," although there is now no doubt that the early peoples of southern Europe participated in this invasion. Since the study of Sardinian art by Perrot and Chipiez, as Müller has shown, we must accept the Sherden as Sardinians; the Teresh may then equally well be the Etruscans (Tyrsenoi), and the Shekelesh might be the Sikeli (if *š* be an ethnic termination in these western names; but see IV, 59). Maspero has suggested Sagalassos in Asia Minor. The Ekweh are not impossibly the Achæans, and from Asia Minor are the Luka or Lycians. Compare Müller, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, X; and *Asien und Europa*, 335-59; 371-84; and Hall, *Annual of the British School at Athens*, VIII, 157.

of the Egyptians. After setting fire to the camp, the Egyptians carried the plunder in triumph to the king, who viewed the trophies of the dead, the prisoners, and the spoil. He then returned home, and in the royal palace, probably at Memphis, he delivered a triumphal address, to which the court responded with acclamation. The people of the Delta, on hearing the news, break out into rejoicing that peace and safety are restored to them.

I. GREAT KARNAK INSCRIPTION^a

572. This, one of the longest documents preserved on the temple walls of Egypt, gives the fullest account which has survived to us of the great victory of Merneptah over the Libyans. The prominence of Ptah in the narrative betrays the Memphite origin of the document, but the original which doubtless once existed in Memphis has now perished.

573. The document does not offer us any idea of the

^aA long inscription of originally eighty lines, engraved on the inside (west) of the eastern wall connecting the main Karnak temple with Pylon VII (Baedeker's plan), the northernmost of the southern pylons. The upper ends of the lines have lost the space of one course of masonry, equivalent to about four to five words. The text, noted first by Champollion, was partially published by Lepsius (*Denkmäler*, III, 199, a; only ll. 44-77 and list of names, Text, III, 43); Brugsch then purposed to publish the first half, omitted by Lepsius, and inserted ll. 8-43 in his *Geographische Inschriften*, II, Pl. 25 (not Pl. 85, as stated in *Records of the Past*, IV, 37, nor 35, as given in Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 432). Brugsch numbered his lines 1 to 36, but he really omitted ll. 1-7. It was finally completely published by Dümichen (*Historische Inschriften*, I, 2-6), Mariette (who copies Dümichen's mistakes, *Karnak*, 52-55), and de Rougé (*Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 179-98). None of these publications is very exact; both Lepsius and Brugsch omit the lower ends of the lines, doubtless still covered in their day, without any indication of the fact. Rougé found the upper ends of ll. 36-41 (on a block rediscovered by Legrain in 1901, see l. 36, p. 246, n. a), and properly placed them; I arranged all the publications in parallel columns, and the resulting text, while tolerably close to the original and preserving some signs now lost, was not sufficiently accurate. Later I secured good photographs of the inscription through the kindness of Borchardt, which added some readings of importance. The new fragments found by Legrain (*Annales*, IV, 2-4) contain nothing of importance except the reference to the "*western rdw*;" they arrived too late to be available in the following text.

course of the battle, beginning the account of the conflict itself almost immediately with the rout of the Libyans; but it is gratifyingly full regarding the conditions which led up to the battle and the immense plunder which resulted from it. In style it is often so highly colored, and effuse in poetic figures, that the translation is rendered difficult.

Title

574. ¹[Beginning of the victory which his majesty achieved in the land of Libya]^a ——— i, Ekweš (²-k²-w²-š²), Teresh (*Tw-rw-š²*), Luka (*Rw-kw*), Sherden (*Š²-r²-d-n*), Shekeš (*Š-k-rw-š²*), Northerners coming from all lands.

Valor of Merneptah

575. ²— — — — —^b his valor in the might of his father, Amon; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Binre-Meriamon; Son of Re: Merneptah-Hotepirma, given life. Lo, this Good God, flourishing — — — ³— — — — — his [fathers] all the gods, as his protection. Every country is in fear at the sight of him, King Merneptah.^c ⁴— — — — — desolated, made a waste, commanding that the invader of his every boundary of Egypt bow himself down in his time, ⁵— — — — — all his [plans] (whose) verdict is the breath of life. He causes the people to be care-free, sleeping while the terror of his strength is in ⁶— — —.

Preparation of Defenses

576. — — —, to protect Heliopolis, city of Atum, to defend the stronghold of Ptah-Tatenen, to save — from evil ⁷— — — — — tents^d

^aThe presence of the list of hostile allies at the beginning of the inscription would indicate with great probability that the opening words were the same as in the Kadesh Poem, which likewise begins with a list of the allied foes.

^bThe loss is one course of masonry at the top—at most four or five words at the beginning of each line.

^cDouble name, as also in all other places in the inscription.

^dHebrew בְּרִית. This remark may possibly refer to the Libyans and indicate the distribution of their immigrants from Per-Berset on the west to the Heliopolitan canal on the east.

before Per-Berset (*Pr-b² -r² -ys² t*),^a "reaching"^b the Sheken (*Š² -k² -n²*) canal on the "—" ^c of the Eti (*ṯ² -ty*)^d canal.

Libyan Aggression

577. 8— — — — not cared for, it was forsaken as pasturage for cattle because of the Nine Bows, it was left waste from the times of the ancestors. All the kings of Upper Egypt abode in their pyramids 9— — — —; the kings of Lower Egypt [rested]^e in the midst of their cities, inclosed in the state palace, for lack of troops; they had no bowmen to answer against them.

Accession of Merneptah, and His Preparations

578. It happened 10^f— — — — he [assumed^g] the throne of Horus, he was appointed to preserve the folk (*p^c t*) alive, he hath arisen as king to protect the people (*rhy t*). There was might in him to do it, because of — — — ^g in 11— — — — — Meber (*M² -b² -r²*),^h the choicest of his bowmen were mustered, his chariotry was brought up from every side, his scouts were in — — — his "—" in 12— — — — — his —. He considered not hundreds of thousands in the day of the array. His infantry (*mnjy t*) marched out, the heavy armedⁱ troops arrived, beautiful in appearance, leading the bowmen against every land.

^aThis town has nothing to do with modern Belbês on the eastern margin of the Delta (classic Byblos? See Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique*, 197); but was in the western Delta (see IV, 370).

^bRougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, has *yr* (the eye) = "do, make," perhaps used as in Uni (I, 322, ll. 41, 42, note) with the meaning "reach, visit."

^cText has not "north," but either *šd* or *nd* with the *d* written out alphabetically, and a long horizontal determinative lost in a joint of the masonry.

^dA canal leaving the Nile by Heliopolis; the Sheken canal is otherwise unknown (see Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique*, 77).

^eThe parallelism demands a verb similar in meaning to "abode."

^fThere is here a reference to the accession of Merneptah, as Brugsch has noticed (*Geschichte*, 569).

^gFragments of words; Brugsch's "weil er war das Ebenbild des [schön] gesichtigen" (=Ptah) is quite impossible.

^hA syllable or two may be lost at the beginning; it is the name of an unknown foreign country. The connection before it is not clear, but it is evident that the practical preparations for the campaign begin here.

ⁱLit., "those who bear the hand-to-hand fighting," these are heavily armed foreign mercenaries.

News of Coalition of Libyans and Sea-Peoples against Egypt

579. ^a — — — — — the third season, saying: "The wretched, fallen chief of Libya, Meryey (*M-r³-y²-yw-y*), son of Ded (*Dy-d*), has fallen upon the country of Tehenu with his bowmen ¹⁴ — — — — Sherden (*[Š²-r²-d-n*), Shekelesh (*Š²-k-rw-š²*), Ekweh (*^{2b}-k²-w²-š²*), Luka (*Rw-kw*), Teresh (*Tw-ry-š²*), taking the best of every warrior and every man of war (*phrr*) of his country. He has brought his wife and his^c children ¹⁵ — — — — — leaders of the camp, and he has reached the western boundary in the fields of Perire."^d

Merneptah's Speech

580. Lo, his majesty was enraged at their report, like a lion; ¹⁶ [The assembled his court¹, and said to th]em: "Hear ye the command of your lord; I give — — as ye shall do, saying: I am the ruler who shepherds^e you; I spend my time searching out ¹⁷ — — — — — you, as a father, who preserves alive his children; while ye fear like birds, and ye know not the goodness of that which he does. Is there none answering in ¹⁸ — — — — — [Shall the land be¹ wa]sted and forsaken at the invasion of every country, while the Nine Bows plunder its borders, and rebels invade it every day? Every — takes ¹⁹ — — — — — to plunder these fortresses. They have repeatedly penetrated the fields of Egypt [to¹ the [great]^f river. They have halted, they have spent whole days and

^aThis announcement was made in the tenth month, as is shown by the Cairo column (§ 595), which fills out the lacuna at the beginning of the above section. Allowing the fourteen days for the muster of the troops (l. 28), and remembering that the armies met in battle on the third of the eleventh month, it will be seen that the news must have reached the king during the first half of the tenth month.

^bThe first syllable is omitted by Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, Mariette, *Karnak*, and Brugsch, *Geographische Inschriften*; being given only by de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, where it is probably a correction by de Rougé himself.

^cSo Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*; Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, and Mariette, *Karnak*, have "their."

^d*Pr-yr* misread by Brugsch as *Pr-Yr-šps²-t*, and then identified with Prosopis. This is shown to be incorrect by the short version (§ 600, l. 9). See Müller (*Asien und Europa*, 357, n. 3), who would identify it as the *Y²rw* of the Pyramid Texts (Mernere, 182 = Pepi, 145; cf. also Teti, 351 = Pepi, II, 174), "a border town of the natron district."

^eLike Seti I in making the well on the Redesiyeh road (Third Inscription, § 195, l. 2).

^fThe restoration is certain, the determinative (papyrus roll) is clear, and there is just room for the "great"-sign (*c²*) above it. In exactly the same connection it is used in Ramses III's Libyan wars (IV, 405, see note).

months dwelling ²⁰ — — — —. They have reached the hills of the oasis,^a and have cut off the district^b of Toyeh (*T²-yh*).^c 'So^d it has been since the kings of Upper Egypt, in the records of other times. It was not known ²¹ — — — — as worms, not considering their bodies, (but) loving death and despising life. Their hearts are exalted against the people^e ²² — — — — their chief. They spend their time going about the land, fighting, to fill their bodies daily. They come to the land of Egypt, to seek the necessities of their mouths; their desire is ²³ — — — — my bringing them like netted fish on their bellies. Their chief is like a dog, a man of 'boasting', without courage; he does not abide — ²⁴ — — — — bringing to an end^f the Pedetishew (*Pd'ty-šw*),^g whom I caused to take grain in ships, to keep alive that land of Kheta.^h Lo, I am he whom the gods —, every ka ²⁵ — — — — under me, King Merneptah, given life. By my ka, by the —, as I flourish as ruler of the Two Lands 'the land shall be made'ⁱ ²⁶ — — — — Egypt. Amon nods approval, whenⁱ one speaks in

^aThe usual designation of the oasis otherwise called by the Egyptians the "Northern Oasis," and by the Greeks "The Lesser." It lies exactly southwest of the Fayûm, in N. 28°, less than one hundred miles west of the Nile valley.

^bBrugsch (*Dictionnaire géographique*, 70) has *n hr n* (for *m hr n*) = "in front of," that is, "cut off in front of," which does not alter the meaning.

^cThis is the oasis now called "Farafrah," about seventy-five miles west of south of the "Northern Oasis." The Libyans had thus taken the two oases nearest them, south of the natron district.

^d*Mty*; it must in some way indicate the customary and habitual thing in former times. See § 377, n. b. *Ḥrtw* = "one says;" hence the whole, probably, literally is: "The customary thing," say they, "since, etc."

^eOf Egypt (*rh'y't*). ^f*S r k*.

^gAsiatics, or: "the Pedetishew bring to an end."

^hThe king evidently regards Kheta as included in the coalition of northern peoples against Egypt, and the logic of the reference seems to be Kheta's ingratitude in joining a combination against the Egyptians, who had sent grain for her maintenance, as if such grain had not been sent in a commercial way, but from philanthropic motives, which, of course, was probably not the case. In view of the mention of Kheta among the defeated peoples in the Hymn of Victory (§ 617, l. 26), the question arises whether Kheta already in the year 3 had not been in such close sympathy with the plans of these allies that Merneptah had extended against the Kheta also the campaign on which the Asiatic peoples and towns mentioned in the Hymn of Victory (§ 617, ll. 26-28) were pillaged. I can only answer this question in the affirmative. The plunder of a few towns on the Hittite border in Syria would be quite sufficient, in the eyes of an oriental, to justify the boast in l. 26.

ⁱOr: "say they in Thebes."

Thebes. He has turned his back against the Meshwesh (*M-šꜣ -wꜣ -šꜣ*), and looks [not] on the land of Temeh (*T-m-h*), when they are "—."

Beginning of the Campaign

581. — — — —^a the leaders of the bowmen in front thereof to overthrow the land of Libya. When they went forth, the hand of the god was with them; (even) Amon was with them as their shield. The land of Egypt was commanded, saying: "— — — — — [rea]dy to march in fourteen days."

Merneptah's Dream

582. Then his majesty saw in a dream as if a statue of Ptah were standing before Pharaoh, L. P. H. He was like the height of "— — — — —". He spake to him: "Take thou (it)," while he extended to him the sword,^b "and banish thou the fearful heart from thee." Pharaoh, L. P. H., spake to him: "Lo, — — — — —."^c

Approach of the Two Armies

583. — infantry and chariotry in (great) number^d were camped before them on the shore (*rwd*)^e in front of the district of Perire (*Pr-yr*). Lo, the wretched chief of ³¹[Libya] — — — — — in the night of the second day of the third month of the third season (eleventh month) when the land grew light (enough) for advancing with them. The wretched fallen chief of Libya came at the time of the third day of the third month of the third season (eleventh month), and he brought ³² — — — — — until they arrived. The infantry of his majesty went forth together with his chariotry, Amon-Re being with them, and the Ombite (Set) giving to them the hand.

^aIt is clear that the king's speech is concluded in the lacuna, and that the march of the troops now begins.

^bCompare the frequent reliefs in which the god extends a sword (*ḥpš*) to the king. There is not in this speech any warning to Merneptah to withhold himself from the battle, and remain at home, as indicated in the translation of Chabas (*Études sur l'antiquité historique*, 195). This old misunderstanding of Chabas has gained general currency in the histories. [Later: See W. M. Müller (*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, V, December, 1902, 477) for the similarity of this dream story to that in Herodotus, II, 141.]

^cThe answer of the Pharaoh was evidently very short.

^d*M rḥꜣt*, lit., "in a list or statement."

^eSee § 570, note.

The Battle

584. [Every] man ³³— — — — their blood, there was none that escaped among them. Lo, the bowmen of his majesty spent six hours of destruction among them; they were delivered to the sword upon ³⁴— — — — of the country. Lo, as they fought — —; the wretched chief of Libya halted, his heart fearing; withdrew (again), stopped, knelt, ³⁵— — — — [leaving] sandals, his bow, and his quiver in haste behind [him], and every [thing] that was with him. [— —] his limbs, great terror coursed in his members. ^{36a}Lo, [they] slew — — — of his possessions, his [equipment], his silver, his gold, his vessels of bronze, the furniture^b of his wife, his throne, his bows, his arrows, all his works, which he had brought ³⁷from his land, consisting of oxen, goats, and asses, [and all were carried away] to the palace, to bring them in, together with the captives. Lo, the wretched chief of Libya was in speed to flee [by himself], while all ³⁸the people among the captains — — — among the wounded of the sword. Lo, the officers (*smn*), who were upon the horses of his majesty, set themselves after them — — felled with ³⁹arrows, carried off, slain, — —.

Retrospect

585. No [man] has seen it in the annals of the kings of Lower Egypt; lo, this land of Egypt was in [the]ir power, in a [state] of weakness in the time of the kings of Upper Egypt, ⁴⁰so that their hand could not be repelled, — — — — these — out of love of their beloved son, in order to protect Egypt for her lord, that the temples of Egypt might be saved, and in order to announce ⁴¹the mighty power of the [Good] God — — — —.

Escape of Libyan Chief

586. [The commandant] of the fortress of the West^c [sent] a report to the Court, L. P. H., saying, as follows: "The fallen Meryey (*Mw-*

^aDe Rougé found a block containing the beginnings of ll. 36-41; they are to be found in place only in his publication. Later (1901) Legrain found the same block under the débris, and published it (*Annales du service*, II, 269), without recognizing that it had long before been seen and copied by de Rougé. The recovery of this block, however, shows that the loss at the beginnings of the lines is, for the main part of the inscription, only the space of one course of masonry.

^bOr: "ornaments."

^cThis is the fort or station referred to by Ramses III (IV, 340; Harris, 51b, 3).

רָצָה-יָצָה-y) has come, his limbs have fled because of his 'cowardice', and (he) passed by me, by favor of night, in safety.^a 42— — — — want; he is fallen, and every god is for Egypt.^b The boasts which he uttered, have come to naught; all that his mouth said has returned upon his (own) head. His condition is not known (whether) of death 43[or of life] — — —. Thou hast — him of his fame; if he lives, he will not (again) command, (for) he is fallen, an enemy of^c his (own) troops. It is thou who hast taken us, to cause to slay 44— — — —^d in the land of Temeh (*Ty-m-h-w*) [and of Libya^e]. They have put another into his place, from among his brothers, another who fights him,^f when he sees him. All the chiefs are 'disgusted' 45— — —."

Triumphal Return

587. [Then returned] the captains of archers, the infantry (*mnjy't*), and chariotry; every contingent of the army, whether recruits, or heavy armed troops,^g 46[carried off the plunder] — — [driving] asses before them, laden with the uncircumcised^h phalli of the country of Libya, together with the hands of every country that was with them, 'like fish

^a*M rud.*

^bThe rendering is grammatically uncertain; it may possibly also be: "every god has overthrown him for Egypt's sake."

^cBrugsch's text ends here.

^dLepsius' text begins here.

^eOnly the foreign determinative is preserved.

^fThis pronoun is omitted by Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, and Mariette, *Karnak*.

^gOwing to the connection in the following line, *ḥr k/c w* is possibly to be rendered "bore the captures." But see l. 12. In any case, some such statement must have introduced l. 46, or is to be found in the closing words of l. 45.

^hLit., "phalli with the foreskins" (*ḫrn't*=פְּרִיָה). Müller's objections (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1888, 147 ff.) to this rendering, it seems to me, do not take full account of the use of the word in this text. He maintains that *ḫrn't*="horn" (long ago suggested by Chabas, *Études sur l'antiquité historique*, 234, n. 2) means simply phallus, because Athribis Stela uses it in the same place where our long text has "phallus," or interchangeably with "phallus." But *ḫrn't* is something which the Sherden and the other allies did not have (l. 54)! Moreover, it is something connected with the phallus which they did not have. As the phonetic equivalence *ḫrn't*=פְּרִיָה is unexceptionable, it seems to me the rendering "foreskin" is very probable. The question of the homes of these people is in greater uncertainty than the rendering of *ḫrn't*, and should be decided by this rendering rather than the reverse.

on the grass¹, and the possessions ⁴⁷— — — — the enemies of their land. I.o, the whole land rejoiced to heaven; the towns and the districts acclaimed these wonders which had happened; the Nile ⁴⁸— — — — their — as tribute under the balcony,^a to cause his majesty to see his conquests.

List of Captives and Slain

588. List of the captives carried off from this land of Libya and the countries which he brought with him; likewise the property ⁴⁹— — — —^b [betwee]n the 'château'^c of Merneptah-Hotephirma [destroyer of]^d Tehenu (*Ty-[h]-nw*) which is in Perire (*Pr-yr*), as far as the upper towns of the country, beginning with "— of Merneptah-Hotephirma."

⁵⁰ [Children of the chief of Libya whose] ^f uncircumcised phalli [were carried off]	6 men
Children of chiefs, and brothers of the chief of Libya, slain, whose [uncircumcised] phalli were carried off	51—
— — Libyans, slain, whose uncircumcised phalli were carried off	6,359
Total, children of great chiefs ^g	52—

^aThis is the palace balcony on which the Pharaoh appeared to the people. It is also mentioned in a similar connection in Papyrus Harris (*infra*, IV, 408), and is several times depicted in the Amarna tombs (e. g., Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 103-9). Cf. also Harmhab Decree (II, 66, l. 9).

^bAthribis Stela, l. 8 (§ 600).

^c*Pr m*. It occurs also in the parallel passage in the Athribis Stela (§ 600, l. 8), and twice in Papyrus Harris (5, 2, and 31, 6, one of which was north of Heliopolis). It is clear that the limits of the flight and pursuit are being given as in the battle under Ramses III; they are given in the Athribis Stela (ll. 8, 9) as the château in Perire and the "*mount of the Horns of the Earth*;" this terminus is the same as under Ramses III, and of course is the rise of the Libyan desert, or some elevation near it, upon which Ramses III had built a town. (The term, "*Horns of the Earth*," is also used of the southern limit of territory known to the Egyptians.) Whether the beginning point of the flight, viz., Perire, is the same as *H t-š c t*, where the flight began under Ramses III, is perhaps uncertain, but the above facts concerning the *pr m*, and the parallel character of the two invasions would certainly at least place them near together, and it is probable that they are identical. (See also *Pr-m*, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 40, 102.)

^dBrugsch has "*destroyer of*" in this lacuna, but it is in none of the texts.

^eProbably another place-name.

^f§ 601, l. 10.

^gProbably continued by l. 12 of the extract.

— — [Sher]den (— — <i>dy-n</i> ²), Shekelesh (<i>Š</i> ² - <i>k</i> ² - <i>rw-š</i> ²), Ekweš (<i>š</i> ² - <i>k</i> ² - <i>y-w</i> ² - <i>š</i> ²) ^a of the countries of the sea, ^a who had no fore- ^{53b} skins:	
Shekelesh (<i>Š</i> ² - <i>k</i> ² - <i>rw-š</i> ²)	222 ^c men
Making.	250 ^d hands
Teresh (<i>Tw-rw-š</i> ²)	742 ^e men
Making	790 ^d hands
Sherden (<i>Š</i> ² - <i>r</i> ² - <i>d-n-n</i> ²)	54 — —
[Making]	— —
[Ek]weš (— — <i>y-w</i> ² - <i>š</i> ²) who had no foreskins, slain, whose hands were carried off, (for) they had no ⁵⁵ [foreskins]	
— — in heaps, whose uncircumcised phalli were carried off to the place where the king was	
Making uncircumcised phalli	6,111 ^f men
— — whose hands [were carried off]	56 — —
Shekelesh (<i>Š</i> ² - <i>k</i> ² - <i>rw-š</i> ²) and Teresh (<i>Tw-rw-š</i> ²) who came as enemies of ^h Libya	2,370 ^g men
— — Kehek, and Libyans, carried off as living prisoners	57 — —
	218 men

^aIt is noticeable that this designation, both here and in the Athribis Stela (l. 13), is inserted only after the Ekweš. In the Athribis Stela Ekweš is cut off by a numeral from the preceding, showing that the designation there belongs only to them.

^bAll the texts indicate a lacuna here at the top of l. 53, and yet the half of the word "*foreskin*" at the bottom of l. 52 fits exactly the other half at the top of l. 53. This may be an accident, but if correct, then there is no lacuna at top of l. 53, and no place for a number between. The number corresponding to this place in the Athribis Stela (viz., 2201 + x) is not found in this text till l. 56.

^cMüller's 212 (*Asien und Europa*, 358) is an error; all four texts have 222.

^dWhy the number of hands cut off should exceed the number of men, when one hand was cut from each man, does not appear.

^eLepsius, *Denkmäler*, has 750.

^fApparently only 6,111 of the 6,359 mentioned in l. 51 were carried before the king.

^gSo Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, and Lepsius, *Denkmäler*; but Mariette, *Karnak*, and Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, have 2,362 (none has 72 as in Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 358).

^h"Of" is here possessive = "*belonging to*," not in a hostile sense.

Women of the fallen chief of Libya, whom he brought with him, being alive	12 Libyan women
Total carried off ⁵⁸ — — — —	9,376 people ^a

List of Spoil

589. Weapons of war which were in their hands, carried off as plunder: copper swords of the Meshwesh (<i>M-š³ -w³ -š³</i>)	9,111
⁵⁹ — — — — ^b	120,214
Horses which bore the fallen chief of Libya and the children [of the chief of Libya, carried off alive, pairs	12 ^c
⁶⁰ Possessions — — — — ^d Meshwesh — — ^e which the army of his majesty, L. P. H., who fought the fallen of Libya, captured: various cattle	1,308 ^f
Goats	61 —
— — various —	64 ^g

^aThis is probably the total of the slain, Libyan and non-Libyan, for the corresponding number in the Athribis Stela (l. 17) has before it: "*fallen of Libya, total number*;" the non-Libyan foreigners being thus merely designated as of the Libyan party. Of the actual Libyans slain we have a total of 6,359 (l. 51), and of non-Libyan foreigners at least 2,370 (l. 56). This makes a total of 8,729, omitting a few hundred non-Libyans, who would doubtless bring the total up to 9,376, as given in our text above. But it is possible that this number refers only to captives, in this case, as the Athribis Stela gives at least 9,300 killed (l. 17), the total of killed and captured would be over 18,000! See also Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 358, n. 5.

^bProbably smaller weapons; at the end is the determinative of a foreign country, probably Libya.

^cDümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, shows an uncertain 100, and a 1; Mariette, *Karnak, idem*; Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, a 10 and a 1; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, remains of the same; Brugsch (*Geschichte*, 576) has 113. But the photograph is practically certain as 12.

^dThe last word indicates men, as shown by the determinative.

^eThis space was left empty on the monument; Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, says: "Cette partie n'a pas été gravée;" Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, "leer."

^fSo Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, and Mariette, *Karnak*; Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, and Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, have 1,307.

^gSo Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, and Lepsius, *Denkmäler*; Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, and Mariette, *Karnak*, have 54.

Silver drinking-vessels (*ib'w*) —^a
 (*i' -pw-r*)-vessels, (*rh'd't*)-vessels, swords, armor,
 knives,^b and various vessels 3,174^c

They were taken away ⁶²— — — fire was set to the camp and their tents of leather.

Triumph in the Palace

590. Their lord, the king, appeared, L. P. H., in the broad-hall of the palace, while ⁶³[the court acclaimed] his majesty, L. P. H., rejoicing at his appearance, which he made. The servants [of his majesty] exulted to heaven; the suite on both sides — —.

Merneptah's Speech

591. ⁶⁴[His majesty said]: “ — — —^d because of the good which Re has done for my ka I have delivered their utterance, speaking as a god, who giveth might, whose [‘decree’]^e has caused that King Merneptah, L. P. H., ⁶⁵— — — should unite — as subjects^f in the midst of their town; Kush likewise bears the tribute of the conquered. I cause him to see (it) in my hand in — ⁶⁶— — — — his chief, bringing his impost each year, in — a great slaughter being made among them. He that lives shall fill the temples ⁶⁷— — — —. Their fallen chief, fleeing before me, I have put into — — — slay him. He is made a roast, snared like a wild fowl.^g I have given the land ⁶⁸———— for every god. They are born [of the mouth] of the sole lord of Egypt. Fallen is the transgressor — — — ⁶⁹— — — —, victorious is Re, mighty against the Nine Bows; Sutekh giveth victory and might to Horus, rejoicing in truth, smiting —, King Merneptah, L. P. H. I am ⁷⁰— — — — — mighty, he is not taken. The Libyans plotted evil things, to do them in Egypt. See! their [‘protectors’] are fallen!

^aLeft empty on original, as in l. 60; after it are the fragmentary names of the two sorts of vessels, and it is possible that the lacuna did not contain a numeral. In that case, the miscellaneous list begins with the silver vessels.

^bWith determinative of copper.

^cSo Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, Mariette, *Karnak*, and Lepsius, *Denkmäler*; Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, has 3,175.

^dThe lacuna here is evidently longer than usual at the beginning of the lines.

^eThe word has the determinative of speech.

^f*Bk'w*, viz., “tax-paying subjects.”

^gRamses III makes use of the same figure (IV, 41).

I have slain them, and they are made 71 — — — — I have made Egypt to flow with a river; the people love me, as I love them, and give to them breath for their cities. There is rejoicing over my name in heaven and earth 72 — — — — they found. My time hath achieved beautiful things in the mouth(s) of the youth, according to the greatness of the excellent things which I did for them. It is true throughout 73 — — — — adoring the excellent lord, who has taken the Two Lands, King Merneptah, L. P. H."

Reply of the Court

592. They said: "How great are these things which have happened to Egypt! — — 74 — — — — Libya is like a petitioner, brought as a captive. Thou hast made them to be like grasshoppers, for every road is strewn with their 75 [bodies]^a — — — — [bestowing⁷] thy provision in the mouth of the needy. We lie down with joy at any time;^b there being no 76 — — — —^c

II. THE CAIRO COLUMN^d

593. This document first furnished the date of Merneptah's great Libyan victory, and was therefore formerly of greater importance than at present.

It contained a shorter account of the announcement of the invasion to the king, which fills out the lacuna in the great Karnak Inscription (§ 579, ll. 12, 13), preceding the announcement. The historical content of the document is as follows:

^aBrugsch, *Wörterbuch*, Supplement, 894.

^bThere is perhaps a reference to this in the Athribis Stela (recto, l. 4), where the king is called: one "*who causes Egypt to sleep until the morning*." Ll. 76, 77 contain only scanty fragments of conventional phrases; ll. 78 and 79 have each only two signs visible at the bottom. They must be near the end of the inscription, but the exact number of lines lost at the end is uncertain.

^cThese are the last two lines of text preserved; they are too fragmentary for use here. Mariette, *Karnak* (Texte, 75), states that there are two more lines, but his plate (55) gives ll. 78-80, without any visible signs.

^dSection of a granite column now in the Cairo Museum, first noticed in the court of the building of the minister of public instruction in Cairo by Brugsch (*Geschichte*, 577, note); then removed to the museum and published (without the reliefs) by Maspero (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1881, 118).

594. Above is a scene showing Merneptah receiving a sword from a god,^a who says to him:

"I cause that thou cut down the chiefs of Libya whose invasion thou hast turned back."

595. Below was an inscription in vertical lines, of which only the following is now visible:

¹Year 5, second month of the third season (tenth month). One came to say to his majesty: "The wretched [chief] of Libya has invaded [with] —,^b being men and women, Shekelesh (*Š²-k-rw-š²*)² ———." ^c

III. THE ATHRIBIS STELA^d

596. This monument contains a shorter account of Merneptah's Libyan campaign, closing with a list of the killed, the captured, and the spoil. It forms a useful supplement to the Karnak document, furnishing, among other data, the exact date of the battle in Merneptah's fifth year.

Recto

597. A relief at the top shows Atum at the left and Amon-Re at the right, both seated. The scene before Atum is lost; before Amon-Re appears Merneptah, who receives the sword from the god, and leads to him at the same time seven captives.

^aCalled only "dieu inconnu" by Maspero, who has not published the relief; but he states that the heads are lost, and the god therefore unrecognizable.

^bName of a country, of which only "— *n-r* —" is now visible.

^cOnly a few traces.

^dA granite stela from Athribis in the southern Delta, now in Cairo; published without reliefs by Maspero (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1883, 65-67). It is inscribed on both sides. A piece broken off vertically through the ends of the horizontal lines is now lost, depriving us of several words at the end of each line of the recto, and at the beginning of each line of the verso. The exact amount of the loss is determined on the verso at the beginning of l. 9, by comparison with the Karnak Inscription (§ 588, l. 49). As Maspero has published only from the squeeze, his text (used here) is sometimes uncertain; and a collation of the original is much needed.

Below is an inscription of sixteen lines, mostly conventional praise of the king. It contains the following references to the campaign against the Libyans:

Introduction; Valor of Merneptah

598. Year 5, third month of third season (eleventh month), third day, under the majesty of King [Merneptah] ——— achieving his fame against the land of Temeh 4. . . . they speak of his victories in the land of Me[shwesh] 6. . . . who puts Libya under the might of his terror. 7making their camps into wastes of the Red Land, taking ——— 8every herb that came forth from their fields. No field grew, to keep alive^a . . . 9. . . 10Re himself has cursed the people since they crossed into [Egypt] 11with one accord. They are delivered to the sword in the hand of Merneptah-Hotepirma. 12. . . . The families of Libya are scattered upon the dykes like mice ——— 13seizing among them like a hawk, (while) there is found among them no place of [refuge] ——— 14like Sekhmet. His arrows fail not among the limbs of his enemies; every survivor^b among them [is carried off as a living captive] 15They live on herbs like [wild] cattle ——— 16.

Verso

599. The other side of the stela shows, at the top, another relief like the first, except that the two gods are here Harakhte and Sutekh. Below it is an inscription of nineteen lines, of which the first four contain only the customary fulsome laudation of the king. Specific references to the Libyan campaign begin with l. 5, as follows:

List of Slain, Captives, and Spoil

600. 5 ——— the Meshwesh, desolated forever by the might of the valiant warrior, the Mighty Bull, who gores the Nine Bows. 6 ——— [List of] the captives which the mighty sword of the Pharaoh, L. P. H., carried off from the fallen of Libya 7 ——— who were on

^aThere is an obscure reference in l. 9 to the wells.

^bOf course read *sp nb*.

the western shore,^a whom Amon-Re, king of gods, Atum, lord of the Two Lands of On, Harakhte, Ptah-South-of-His-Wall, lord of the life of the Two Lands, and Sutekh, gave ⁸[to] King Merneptah; (and of) the slain in [—] between the ¹château^{1b} ⁹Merneptah-Hotepfirma — — [Tehenu, which is in]^b Perire (*Pr-yrw*) and the mount of the "Horns of the Earth." Statement thereof:

601. Children of the wretched fallen chief of Libya, ¹⁰ [whose uncircumcised phalli were carried off] ^c	6 men
Children of chiefs, brothers of the wretched, fallen chief of Libya, carried off ^d as the	— —
— — ^e of Libya, slain, whose phalli were carried off	6,200 [+x] ^f men
¹² — — of the families of Libya, slain, whose phalli were carried off	— men
¹³ — —	200 men
Ekwesh (² - <i>k-w</i> ² - <i>y-š</i> ²) [of] ^g the countries of the sea, whom had brought the wretched	
¹⁴ [^h fallen chief of Libya, ^h ⁱ whose ⁱ] hands [were carried off] ^j	2,201 [+x] ^k men
Shekelesh (<i>Š</i> ² - <i>k</i> ² - <i>rw-š</i> ²)	200 ^l men
Teresh (<i>Tw-rw-š</i> ²)	722 [+x] ^m men
¹⁵ — — Libya, and Sherden (<i>Š</i> ² - <i>r</i> ² - <i>d-n</i> ²), slain	— men
¹⁶ — —	32 men

^a*Rwd*; see Karnak Inscription (§ 583, l. 30).

^bSee Karnak (§ 588, l. 49 and note).

^cKarnak (§ 588), l. 50.

^dKarnak differs, having: "*whose [uncircumcised] phalli were carried off.*"

^eWith the determinative of people, probably belonging to "*families*," now lost in the lacuna.

^fKarnak (§ 588, l. 51) has 6,359.

^gKarnak (§ 588, l. 52).

^hRestored from context; Egyptian order of words; "*chief*" is the subject.

ⁱKarnak (§ 588, l. 54).

^jRestored from parallel passages in Karnak, e. g., l. 54.

^kKarnak (§ 588, l. 56) has 2,370.

^lKarnak (§ 588, l. 53) has 222.

^mKarnak (§ 588, l. 53) has 742.

Women of the wretched chief of Libya	[12 Libyan] ^a women
¹⁷ ———— the fallen of Libya, total number	9,300 [+x] ^b
¹⁸ ————	5,224 [+x] ^c
Bows, — — —	2,000 [+x]
¹⁹ ———— gold ———.	

IV. HYMN ON THE VICTORY OVER THE LIBYANS^d (ISRAEL STELA)

602. This composition is one of a class common in the Nineteenth Dynasty. It is a poetic encomium in celebration of the great victory of Merneptah over the Libyans in the fifth year of his reign. It adds nothing to the facts furnished by the Karnak inscription (§§ 572–92) concerning this victory, except the picturesque description of the joy and relief among the Egyptians (ll. 21–26, § 616). Without the Karnak inscription little could have been gathered from this document of the importance of Merneptah's victory, or the gravity of the danger from which it brought relief; for, as Spiegelberg has remarked, it never even mentions the northern allies of the Libyans. Many of the descriptive passages too, are so figurative and highly colored as to be unintelligible.

^aKarnak (§ 588, l. 57).

^bKarnak (§ 588, l. 58) has 9,376.

^cThis numeral refers to the weapons, etc., beginning in l. 58 (Karnak, § 589).

^dOn a stela discovered by Petrie in the ruins of Merneptah's mortuary temple at Thebes, in 1896. The inscription occupies the back of the stela of Amenhotep III, taken from his mortuary temple by Merneptah (see II, § 878). It was first published by Spiegelberg (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 34, 1 ff.), and again by him (*Six Temples*, Pls. XIII, XIV). I had also photographs, kindly sent me by E. Brugsch-Bey, made by him on a large scale from a squeeze. There is a duplicate original in Karnak, of which only a fragment has survived. It is published by Dümichen (*Historische Inschriften*, I, 1), and by Erman (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 34). I have collated it for the accompanying translation. A considerable literature on the Israel passage has arisen, which will be found on p. 257, note. On the elucidation of the text in general, besides Spiegelberg's commentary (with his publication of the text), see: Piehl, *Sphinx*, IV, 125; Müller, *Recueil*, XX, 31, 32; Griffith, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XIX, 1897, 293–300.

603. The monument has attracted wide attention, because of the reference to Israel in the last section. This is the earliest mention of Israel known to us in literature, not excluding the Hebrew Scriptures themselves. It occurs in a clear-cut strophe (§ 617) of twelve lines, which forms the conclusion of the composition. This strophe opens and closes with a couplet containing a universal statement of the subjugation of foreign peoples in general, while the eight lines between are a rapid list of certain of the defeated foreigners, among whom is Israel. The assertion of the defeat of Israel is so brief and bald that little can be drawn from it. Moreover, it is made up of conventional phrases, applied also to other peoples. Much has been made of the second phrase, "*his seed (pr·t) is not.*" It has been applied to the seed^a of Israel and referred to the slaying of the male children of the Israelites by the Egyptians! But this phrase is

^aThe treatment which this phrase has received by some biblical scholars furnishes another curious example of the totally misleading use of such evidence, where it is received at second hand. Thus in the *Expositor* (March, 1897, 161, note) we find the statement that Spiegelberg renders this phrase ("*his seed is not*") thus: "*without fear*" (!). An examination shows that Spiegelberg, translating into German, quite properly rendered the phrase: "ohne Frucht" ("without fruit"). The German "Frucht" was then misread by the writer in the *Expositor* as "Furcht" = "fear"! From the *Expositor* this absurdity then passed into other articles and gained currency. Some of the essays on the passage are therefore to be used with the greatest caution; but see: Hommel, *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, VII, 581-86; Müller, *Independent*, July 9, 1896, 940; Sellin, *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, VII, 502-14; Molandre, *Revue des religions*, September-October, 1897, Steindorff, *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, XVI, 1896, 330-33; and *Mittheilungen des Deutschen Palästinischen Vereins*, 1896, 45, 46; Marshall; *Expositor*, July, 1896; Petrie, *Contemporary Review*, May, 1896, 617-27; and *Century Magazine*, August, 1896; Spiegelberg, *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie*, 1896, 593 ff.; Naville, *Recueil*, XX, 32-37; Brandt, *Theologische Tijdschrift*, 1896, 505-12; Fries, *Sphinx*, I, 208 ff.; Daressy, *Revue archéologique*, XXXIII, 263 ff.; Wiedemann, *Le Muséon*, XVII, 89-107; Halévy, *Revue sémitique*, 1896, 285 ff. Breasted, *Biblical World*, January, 1897, 62-68. A useful presentation of the various views on the passage is given by Moore, *Presbyterian Quarterly*, January, 1898.

found five times^a elsewhere in the inscriptions referring to a number of other peoples as follows:

604. 1. "*Those who reached my border are desolated, their seed is not*" (referring to northern invaders).^b

2. "*The Libyans and the Seped are wasted, their seed is not.*"^c

3. "*The fire has penetrated us, our seed is not*" (words of defeated Libyans).^d

4. "*Their cities are made ashes, wasted, desolated; their seed is not*" (referring to the Meshwesh).^e

5. "*[Gored] is the chief of [Amor], his seed is not.*"^f

605. The words, "*his (their, our) seed is not,*" are, therefore, a conventional phrase applicable to any defeated and plundered people, and cannot possibly designate an incident peculiar to the history of Israel, like the slaying of the male children(!). Israel, clearly located among Palestinian peoples by the inscription, was defeated and plundered by Merneptah. This inscription is not the only evidence of a campaign by him in Palestine, although the fact seems to have been entirely overlooked in the discussion of the Israel passage. Merneptah was in Asia in his third year, as the journal of a border commandant shows (§ 633, VI. 9; § 635, V, 5).

606. An invasion of Palestine by Merneptah is further

^aSee Breasted, *Biblical World*, January, 1897, 66. Three of these examples were quoted also by Spiegelberg (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 34, 23). I have there rendered *pr't* as "grain," but further study of the parallel texts has led me to modify that rendering.

^bWar of Ramses III's eighth year against sea-peoples (IV, 66, l. 23).

^cDümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, I, XXXIV, l. 36.

^dLibyan war of Ramses III's fifth year (IV, 43, l. 47).

^eDümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, I, XX, l. 2.

^fLibyan war of Ramses III's fifth year (IV, 39, ll. 13, 14).

evident from the epithet assumed by him among his titles: "*Binder of Gezer* ($\text{ḫ}^{\text{r}} - \text{ḏ}^{\text{r}} - \text{r}^{\text{r}}$),^a which town he must have captured and punished after revolt, as indicated also in our Hymn of Victory (l. 27). For the mention of a specific town, or even nation, in such an epithet, in a titulary must refer to some definite occurrence. In the same way Ramses III called himself in his titulary "*Conqueror of the Meshwesh* (IV, 84), and had the records of his defeat of the Meshwesh perished, we should still be justified in concluding that he had overthrown them.^b It is certain, therefore, that Merneptah campaigned in Palestine, and there can be no doubt that Israel there suffered defeat and pillage at his hands.

Date and Introduction

607. Year 5, third month of the third season (eleventh month), third day, under the majesty of Horus: Mighty Bull, Rejoicing^c in Truth; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Binre-Meriamon, Son of Re: Merneptah-Hotepirma, magnifying might, exalting the victorious sword of Horus, mighty Bull, smiter of the Nine Bows, whose name is given forever and ever.

The Great Deliverance

608. His victories are published in all lands, to cause that every land together may see, to cause the glory of his conquests to appear; King Merneptah,^d the Bull, lord of strength, who slays his foes, beautiful upon the field of victory, when his onset^e occurs; the Sun,^f driving

^aFrom an inscription of thirteen lines in the temple of Amâda, published by Bouriant (*Recueil*, 18, 159, 160). It records a revolt in Wawat, which Merneptah subdued, "*seeking out the enemy in this entire land, to prevent their [—] to revolt a second time*" (l. 10). The publication is so inaccurate that a translation of the whole is quite impossible.

^bSee a similar epithet applied to Thutmose IV (II, 822).

^cThe sign is ḫ^{r} ("be high"), but, as Piehl has remarked (*Sphinx*, IV, 126), the variants show that ḫ^{r} y, "*rejoice*," is to be read.

^dThe double name in the text is from here on abbreviated as above.

^eA (*hnd*) used especially of the charge of a bull. (See Piehl, *Sphinx*, IV, 128.)

^fText has "*Shu*," a sun-god. See Piehl, *ibid.*, 127.

away ³the storm which was over Egypt, allowing Egypt to see the rays of the sun, removing the mountain of copper from the neck of the people so that he might give breath to the people who were smothered. He gratified the heart of Memphis on their foes, making Tatenen rejoice over his enemies. He opened the gates of the walled city^a which were stopped up, and caused ⁴his temples to receive their food (even), King Merneptah, the unique one, who establishes the hearts of hundreds of thousands of myriads, so that breath enters into their nostrils at the sight of him. He has penetrated the land of Temeh in his lifetime, and put eternal fear ⁵in the heart of the Meshwesh. He has turned back Libya, who invaded Egypt, and great fear of Egypt is in their hearts

The Rout of the Libyans

609. Their advanced columns^b they left behind them, their feet made no stand, but fled. Their archers threw down their bows, and the heart of their fleet ones was weary ⁶with marching. They loosed their water skins^c and threw them to the ground, their ⁷—^d were taken and thrown out.

The Fall of the Libyan Chief

610. The wretched, fallen chief of Libya, fled by favor of night alone,^e with no plume upon his head, his two feet ¹failed¹. His women were taken ²before his face, the grain of his supplies was plundered, and he had no water in the skin to keep him alive. The face of his brothers was hostile to slay him, one fought another among his leaders.^f Their camp was burned and made a roast,^g all his possessions were food ³for the troops. When he arrived in his country, he was the complaint of every one in his land. ⁴Ashamed¹, he bowed himself^h down, an evil

^aMemphis.

^bLit., "their marchers forward."

^cNot "tents" (Müller, *Recueil*, XX, 31), which is a masculine noun (see Harknif, I, 353, l. 20, and Karnak, § 589, l. 62), while *lyn't*, "water skin," above, is feminine. Tents were not borne by the troops on the march.

^dSpiegelberg has: "ihre Säcke (?) wurden genommen und ausgeschüttet (?)."

^eCf. Karnak, § 586, l. 41.

^fCompare Karnak, l. 44.

^gThe figure is that of a snared bird in Karnak (l. 67), where the same phrase occurs (see also Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 139, l. 4, for the same phrase). The figure is continued above in the next parallel phrase.

^hRead *Is p' f ksw*, as in Sinuhe (ll. 17, 18, I, 493).

fate removed (his) plume. They all spoke against him, among the inhabitants of his city: "He is in the power of the gods, the lords of Memphis; ^athe lord of Egypt has cursed his name, Meryey (*m-w-r* - *y* - *y*), the abomination of Memphis, from son to son of his family, forever. Binre-Meriamon is in pursuit of his children; Merneptah-Hotephirma is appointed to be his fate."

Merneptah's Fame in Libya

611. He has become a ¹⁰proverb^a for Libya (*R* - *bw*); the youth say to youth, concerning his victories: "It has not been done to us ¹¹before³ since the time of Re," say they.^b Every old man says to his son: "Alas for Libya!" They have ceased to live in the pleasant fashion of walking in the field; their going about is stopped in a single ¹²day. The Tehenu are consumed in a single year. Sutekh has turned his back upon their chief; their settlements are desolated with his ¹³consent¹. There is no work of carrying ¹⁴in these days. Concealment is good; there is safety in the cavern.^d The great lord of Egypt, possessor of might ¹⁵and victory! Who will fight, knowing his stride? The fool, the witless is he who receives him;^e he shall not know the morrow, who transgresses his boundary.

Divine Protection of Egypt

612. Since the time of the gods, say they, Egypt has been the only daughter of Re; his son is he who ¹⁶sits upon the throne of Shu. No one can make a design to invade her people, for the eye of every god is behind him who would violate her; it (the eye)^f captures the rear of her foes. ¹⁷_____ ¹⁸A great wonder has happened for Egypt, ¹⁹the

^aLit., "he has become the striking of a proverb (*sḏd' t*);" compare the Arabic ضرب مثلا.

^bIt is the Libyan youth who speak, in spite of their reference to Re. The Puntites are also made to refer to Re in Hatshepsut's reliefs.

^cSpiegelberg suggests "Körbe."

^dSee Müller, *Recueil*, XX, 31.

^eMeaning his onset in battle.

^fThe feminine pronoun (*nt*s, "she") above translated "it," might refer to Egypt, but the parallelism shows that it must refer to "eye," which is feminine.

^gThis phrase, to the end of l. 13, is corrupt.

^hLit., "the hand of which."

power of which has made her invader a living prisoner. The divine king ¹exults over his enemies, in the presence of Re. Meryey (*M-r³-y²-y*), the evil-doer, whom the god, the lord who is in Memphis, has overthrown, he has been judged ¹⁵with him in Heliopolis, and the divine ennead declared him guilty of his crimes.

Merneptah Divinely Appointed

613. The All-Lord has said: "Give the sword to my son, the upright of heart, the good and kindly Merneptah, the ¹champion on behalf of Memphis, the advocate of ¹⁶Heliopolis, who opens the towns that were closed up. Let him set free multitudes who are bound in every district, let him give offerings to the temples, let him send in incense before the god, let him cause the princes to ¹recover their possessions, let him cause the poor to ¹re-enter their cities."

Heliopolis Praises Merneptah

614. They say among the lords of Heliopolis ¹⁷regarding their son, Merneptah: "Give to him duration like Re, let him be advocate of him who is oppressed in every country. Egypt has been assigned to him as the portion of ¹him who has gained it for himself forever. His strength is its people. Lo, when one dwells in the time of this hero, the breath ¹⁸of life^a comes immediately. . . . so they say.

The Gods Delivered Meryey to Merneptah

615. Meryey (*M-w-r³-wy-y*), ¹⁹the wretched, vanquished chief of Libya, came to invade the "Walls-of-the-Sovereign" (Memphis), ¹who is its lord, whose son shines on his throne, the King Merneptah. Ptah^b said concerning the vanquished (chief)^c of Libya: "All his crimes shall be gathered ²⁰and returned upon his (own) head. Deliver him into the hand of Merneptah, that he may make him disgorge what he has swallowed, like a crocodile. Behold, the swift is the captor of the swift; and the king shall snare him, (though) his strength be known; for Amon shall bind him in his hand and shall deliver him to his ka ²¹in Hermonthis, (to him) the King Merneptah."

^aIt is regularly the king who furnishes his people with the breath of life; cf. also l. 4.

^bThe Karnak fragment has "*Amon*."

^cKarnak fragment has: "*concerning him of Libya (p-n-Rbw)*."

Rejoicing of the Egyptians

616. Great joy has come in Egypt, rejoicing comes forth from the towns of Tomeri.^a They converse of the victories which Merneptah has achieved among the Tehenu: "How amiable ²²is he, the victorious ruler! How magnified is the king among the gods! How fortunate is he, the commanding lord! Sit happily down and talk, or walk far out upon the way, (for) there is no fear in the heart of the people. ²³The strongholds are left to themselves, the wells are opened (again). The messengers ^{skirt} the battlements of the walls, shaded^b from the sun, until their watchmen wake.^c The soldiers lie sleeping, and the border ²⁴scouts are in the field at their (own)^d desire. The herds of the field are left as cattle sent forth, without herdmen, crossing (at will) the fulness of the stream. There is no uplifting of a shout in the night: 'Stop! Behold, one comes, one comes with the speech of strangers!'^e One comes ²⁵and goes with singing, and there is no lamentation of mourning people. The towns are settled again anew; as for the one that ploweth his harvest, he shall eat it. Re has turned himself to Egypt; he was born, destined to be ²⁶her protector, the King Merneptah."

Concluding Strophe

617. "The kings are overthrown, saying: "Salâm!"^f
 Not one holds up his head among the Nine Bows.
 Wasted is Tehenu,
 Kheta^g is pacified,
 Plundered is Pekananⁱ (*P^o -k^o -n^c -n^c, sic!*), with every evil,
²⁷Carried off is Askalon (*ʔ -s-k^o -r-ny*),
 Seized upon is Gezer (*K^o -d^o -r^o*),

^aAnother name for Egypt.

^bLit., "cool from the sun."

^cThe watchmen who should receive the messenger's news are asleep, and the messenger walks in the shade of the wall till they wake, as his message is not in haste as in time of war.

^dThat is, whether they like or not; they may patrol or not as they wish.

^eMeaning the cry of the sentinels that men of foreign speech (viz., Libyans) are coming.

^fThe Libyans are represented as also using this Semitic word in Ramses III's war with them (fifth year, IV, 43, l. 50, and IV, 45, l. 56).

^gSee Great Karnak Inscription (§ 580, l. 24).

^hLit., "the Canaan."

Yenoam (*Y-nw-c³-mw*) is made as a thing not existing.

Israel (*ꜥ-s-r-ꜥ-r*) is desolated, his seed is not;

Palestine (*H^ꜥ-rw*) has become a widow^a ²⁸for Egypt.

All lands are united, they are pacified;

Everyone that is turbulent is bound by King Merneptah, given life like Re, every day.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE HIGH PRIEST OF AMON, ROY

618. The documents left by Roy are of the greatest importance as showing when the office of High Priest of Amon was for the first time transmitted from father to son, and thus came to be regarded as hereditary. Moreover, an examination of them discloses the fact that this arrogation of power by the High Priest of Amon took place under Merneptah, not at the close of the Nineteenth Dynasty, as commonly supposed, but at the latest in the reign of Merneptah, and possibly still earlier, in the reign of Ramses II. Roy lived in the reign of Merneptah (§§ 628 ff.), and inherited the high priesthood of Amon from his father, Rome, heretofore considered his son.^b Roy's father, Rome, therefore lived under Ramses II, and must have been the successor of Beknekhonsu^c (§§ 561-68). Roy's son was named Bekne-

^aThe meaning of this phrase is rendered evident by an epithet applied to Ramses II on his Tanis stela (§ 490, l. 9), viz., "*husband of Egypt*," meaning, of course, "*protector of Egypt*." Hence a land may be widowed (=without a "*husband*,"=without a protector), and Palestine had no protector against Egypt.

^bSince the above was written Wreszcinski's very useful list of the high priests of Amon has appeared (*Die Hohenpriester des Amon*, von W. Wreszcinski, Berlin, 1904), in which he also makes Rome the elder, and probably the father of Roy (*ibid.*, 14, note).

^cBeginning sixty years from some point in the reign of Seti I, Beknekhonsu was High Priest of Amon for twenty-seven years. This brings the close of his term to at least the sixtieth year of Ramses II's reign, so that Rome must have succeeded him. It can hardly be an accident that one of the prophets of Amon in Ramses II's forty-sixth year, under the high priesthood of Beknekhonsu, was named Rome (Berlin legal papyrus No. 3047; *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1879, l. 5).

khonsu;^a hence, as the name thus appears in Roy's family, he (Roy) may have been the grandson of the Beknekhonsu of Ramses II's reign, in which case the hereditary character of the office began with Beknekhonsu. Roy survived into the reign of Seti II; but already under Merneptah he succeeded in gaining high office for his son, with prospects of succeeding to the high priesthood. According to Legrain, his statue recently found in the great Karnak cache bears the following statement:

"Le roi a donné que mes enfants soient rassemblés en corporation (tribu) de mon sang, les établissant parmi les prophètes qui sont sous sa direction. Moi, je suis premier prophète d'Amon, et mon fils est établi à côté de moi en qualité de second prophète et de sous-directeur du palais du roi à l'occident de Thèbes; le fils de mon fils recevra les titres de quatrième prophète d'Amon, de père divin, d'officier et de prêtre."^b

Legrain has accepted the current conclusion that Roy was the father of Rome, and hence identifies Roy's son above, who became second prophet, with Rome. The narrative of Roy, however, does not give the name of his son; but it is given in the Karnak relief (§ 620) as Beknekhonsu, who must therefore be the son referred to on this new Karnak statue.^c

^aBrugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1321.

^b*Recueil*, 27, 72. Legrain gives no text.

^cAs now published (*Recueil*, 27), Legrain's data furnish no evidence that Roy was the father, and Rome his son. The fact that he is able to reconstruct from Twenty-second Dynasty statues a genealogy reaching back to a second prophet, Rome, has no bearing. We know that our Rome is called High Priest of Amon on contemporary monuments; hence the second prophet, Rome, who heads Legrain's genealogy (*Recueil*, 27, 73), was evidently a different person. The monuments found by Legrain, when published *in extenso*, may contain evidence that Rome was the son and Roy the father; for I admit that some difficulties attend the supposition that the reverse was true; but the evidence now accessible is certainly strongly in favor of this conclusion.

I. KARNAK INSCRIPTION^a

619. This document is of importance, first, because of its place, viz., on the walls of the Karnak temple of Amon, where heretofore none but the Pharaoh's name might appear. At the east end of Pylon VIII, built by Thutmose I, was the kitchen^b or refectory of the high priests of Amon. In view of the extensive household of the high priests at this time, it must have been a considerable building. In Roy's time it had fallen into ruin; and in the reign of Merneptah (§ 625) Roy rebuilt and enlarged it. On the east end of Pylon VIII, near the entrance to the building, where all who went in would see it, he left a record of his pious work, calling upon all the bakers, confectioners, and the like, who daily entered there, to remember him for it and to pray to Amon for him. To this record he prefixed a hymn of praise to Amon, which he placed in the mouth of his deceased father, Rome. Rome recounts his own long life accorded him by Amon, and adds: "*My son is in my place, my office is in his hand, in hereditary succession, forever*" (l. 6). Rome is thus represented as regarding the hereditary character of the office of High Priest as a matter of course; which would indicate that the beginning of the hereditary succession was earlier, as indicated above (§ 618). The use of the temple wall, and the restoration of one of its connected buildings by the High Priest of Amon, are significant symptoms of the tendency which two hundred years later placed the High Priest on the throne of Egypt.

^aOn the east end of Pylon VIII, overlooking the sacred lake; published: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 237, c; Stern, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, XI, 74 ff. (partially); and Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1321, 1322 (partially). I had a photograph (for which I am indebted to Borchardt) which filled out many of the lacunæ in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, and made possible the study of the document as a whole, which, as it has not been done since Stern (1873), furnishes new and important facts.

^bThe dwelling of the High Priest was farther east, south of the lake.

620. Beside the inscription, in relief, are two priests in the attitude of prayer; the first must be Roy, though no name is appended; for the second figure is not Roy (as shown by the accompanying inscription). The second figure is accompanied by the words:^a "*His son, the second prophet of Amon, Beknekhonsu.*" This second figure and the name have been chiseled out by political enemies, probably at the fall of Seti II, into whose reign Roy survived.

The inscription is as follows:

Praise by Rome

621. Giving praise to Amon-Re, smelling the earth to his beautiful face, by the High Priest of Amon, Rome (*R²-m*). He says:

Here follows conventional praise of the god, with a prayer for the king,^b after which Rome proceeds:

Speech of Rome

622. "4Thou didst grant^c me long life carrying thy image, while my eye beheld thy two uraei every day, and my limbs were endued with health 5. Thou didst prolong my existence during a pleas-

^aBrugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1321; I cannot see any traces of the name on the photograph, but the title is legible as above.

^bLepsius, *Denkmäler*, gives the name as that of Seti II, like the two scenes on the left; but I cannot read this name on the photograph. It was not read by either Stern or Brugsch. If Lepsius has not introduced it from the neighboring adoration of Amon by Seti II, and it actually stands in our passage, it must be a prayer for the king put into the mouth of the deceased Rome; just as the deceased Seti I is made to pray for Ramses II at Abydos. Our inscription in that case dates from the reign of Seti II. The matter can be settled only by an examination of the original; but historically the reasons against reading Seti II are strong, for Roy would then have been High Priest through the reigns of successive kings hostile to each other, Merneptah, Amenmeses, Siptah, and Seti II, in whose quarrels the High Priest of Amon was, of course, involved. It is not likely that the same High Priest continued under them all.

^cThe tense of the original permits translating all the following as a prayer until l. 6, where the nominal sentence, "*my son is, etc.*," cannot be optative. Hence the whole is historical, and not a prayer. Again, as both Rome and Roy are given the title High Priest of Amon, one of them must be dead; and the deceased is of course he whose son has succeeded him. Hence we must conclude that Rome is the father, and not the son (otherwise Maspero, *Momies royales*, 666).

ant life, abiding in thy temple, while my limbs were [sound¹], following thy ka, while my eye beheld the way, until I arrived at the West^a of Thebes, satisfied with seeing Amon. ⁶My son is in my place, my office is in his hand, ^bin hereditary succession^b forever, as is done for a just man, profitable in the house of his lord."

Introduction of Roy's Speech

623. For^c the ka of the only excellent and just one, the favored of his god, Amon, profitable to Mut, and amiable to Khonsu, pleasing the heart of the Lord of the Two Lands; ⁷hereditary prince, divine father, pure of hands, master of secrets of heaven, earth, and the nether world, [—] of Kamephis (Amon), sem priest in the eternal horizon,^d great seer of Re-Atum in Thebes, third prophet of Amon, second prophet of Amon, High Priest^e of Amon, Roy, triumphant. He saith:

Roy's Speech

624. ⁸"O ye priests and scribes of the house of Amon, good servants of the divine offerings,^f bakers, mixers,^g confectioners, makers of cakes, and loaves,^h those who perform their every duty for their lord; who shall enter into this refectory,ⁱ which is in [the house of Amon]. ⁹——— daily; 'pray' for me because of my good and great deeds."

Roy's Restoration

625. "I found this house (^c·^t) in complete ruin; its walls falling, the woodwork wretched, the doorposts of wood perishing, the paint 'faded'.

^aThe cemetery; meaning till he died.

^bLit., "one, son of another forever" (^w·^s·^w·^c), which is a phrase for hereditary succession. Only the second ^w·^c is here clearly preserved, but on the photograph I can see the feet of the ^s·^w-goose and one end of the first ^w·^c-harpoon. In view of the occurrence of the same phrase in l. 12, there can be no doubt about the reading here. The hereditary character of the high priesthood of Amon is thus proven.

^cIt is possible that this still belongs to Rome's speech, which does not alter the conclusions drawn from the inscription; "for the ka, etc.," being then a second dative after "done."

^dThe king's tomb.

^eLit., "first prophet."

^fTemple income; servants who handle the naturalia of the temple income are meant.

^gOr: "kneaders" (^c·th).

^hThree sorts of loaves are given: ^{sn}·^t, ^{by}·^t, and ^{prsn}.

ⁱOr: "kitchen" (^w·^b·^t).

I [laid it out]¹⁰ with increase throughout, heightened and widened and established¹. I made its doorposts of sandstone, I mounted upon them doors of real cedar; a [pla]ce for the bakers and mixers who are in it. I made it a better work than before, for the protection [of the servants]¹¹ of Amon, lord of gods."

Roy's Admonition

626. "Give ye heed and hear ye what I say! Trespass not against any thing which I have made; prosper my name, — my virtues (*sp*), speak favorably for me in the presence of Amon; then shall he favor you, — according as he does — — [ye shall attain]¹² old age in his house, his food shall be yours, ye shall bequeath (your offices) to your children^a in hereditary succession^a in his house forever. Place offerings¹³ before my statue,^b pour out libations upon the ground for my name, set flowers before me when ye enter, ¹⁴bespeak for me his favor with a loving heart for my god, Amon, lord of gods. Then shall be given to you ¹⁵other things which — —. Cause [this writing] to be read, in order to do according to my sayings ¹⁶which are before you. Put my good reputation in the mouth of the youth, according as I have done excellent things in the House of Amon ¹⁷on every occasion, — — Amon, because of these my —. May he grant me 110 years bearing ¹⁸[his] image ———— forever. I said ¹⁹in my heart ———— his ka." For the ka of the High Priest of Amon, Roy.^c

II. SILSILEH STELA^d

627. The building which Roy erected at Karnak was partially of sandstone, and as the High Priest of Amon was regularly chief architect of the buildings at Karnak, it is

^aW c s w, as restored in l. 6 above, q. v.

^bHis statue must have been in the temple near this place.

^cA relief (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, 237, c) beside this long inscription shows Rome and Roy kneeling with upraised hands before two royal cartouches, the names in which are chiseled out. Lepsius' notebook offers no help as to their reading. The two men have each the title "*High Priest of Amon*." There is no sign of the relationship between them, and both are m s c hrw ("*triumphant*")! Below are the words: "*The assistant whom his majesty taught, the High Priest of Amon, Rome, made (it).*" If made in the lifetime of Rome, the expunged names will be those of Merneptah. Over this scene is one showing Seti II worshipping Amon; it has no necessary connection with that of Rome and Roy.

^dChampollion, *Monuments*, 102 = Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 200, a.

probable that Roy went to Silsileh himself to superintend the quarrying of the sandstone for his building at Karnak. Our inscription does not state the object of his visit, but nothing else is known to us which would bring the High Priest of Amon to Silsileh. This dates Roy's building in Merneptah's reign.

628. The stela shows King Merneptah and Roy worshipping before Amon. Below are the name and titles of Roy as in above Karnak inscription (§ 625, ll. 6, 7). Down each side is a prayer, one for Roy, and the other for Rome, with no statement of the relationship between them. Both bear the title, "*High Priest of Amon*," which they could not have borne simultaneously. One is, therefore, already deceased in Merneptah's reign, and as Roy appears assisting the king in the relief, it is Rome who is the deceased father. Hence the old supposition that Rome was the son and still lived under Seti II is incorrect, as we found was indicated also by the Karnak inscription. Rome, therefore, if deceased in Merneptah's short reign, must have been High Priest of Amon during the latter part of Ramses II's reign, and possibly survived into the reign of Merneptah.^a

DAYBOOK OF A FRONTIER OFFICIAL^b

629. On the blank backs of a few pages of a school copy-book an official in some town^c on the Palestinian frontier, in the days of Merneptah, has noted for temporary reference

^aThe other inscriptions mentioning Roy are of no historical importance: a carnelian buckle with his name and titles is in Paris (*Bibliothèque Nationale*, No. 1468, *bis*), and a mortuary stela of one of his subordinates is in Leyden (V, 8). I owe the first reference to Dr. Wreszcinski.

^bPapyrus Anastasi III, British Museum, 10246, Pls. VI and V, verso, of the "*Select Papyri*." I had also a collation of the original for the *Berlin Dictionary* by Steindorff. See Erman, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 29, 32, and *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 538 f.

^cErman thinks he was in the well-known frontier town of Tharu.

the names and the business of the messengers who passed through the place on their way to Syria. In addition to the important and interesting glimpse of the active intercourse between Egypt and Syria in the thirteenth century B. C., which the document affords us, it is of importance also as showing that Merneptah in his third year was in Syria, undoubtedly on the campaign during which he plundered Israel, as related in his Hymn of Victory of the year 5 (§ 617).

The notes are of the most hurried character, and so abbreviated that the prepositions are omitted.

Fifteenth Day

630. VI¹Year 3, first month of the third season (ninth month), fifteenth day:

There went up the servant of Baal, Roy (*R² -y*), son of Zeper (*D² -pw-r²*) of Gaza (*G² -d² -y*, sic!), ²who had with him for Syria (*H² -rw*) two different letters, to wit: (for) the captain of infantry, Khay (*H^c y*), one letter; ³(for) the chief of Tyre, Baalat-Remeg (*B-^c -l-tw-R² -m-g-w*), one letter.

Seventeenth Day

631. Year 3, first month of the third season (ninth month), seventeenth day:

⁴There arrived the captains of the archers of the Well of Merneptah-Hotephirma, L. P. H., ⁵which is (on) the highland, to 'report' in the fortress which is in Tharu (*T² -rw*).

Uncertain Day

632. ⁶Year 3, first month of the third season (ninth month), ⁷—⁸th^a day:

There returned the attendant, Thutiy, son of Thekerem (*T² -k² -rw-m*) of Geket (*G² -k² -ty*); ^b ⁹Methdet (*M-t² -dw-ty-w*), son of Shem-Baal (*S² -m- B-^c -r²*) (of) the same (town); ⁸Sutekhmose, son of Eperdegel (*c -pr-d-g² -r²*) (of) the same (town), ⁹who had with him,

^aThe original looks like 12!

^bPerhaps an error for *G² -d² -ty* = Gaza.

for the place where the king was, (for) the captain of infantry, Khay ($\text{Ḫ}^c \text{y}$),^a 'gifts' ($\text{ym}^c \text{tw}$, sic!) and a letter.

633. V¹ There went up the attendant, Nakhtamon, son of Thara ($\text{T}^c \text{-r}^c$) of the Stronghold of Merneptah-Hotephirma, L. P. H.,² who journeyed (to) 'Upper' Tyre ($\text{D}^c \text{-r}^c \text{-Rw-m}$),^b who had with him for Syria ($\text{Ḫ}^c \text{-rw}$), two different letters, to wit: ³(for) the captain of infantry, Penamon, one letter; (for) the steward, Ramsesnakht, of this town, one letter.

634. ⁴There returned the chief of the stable, Pemerkhetem ($\text{P}^c \text{-mr-ḫtm}$), son of Ani, of the Town of Merneptah-Hotephirma, ⁵which is in the district of the Aram ($\text{P}^c \text{-r}^c \text{-m}$),^c who had with him (for)^d the place where the king was,^d two letters, to wit: ⁶(for) the captain of infantry, Peremhab ($\text{P}^c \text{-R}^c \text{-m-ḫb}$), one letter; ⁷for the deputy, Peremhab, one letter.

Twenty-fifth Day

635. ⁸Year 3, first month of the third season (ninth month), twenty-fifth day:

There went up the charioteer, Enwau ($\text{Ynw-w}^c \text{ww}$), of the great stable of the court of Binre-Meriamon, (Merneptah), L. P. H.^e

LETTER OF A FRONTIER OFFICIAL^f

636. This remarkable document is a communication in the usual official style, in which some frontier official informs his superior that certain Edomite Bedwin, doubtless in ac-

^aAs this Khay has already gone up to Syria (according to VI, 2, § 630), and his address is now the king's camp, the king must be somewhere in Syria.

^bMüller inclines to place this town on the Jordan (*Asien und Europa*, 272); but he reads $\text{D}^c \text{-r}^c \text{-d}(\text{?})\text{w-m}$.

^cAs the article shows, the scribe has miswritten Aram for Amor. Cf. Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 222, and 234.

^dMüller, (*Asien und Europa* 270 f.) would regard this as the place from which the letter came, and not the address. That this is impossible is shown by the fact that the source of the letters is never given in the entire list; and, further, by the parallel in VI, 9, which is of itself quite enough to show that the king was in Asia; but he was not necessarily in his royal town in Amor, which is only mentioned as the home of the officer bearing the letter.

^eHere follows a list of fifteen names of unofficial persons, whose connection with the preceding is not indicated.

^fPapyrus Anastasi VI in the British Museum; Pl. IV, l. 13-Pl. V, l. 4. Cf. Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 135.

cordance with instructions, have been allowed to pass the fortress in the district of Succoth in the Wadi Tumilât, to pasture their cattle near Pithom. The instance is paralleled by the similar case under Harmhab (§§ 10-12), and that of the Israelites (Gen. 47:1-12).

637. The papyrus is very fragmentary, and some of the uncertain portions are omitted below.

Pl. 4

638. ¹³Another matter for the satisfaction of my lord's heart ¹⁴[to wit]:

We have finished passing the tribes of the Shasu (⁵*šw* -*sw*) of ¹⁵Edom through the Fortress of Merneptah-Hotephirma, L. P. H., in Theku,^a (*T-kw*) ¹⁶to the pools of Pithom, of Merneptah-Hotephirma ¹⁷in

Pl. 5

Theku, in order to sustain^b them and their herds in the domain of Pharaoh, L. P. H., the good Sun ²of every land. ——— I have caused them to be brought ³. other names of ⁴days [when] the fortress of Merneptah-Hotephirma may be passed, ⁵———.

^aSuccoth?

^bCausative of the verb "*to live*" (as in Hebrew), regularly used to indicate preservation and sustenance in time of famine.

REIGN OF SIPTAH

NUBIAN GRAFFITI

639. The only inscriptions of important historical content from the reign of Siptah are the graffiti of his viceroys in Nubia, especially those at Wadi Halfa.^a They show that he was at first called Ramses-Siptah, and later Merneptah-Siptah. He went out to Nubia apparently in his first year, as far as Abu Simbel, to appoint Seti his new viceroy of Kush (No. 1), and Neferhor the official who brought the new viceroy out to his post, recorded his arrival at Wadi Halfa (No. 2). The "*reward*" brought by Neferhor on this occasion for the officials of Nubia can be nothing else than the new king's attempt to win and hold them to his support. He evidently succeeded, for in the year 3 the treasury official, Piyay, records his visit at Wadi Halfa to receive the tribute of Kush (No. 3).

640. In the same year Seti is still viceroy, recording his devotion to the king on the rocks at the first cataract (Nos. 5 and 6). He is now also "*governor of the gold-country of Amon*" and "*chief steward of the king.*" Siptah ruled at least three years longer, for one of his messengers visited Wadi Halfa in the year 6 (No. 8). Another of his supporters to whom much interest attaches in these graffiti is his treasurer, Bay. This man was chief treasurer, and a man of some power, or he could not have excavated a tomb in the Valley of the Kings; but a mistranslation of Brugsch has

^aOn pillars of the southern temple of Thutmose III; they are published by Sayce, *Recueil*, XVII, 161, 162, and are referred to under his numbers. For most of them I had also the copies of Steindorff, which he very kindly placed at my disposal.

given currency to a totally false idea of Bay's position. In both the graffiti (Nos. 6 and 7) commemorating Bay, there is attached to his name a relative clause: "*whom the king established in the seat of his father*," a not uncommon statement, indicating that a man has inherited his father's office. Brugsch's rendering, following de Rougé,^a "in dem er (Seti) den König auf den Thron seines Vaters setzte," is grammatically untenable;^b hence the prevailing interpretation in all the histories since de Rougé's time, that the king owed his throne to Bay, is without foundation. On the contrary, the old hypothesis of Rougé,^c that the powerful noble of this reign was the viceroy of Kush, Seti, who became King Seti II, succeeding Siptah, is supported by these graffiti. Seti becomes "*governor of the gold-country of Amon*," which places him in close communication with the powerful priesthood of Amon,^d from whom so many usurpers drew their strength.

641. The succession of the kings of the time, supposed to be against Rougé's supposition, is clearly in support of it; but the evidence either has been overlooked or has only recently been published. There is space here to note only some of the main points in the evidence. Amenmeses, the successor of Merneptah, was a usurper and persecuted the memory of Merneptah, for example at the Ramesseum, where he set his own name over that of Merneptah.^e Amenmeses was in turn treated in the same way by his successor, Siptah, who inserted his own name over that of Amenmeses

^a*Etude sur une stèle égyptienne*, 186.

^bSee note on No. 7, § 649.

^c*Ibid.*, 187.

^dIndeed, there is a definite connection between the High Priest of Amon and Nubia, for he became viceroy of Nubia as his power increased (*Annales*, IV, 9).

^eLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 219, c, A; *ibid.*, Text, III, 130.

in a relief^a at Kurna, showing Amenmeses worshipping the Theban divinities, who are associated with Ramses II and Seti I, from whom Amenmeses was probably descended. The succession of Amenmeses-Siptah is therefore certain. On examining the position of Seti II with reference to the said two kings, the evidence of his first tomb in the Valley of the Kings is conclusive. Lepsius' careful and exhaustive examination^b of the royal names in the tomb of Siptah's queen, Tewosret, shows conclusively that Seti II usurped this tomb. He therefore followed Siptah, and may very well have been that king's powerful viceroy of Nubia, Seti, whom we find commemorated in the following graffiti. In Ramses III's time he was looked upon as the only legitimate king between Merneptah and Setnakht.^c

642. ^d1. Praise to Amon! May he grant life, prosperity and health to the ka of the king's-messenger to every country, companion of the feet of the Lord of the Two Lands, favorite of Horus in the palace (the king), first charioteer of his majesty, Rekhpehtuf (*Rḫ-pḥtw* f). His lord came to establish the king's-son of Kush, Seti, upon his seat, in the year 1 of the Lord of the Two Lands, Ramses-Siptah.

^aLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 201, c; Text, III, 91, 92; so Rougé, *op. cit.*, 185. The Horus-name of Amenmeses in the body of the text below (l. 1), was overlooked and not changed by Siptah, thus betraying the identity of the original king to whom the monument belonged. The mythological reference on this monument, to the rearing of Amenmeses by Isis in Khemmis is, of course, applied to any king in the inscriptions (e. g., Thutmose III; II, 138), and does not at all show the actual birthplace of the king. This ancient misunderstanding appears again in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1904, 37.

^bLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, Text, 209-14; *Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, III, 123-36. Seti II did not use the tomb after his usurpation of it, but hewed another and larger one (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 214 ff.; *Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, III, 146 ff.). The empty tomb of Tewosret was then usurped by Setnakht, who enlarged it (*loc. cit.*).

^cLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 212.

^dSouth wall of the Abu Simbel temple; unpublished, so far as I have been able to ascertain; the rendering above is based on Steindorff's copy. It was known to Brugsch (*Geschichte*, 587 f.).

643. 2.^a Year 1 of the Good God, Ramses-^bSiptah, given life. Praise to thy ka, O Horus, lord of Bohen! May he grant life, prosperity, health, fitness for service, favor and love, to the ka of the king's-messenger to every country, priest of the Moon-god, Thoth, the scribe (named) Neferhor, son of Neferhor, scribe of the archives of Pharaoh, L. P. H., when he came with rewards for the officials (*h³ tyw*) of Nubia (*T³ -pd' t*), and to bring the king's-son of Kush, Seti on his first expedition.

644. 3.^c Year 3 under the majesty of King Siptah.^d The fan-bearer on the king's right hand, king's-scribe, overseer of the treasury, king's-scribe of the archives of Pharaoh, steward in the house^e in the house of Amon, Piyay^f (*Pyy³ y*) came to receive the tribute of the land of Kush.

645. 4.^g Year 3 of King Siptah. The first charioteer of his majesty, king's-messenger to every country, to establish the chiefs upon their thrones, satisfying the heart of his lord, Hori, son of Kem (*K³ m*), triumphant, of the great stable of Seti-Merneptah, of the court. He made it in the year 3.

646. 5.^h (Name of Siptah). Year 3, first month of the third season, day twenty. Praise to thy ka! O mighty king! May he grant favor to the ka of theⁱ fan-bearer on the king's right hand, king's-son of Kush, governor of south countries, Seti.

^aHalfa temple, Sayce's 14; Steindorff's manuscript.

^bThis unusual form of Siptah's name occurs also at Abu Simbel (No. 1, § 642)—a fact overlooked in proposing to identify this king with Amenmeses (*Recueil*, XVII, 162, note), who never has Siptah as the second part of his given name. We must therefore accept two forms of Siptah's name; (1) Ramses-Siptah, used at the beginning of his reign; (2) Merneptah-Siptah, introduced not later than the year 3 (No. 4, § 645). The change is paralleled, e. g., by the alteration in Seti II's name (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 214).

^cHalfa temple, on a large ram, Sayce's, 11.

^dDouble name.

^eAs this word "*house*" (*h' t*) is at the bottom of a line, something has evidently escaped the copyists below; we have here the official name of an Amon-temple, with the name of the king lacking before "*in the house of Amon*."

^fA third graffito of the year 3 in this temple was made by this same Piyay, Steindorff's manuscript.

^gHalfa temple; Sayce's second 12; Steindorff's copy.

^hRock inscription on the island of Sehel; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 202, b = Mariette, *Monuments divers*, 71, No. 44 = de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, I, 86, No. 29 = Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1215, t.

ⁱHis titles are repeated below, with "*hereditary prince*" prefixed.

647. 6.^a A relief shows King Siptah enthroned, with his treasurer, Bay, behind him; Seti, the viceroy of Kush, is before him in the attitude of praise. The inscriptions are:

Over Bay

Wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, casting out lying, presenting truth; whom the king established [in]^b the seat of his father, great chief treasurer of the whole land, Ramses-Khementer^c-Bay.

Over Seti

Praise to thee! O mighty king! By the king's-son of Kush, governor of the gold countries of Amon, fan-bearer on the king's right hand, chief steward of the king, king's-scribe of the records of Pharaoh, L. P. H., Seti.

648. ^d7. Another similar relief shows King Siptah offering flowers to Amon; Bay appears behind the king, and over them both are the words:

King's Prayer

Giving praise to Amon-Re, doing obeisance to his ka. May he protect his son, Lord of the Two Lands, Ikhner-Setepnere (Siptah).

Bay's Prayer

649. May they^e grant recognition to truth, and reward to him who doeth it (truth), a prosperous life with a happy heart, joy of heart, possession of health; for the ka of the great chief treasurer of the whole land,

^aRock inscription near Assuan; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 202, c=Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 214=de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, I, 28, No. 6 (copied from Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, with all the mistakes).

^bThe original is to be corrected from No. 7.

^cA compound name, meaning: "*Ramses-Shining-Among-the-Gods-Bay*."

^dIn a rock grotto at Gebel Silsileh; Champollion, *Monuments*, 120, 4=Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 202, a.

^e"*They*" means Amon and Siptah.

whom^a the king established in the seat of his father, whom he loved, Bay.^b

650. 8.^c Year 6 of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ikhner-Setepnere; Son of Re: Merneptah-Siptah.

The first charioteer of his majesty, king's-messenger to every country, Ubekhu (*Wbh w*). His^d son, the king's-son of Kush, Hori, made (it).

651. 9.^e (Name of Siptah).

Fan-bearer on the king's right hand, king's-messenger to Kharu and Kush, ——— (name lost).

^aThat this is a relative clause is shown by the second relative, "*whom he loved*," which shows that we should not render *smn* as a participle. The *n*-form, which we should expect in earlier times, is perhaps involved in the *n* of *smn* (Sethe, *Verbum*, I, § 226); but more probably the form is simply in accord with the prevailing tendency of the old *n*-form to give way to *sdm* *f* at this time.

^bA third inscription of the reign of Siptah, containing the same phrase, is at Wadi Halfa (Steindorff's manuscript), and is, of course, to be assigned to Bay, although his name is lost.

^cHalfa temple; Sayce's 1. Steindorff's copy.

^dSo Steindorff; Sayce has "*son of*."

^eHalfa temple; Sayce's 3.

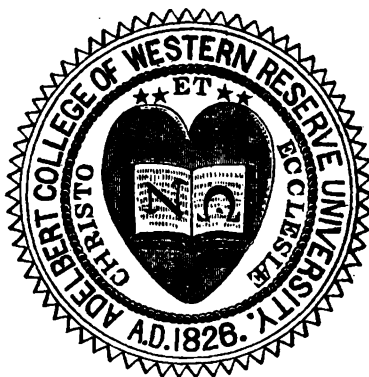
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HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PERSIAN CONQUEST, COLLECTED
EDITED AND TRANSLATED WITH COMMENTARY

BY

JAMES HENRY BREASTED, PH.D.

PROFESSOR OF EGYPTOLOGY AND ORIENTAL HISTORY
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

VOLUME IV

THE TWENTIETH TO THE TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTIES

C

CHICAGO

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

1906

LONDON: LUZAC & CO.

LEIPZIG: OTTO HARRASSOWITZ

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Published July 1906

A. C. L.

Composed and Printed By
The University of Chicago Press
Chicago, Illinois, U. S. A.

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EXPLANATION OF TYPOGRAPHICAL SIGNS AND SPECIAL CHARACTERS

1. The introductions to the documents are in twelve-point type, like these lines.

2. All of the translations are in ten-point type, like this line.

3. In the footnotes and introductions all quotations from the documents in the original words of the translation are in *italics*, inclosed in quotation marks. *Italics* are not employed in the text of the volumes for any other purpose except for titles.

4. The lines of the original document are indicated in the translation by superior numbers.

5. The loss of a word in the original is indicated by —, two words by — —, three words by — — —, four words by — — — —, five words by — — — — —, and more than five by —————. A word in the original is estimated at a “square” as known to Egyptologists, and the estimate can be but a very rough one.

6. When any of the dashes, like those of No. 5, are inclosed in half-brackets, the dashes so inclosed indicate not lost, but uncertain words. Thus [—] represents one uncertain word, [— —] two uncertain words, and [————] more than five uncertain words.

7. When a word or group of words are inclosed in half-brackets, the words so inclosed are uncertain in meaning; that is, the translation is not above question.

8. Roman numerals I, II, III, and IV, not preceded by the title of any book or journal, refer to these four volumes of Historical Documents. The Arabic numerals following such Romans refer to the numbered paragraphs of these volumes. All paragraph marks (§ and §§, without a Roman) refer to paragraphs of the same volume.

9. For signs used in transliteration, see Vol. I, p. xv.

THE TWENTIETH DYNASTY

REIGN OF RAMSES III

BUILDING AND DEDICATION INSCRIPTIONS OF MEDINET HABU TEMPLE

1. This building is the most completely preserved temple of Egypt, antedating the Ptolemaic period. With its inscriptions and reliefs, it forms a vast record of the reign of Ramses III, parallel with the other record which he has left us in the great Papyrus Harris (§§ 151-412). It was dedicated by the king in his twelfth year, by the introduction of a new calendar of feasts, with richly endowed offerings (§§ 139-45). It was entirely built by Ramses III, as its inscriptions show. To this fact, as well as to its fine state of preservation, is due its importance. That imposing line of similar temples, of the Eighteenth Dynasty, which once extended eastward and northeastward from Medinet Habu, has now almost entirely vanished. The one exception is the ruined temple of Thutmose III, beside the Medinet Habu temple. The Nineteenth Dynasty temples, crowded into the same line, have likewise perished, leaving the wreck of the Ramesseum and the Kurna temple of Seti I. Each of these temples was, with slight exception (Kurna), the work of one king, and the scenes on the Ramesseum pylons, as well as those at Medinet Habu, indicate what an irreparable loss we have suffered in the destruction of these records of individual reigns. The Medinet Habu temple is therefore unique, and we must intensely regret that it was a Twentieth rather than an Eighteenth Dynasty temple which survived.

2. We shall first notice the inscriptions which concern the building (§§ 3-34); second, the historical records preserved on its walls (§§ 35-138); and, third, the great calendar of

feasts (§§ 139-45). The inscriptions of earliest date (year 5) are found farthest back, viz., in the second court; while the second pylon, which forms the front of this court, bears an immense inscription of the year 8. The first pylon, the final front of the temple, carries records of the eleventh and twelfth years; so that the gradual growth of the temple from rear to front is clear. At the same time, it must be remembered that the cutting of the scenes and inscriptions was sometimes delayed. Thus the door of the treasury in the oldest part of the temple bears a scene depicting events of the eighth year or later.

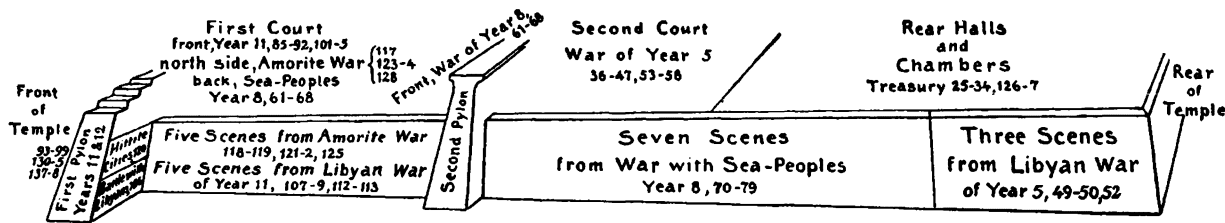
Besides the records of the building on its own walls, there is also a record of it in Papyrus Harris (§ 189).

3. In all the dedicatory inscriptions which follow, the traditional formula is introduced by the king's name, preceding the pronoun "*he*." This has been omitted in the translations throughout. Beginning at the rear, with the oldest portion of the building, we find a dedicatory inscription running around the holy of holies, which is as follows:

4. ^aHe made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, king of gods, making for him a great and august temple of fine, white sandstone, its doors of genuine electrum; an august palace for his image, which is in his house. He made it for him in the sacred district by the side of "Lord of Life," the pure ground of the ruler of Thebes, the eternal resting-place, the accustomed court of the lord of Tazoser, the path of the leaders of the Nether World. I did not overturn the tombs of the lords of life,^b the tomb-chambers of the ancestors, the glorious place

^a"Paroi extérieure . . . côté nord. . . . Dernière partie du palais" (meaning temple), Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 739 f.; but "Inscription um die Cella," Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 213, d.

^bA euphemism for the dead; the king means that in locating his temple in the ancient Theban cemetery he did not appropriate the ground occupied by the old tombs. It is to the already ancient necropolis that the series of epithets (beginning "*sacred district*" and continuing to the end) refers.



PLAN OF SCENES AND INSCRIPTIONS IN MEDINET HABU TEMPLE

The observer faces southward and looks against the outside of the north wall. The numerals indicate the paragraphs of the translations herein.

which was at the beginning, of the lord of Rosta, the divine way of the gods and the cavern-dwellers^a to the revered dead.

5. On a chapel of Khonsu, in the heart of the oldest portion, is the following dedication:^b

He made (it) as (his) monument for his father, Khonsu, residing in Thebes; making for him an august "Great Seat"^c of fine white sandstone, the door of electrum, in "The-House (*h' t*)-of-Usermare-Meriamon-Possessed-of-Eternity-on-the-West-of-Thebes;" that he may establish his son, Lord of Diadems, Ramses, Ruler of Heliopolis, as excellent sovereign upon the throne of Atum, like Re, forever.

6. What is now the second court, but originally the first court, was then built in front of the older structure. It contains inscriptions of the year 5; and its dedication is as follows:

7. ^dHe made it as (his) monument for his father, Amon-Re, making for him "The-House (*h' t*)-of-Usermare-Meriamon-Possessed-of-Eternity-in-the-House-of-Amon," like unto the great palace of the horizon; of fine sandstone. The "Great Seat" is of gold, its pavement of silver, its doors of gold and black granite;^e the broad-hall of stone of Ayan, the doors thereof of copper in beaten work, the inlay-figures of electrum and every splendid costly stone. When the sun rises, he shines into its midst, his splendor envelops its house, the favorite seat of 'his' father, Amon. When he sets, he touches its beauty, silver, electrum, and every costly stone.

8. Another inscription^f in the same court also refers to the building. We find among the epithets following the name of the king:

^aMeaning the inhabitants of the nether world, the dead.

^b"Troisième salle hypostyle," Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 138.

^cOr: "a great place, an august shrine."

^dBrugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1307 = Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 732 f.

"Sur la frise de la seconde cour, à partir du milieu de la frise de la galerie ouest;" see also Mariette, *Voyage dans la haute Egypte*, II, 53.

^eOr: "black copper."

^fSecond court, "galerie de l'ouest;" Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 738.

" mighty in making monuments in Victorious Thebes, making his august house like the horizon of heaven, like the great house of the All-Lord who is in heaven."

9. During the festival of Min, on the walls of this same (second) court, the king recites to the god the building and equipment of the temple:

^{a3}" Thou didst find me as a babe upon the breast, thou didst establish me, thou didst place (me) upon thy throne ⁴. . . ⁵. . . I built for thee an august house in thy name, of ⁶fine white sandstone. Its form is like the horizon of heaven, over against Karnak ^bon the [west of Thebes].^b ⁷Its doorposts are of fine gold, the inlay-figures of every splendid costly stone.^c Its treasury [overflow]s ⁸with everything, even that which the hands of Tatenen (Ptah) made. I fashioned images of the gods and goddesses ⁹to rest in the midst of thy house. I made my image before thy front, the regalia ¹⁰of every splendid costly stone, in order to follow thee at thy every appearance, at thy every feast every day, when thou proceedest before its beautiful face. ¹¹Thou multipli-est for it the years in millions. Thou makest it like one among thy divine ennead, established before thee, forever. I bring ¹²to thee the tribute of every land, in order to flood thy treasury and thy storehouse. I multiply for thee feasts again, in order to provision thy temple. I multiply for thee wheat in heaps, thy granary^d ¹³approaches heaven; cattle yards, oxen, bullocks, ¹steers¹; the sea bears galleys and trans-ports; and poultry yards are supplied with thy divine offerings, the bird-pools are gathered in them."

10. Forming the front of this court, the king erected a great pylon, which bears records of the year 5 on its back,

^aNorthern colonnade, second court; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1307 f. = Champolion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 734, 735 (with considerable omissions); Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 118-20; and better, Piehl, *Inscriptions*, I, CXLVIII, B-CL.

^bOmitted by Brugsch.

^cBrugsch stops here.

^dIn the tomb of the "chief measurer of the granary of the house of Amon, Userhet," there is an inscription in which Ramses III is called: "the great Nile, the great harvest-goddess of Egypt, making monuments with a loving heart for his father, Amon making for him a very great granary, whose grain-heaps approach heaven" (Naville, *Inscriptions historiques de Pinodjem III*, 6, n. 3).

facing the court, and of the year 8 on its front. It has also on its back the following dedication:

^aHe made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, king of gods; making for him a festive hall,^b before his portal, surrounded by great, 'new' monuments, like the horizon of heaven.

This, of course, refers to the erection of this addition^c in front of the earlier portal.

11. ^dThe dedication of the granite portal of this pylon (now the second pylon), once the entrance portal of the temple, is as follows:

He made a monument for his father, Amon-Re, making for him a great doorway of fine granite, the door of cedar, bound with copper, the inlay-figures of electrum. Its beautiful name is: "Usermare-Meriamon, -Amon-Rejoices-to-See-Him."

12. The present first court was then erected before this pylon; it bears records of year 8 and possibly year 12. Its dedication inscription is as follows:

^eHe made a monument as a great^f benefaction from a heart of love for his father, Amon-Re-Iny,^g ruler of Thebes, making for him a house of millions of years on the west of Thebes. Its beauty reaches Manu, like the heavens which bear the sun; the sun sails to — therein, his love pervades its house.

^aBack of second pylon, over colonnade behind it; photograph, not very clear.

^bLit., "the broad" (*wsh-t*), indicating the shape of the hall.

^cIt would require examination on the spot to decide exactly what new portion is meant.

^dSecond pylon, doorposts of granite doorway facing first court; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 731 f. = Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 210, c; = Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1308; Lepsius, *ibid.*, III, 210, d, is the same dedication on the other doorpost, but lacking the name of the portal.

^eFirst court, "nordöstlicher Architrav," Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 213, c.

^fDuplicate shows *tnr*.

^gUncertain divinity here identified with Amon (cf. Lanzzone, I, 62). Another dedication on the back of the second pylon, over the roof of the colonnade behind it, is verbatim the same as far as the name of Amon, to which it then merely appends a series of epithets (photograph).

13. Another dedication in the same court is the following:

^aHe made a monument for Amon, he made a house of millions of years, on the west of Thebes. It is the place of his heart's satisfaction, in the district of Manu, the pure ground of the lord of gods, the resting-place of his divine ennead, the divine adytum since the time of the god, for the king of gods. He is satisfied when he rests in it; when he reaches (it), he is joyful of heart.

14. The following is still another dedication of the same court:

^bHe made a monument for his father, Amon-Re, making for him "The - House - of - Usermare - Meriamon - Possessed-of-Eternity-in-the-House-of-Amon," west of Thebes, of good white [sand]stone; the "Great Seat" — of electrum, the doorways of gold, the doors of copper, in beaten work, the in[lay-figures of electrum] ———.

15. The great pylon which forms the front of this court has on its back inscriptions of the year 11, and on its front records of years 11 and 12. It has the following dedications:

^cHe made a monument for his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, making for him a very great pylon, before his august house.

He made a monument for his father, Amon-Re, king of gods; erecting for him great flagstaves of real cedar of the royal domain.^d

And again:

16. ^e[He made a monument for his father], Amon-Re, king of gods;

^aFirst court; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 730; "nordöstlicher Architrav," Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 213, *b*.

^b"An der östlichen Aussenwand des Vorhofes," Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 213, *e* = Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1308.

^cFirst pylon, left (southern) tower, by left flagstaff channel; photograph; the other channel was not included in the photograph.

^dThe variant on the other pylon (§ 16) has: "of the best of the terraces, of the choicest of the Lord of the Two Lands," as parallel of this phrase; showing clearly that *hnt* is properly rendered by "royal domain," and that this "royal domain" was located on the "terraces" of Lebanon, as under Thutmose III. (See my *New Chapter*, p. 28, where the examples from the Old Kingdom in note *b* should be omitted.)

^eFirst pylon, right (northern) tower, on the right of the right flagstaff channel; photograph; the left channel was not included in this photograph. I have restored the lost beginnings from the parallel inscription on the other pylon.

erecting for him a colonnade at the double façade of his house, its roof^a of real electrum.

[He made a monument for his father, Amon-Re, lord of] Thebes; making for [him] great flagstaves of real cedar of the best of the terraces, of the choicest of the Lord of the Two Lands.^b

17. The stone building in front of the Medinet Habu temple, known as the pavilion, was but the entrance of a great palace, which was considered as part of the temple, for it bore the same name.^c It extended back to the second court of the temple, and the first pylon was apparently inclosed in its court. This palace served as the king's dwelling, at least during the celebration of great feasts in the Medinet Habu temple, and the doorway connecting the second court with this palace refers to this use, thus:^d

The king appears like Re in the palace of his august broad-hall, to cause his father, Amon, to appear at his "Feast of the Valley;"

And again:

Ruler, beautiful in coming forth, like 'Horus' at his appearance in heaven at early morning from his august palace which is in the horizon.

Silsileh Inscriptions

18. The official who was taking out sandstone at the quarries of Silsileh, as the temple progressed, has left a record^e

^aI read $\overline{d} > \overline{d}$ or *tp*, "head," but the photograph is not clear; are the capitals meant?

^bFurther dedications of the usual form will be found in Piehl, *Inscriptions*, I, CLII f., I; CLIII f., M.

^cViz., "*The-House (h't)-of-Usermare-Meriamon-in-the-House-of-Amon*" (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 167), which is the same as the name of the temple; see above dedications, *passim*.

^dDaressy, *Recueil*, XX, 82; he thinks, however, that the pavilion was not connected with the palace, enveloping the front of the temple, and referred to in the above inscription. But the name and the location of the pavilion seem to me to exclude this view. The purpose of this building was already noted by Erman (*Aegypten*, 107, 108).

^eChampollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 256, 257 = Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, VI, 23, 8; Piehl, *Sphinx*, VI, 143-45 (transcription only).

of one of his expeditions thither which he had cut in hieratic on the wall of the quarry. It is especially interesting, because it gives the number of men engaged:

First Inscription

19. Year 5,^a first month of the third season (ninth month) under the majesty of King Ramses III, L. P. H., beloved of all gods, given life forever and ever.

Expedition^b which his majesty, L. P. H., made by the overseer of the White House, Setemhab, for "The-House (*h't*)-of-Millions-of-Years-of-King - Usermare - Meriamon-in - the - House (*pr*)-of-Amon,"^c to do the work on the monuments in "The-House-of-Millions-of-Years-of-King-Usermare-Meriamon-in-the-House-of-Amon,"^c in western Thebes.

Men of the army who were under his command ^d	2,000 men
Quarrymen	500 ^e men
Large transports (<i>wsḥ</i>) which were under his command ^d	40
1—1 ships	4
	500 ^f men
Total, various persons	3,000

20. Two other inscriptions were left beside the above, by the same official at the same time:

^aSo both Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, and Champollion, *Notices descriptives*; Piehl has "year 2" (by misreading the month); but the second inscription (§ 20) corroborates the old publications, and the above reading is unquestionably correct.

^bThe determinative is uncertain in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, and Champollion, *Notices descriptives*; Piehl gives the "legs;" if the determinative be the "roll," we should read "command," and supply "to" before the official's name instead of "by."

^cThis is the name of the Medinet Habu temple; see dedication inscriptions above.

^dLit., "who were before him."

^ePiehl has 300; but Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, shows clearly 500 (Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, 200, having overlooked three strokes). Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, is corroborated by the last number, which is in both Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, and Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, 500, and impossibly 700 (Piehl), which it would necessarily be, to make a total of 3,000. The numerals are, of course, like those in Papyrus Harris.

^fPiehl, 700; but see preceding note.

Second Inscription^a

¹Year 5,^b first month of the third season (ninth month), under the majesty of King Ramses III,^c L. P. H., ——— [expedition] ²which the king's-scribe, overseer of the White House —^d made, (for) "The-House (*h·t*)-of-Millions-of-Years-of-King-Usermare-Meriamon,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House (*pr*)-of-Amon."

Third Inscription^e

He came, to do the work on the great and mighty monuments of his majesty, L. P. H., [for] "The-House-of-Millions-of-Years-of-King-Usermare-Meriamon,-L.-P.-H.-in-the-House-of-Amon," on the west of Thebes.

HISTORICAL INSCRIPTIONS^f

21. The walls of this temple, as we have said, form a vast record of the achievements of Ramses III. This record is chiefly devoted to his wars. Had these wars been reported in the sober and intelligible style of Thutmose III's Annals, we should have known much of them which it is now safe to say we shall never know. It is difficult to describe the character of these Medinet Habu inscriptions. Perhaps, under the influence of the Kadesh poem, it has now become impossible to narrate a war or a victory of the Pharaoh in

^aChampollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 255 = Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, VI, 23, No. 6.

^bChampollion, *Notices descriptives*, has 1, having omitted the hook at the top of the stroke given by Lepsius, which converts the sign into 5, as in the first inscription (§ 19). As these inscriptions are together, from the same month and the same reign, and by an official with the same title, for the same building, there can be no doubt that Lepsius is correct.

^cDouble name in original. There is perhaps no loss before "*expedition*" at the end of l. 1.

^dThe official's name is omitted at the end, and the connection between the temple name and the preceding is wanting.

^eChampollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 255 = Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, VI, 23, No. 7.

^fSee Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1902, 297 ff., and *Notice explicative des ruines de Medinet Habu*, by Georges Daressy (Cairo, 1897).

any other than poetic style. The record must be a poem. This would not be an unmixed misfortune, if the poem were intelligible; but the style is such as to render not merely whole lines, but entire strophes and whole passages, utterly unintelligible. This is due to two facts: first, total lack of order or progress in the narrative; second, the figurative character of the language. The first fault renders the reader's impressions fragmentary and confused in the highest degree. The texts consist almost exclusively of praise of the king and exultation over the conquered foe. The court and priestly flatterers of the king either put all this in the mouths of the Egyptians, or the discomfited enemies are made to express their wonder and terror at the king's valor, mingled with lamentation at their own undoing. All this is mingled in rapid alternation, so that one is often in doubt which party is speaking; and deep in the midst of this confused mixture there may be a few connected phrases stating whether the enemy came by land or water, or where the battle took place, or what were the names of the hostile chiefs. This utter lack of progress or continuity is rendered still more troublesome by the second fault of these texts, viz., their figurative language. Like Arabic poetry, they contain so many epithets of a highly pictorial character as frequently to make even a common word unintelligible. When the text speaks of the "*full flame*," who could divine that it means the Egyptian fleet; or when it mentions the "*wall of metal*," who could infer that the Egyptian army is intended?^a Just as some old Arabic poetry is unintelligible without a native commentator, who stood nearer the author than we do, so, much of these Medinet Habu texts is likely to remain unintelligible, without some obliging

^aSee inscription of the year 8, l. 23, § 66, note.

Egyptian familiar with their style, to explain their overdrawn metaphors and metonymies.

22. Fortunately, the temple contains, besides its vast quantity of historical inscriptions, also no less than forty important relief scenes depicting the achievements of the king, in the conventional style common since the days of Seti I. These reliefs are accompanied by the usual explanatory inscriptions, which are commonly couched in such general terms that the total of their historical content is small.

23. The fraction of this great mass of documents which has been published, was copied without any approach to accuracy. Champollion's publication overleaps whole lines, or transposes two successive lines; Rosellini is next to unreadable, so badly are the signs drawn. Chabas bewailed this condition of things thirty years ago,^a but it is no better today. Over half of the historical reliefs which the temple contains are unpublished. One of the most pressing needs of Egyptology is an exhaustive publication of this entire temple. I was able to procure large-scale photographs of all of the unpublished scenes and inscriptions. Twelve of these were made for me through the courtesy of Baron von Bissing, by Mr. Arthur Weigall; and to both these gentlemen I would express my sincere thanks.

24. With slight exception, this historical material is distributed chronologically from the rear to the front of the temple, the oldest being in the rear. But in the following translations it is naturally arranged chronologically, irrespective of position in the temple, which will be found in the footnotes. The temple really faces southeast, but in locating scenes and inscriptions we have assumed that it

^a*Études sur l'antiquité historique*, 227, 228.

faces east, for the sake of convenience, as is done in Baedeker's guide-book.

I. TREASURY OF MEDINET HABU TEMPLE

25. This temple contains a group of treasure-chambers, five in number, the walls of which bear scenes and inscriptions indicative of the contents of the rooms. These are of some historical importance. The scenes themselves have not yet been published (except the weighing scene), but the accompanying inscriptions are as follows:^a

26. ^bUtterance of King Ramses III to his father, Amon-Re, king of gods: "I have built for thee an august treasury^c in my house in Thebes, which I fill with every real, costly stone, in order to brighten thy beauty therewith, forever.

^dUtterance of King Ramses III to his father, Min-Amon: "I bring to thee myrrh for thy temple, a statue kneeling upon the ground,^e my figure of gold and every costly stone, mounted in Asiatic gold, to make ointment for thy majesty in my house, which is in Thebes. I have put my name in its midst, like the heavens upholding the sun every day. It is an abiding horizon bearing thy name, supplied with provision, forever."

27. ^bBringing a chest of silver and gold to his father, Amon-Re, king of gods.

^fPresentation of native gold to his father, Amon-Re.

^fBringing every splendid costly stone to his father.

^gUtterance of King Ramses III to his father, Amon-Re, king of gods: "I have gathered for thee monuments of gold and silver — as (my) 'image' upon earth in the midst of thy treasury."

^aDümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, I, 30-34, and II, 47, b; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 365, 366.

^bDümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, I, 31.

^cSee Papyrus Harris, § 190.

^dDümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, I, 30.

^eThe neighboring reliefs show this statue; on a rectangular base with feet kneels a figure of the king, bearing in his outstretched hands an ointment jar; a similar statue is mentioned in Papyrus Harris, 28, 10, § 268.

^fDümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, I, 30.

^g*Ibid.*, I, 31.

28. ^aUtterance of King Ramses III to his father, Amon-Re, king of gods: "I present to thee monuments for thy temple, of electrum, of the mountains,^b and native gold [of] —^c from the workshop of Ptah, the impost of Retenu (*Rṯnw*) as tribute before thee, in order to supply thy temple; for thy treasury, being products of the choicest of every country. I fill thy house from the tribute of my sword, from my might in every land."

29. ^dUtterance of King Ramses III, to his father, Amon-Re, king of gods: "Take thou gold and silver like sand of the shore, I have produced them for thee from the waters and the mountains, that I might present them to thee by the measure,^e the regalia of thy majesty every-day. I bring to thee lapis lazuli, malachite and every costly stone in chests, ^fand¹ electrum. I have made for thee many sacred eye amulets of every splendid, costly stone."

Over^f each of two cow-form weights: "*Gum of God's-Land.*"

On^f a heap between two trees: "*Gum of Punt.*"

30. Each^f of the following eight on a sack:^g

1. Gold of Kush.
2. Gold, 1,000 deben.
3. Gold of the mountain.^h
4. Gold of the water, 1,000 deben.
5. Gold of Edfu.
6. Gold of Ombos, 1,000 deben.
7. Gold of Coptos.
8. Lapis lazuli of Tefrer.ⁱ

^aDümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, I, 31; "over vases of various forms."

^bElectrum really occurred and occurs commonly in nature, which the artificial alloy then imitated. See Lepsius, *Metalle*, 44-48.

^cThe lost word has determinative of a land.

^dDümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, I, 31.

^e*Ḍdmwt hr t*², an unknown measure; see also Harris, 17a, 10.

^fDümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, I, 32. See the expedition to Punt, Papyrus Harris (§ 407).

^gSee Lepsius, *Metalle*, 35; for a still fuller list of gold regions, see *Recueil*, 16, 51 f.

^hGold from the mountain mine, as distinguished from gold of the stream in the next sack.

ⁱAn unknown country; see Lepsius, *Metalle*, 73, 74, and Brugsch, *Geographie*, III, 61-63.

On^a each of four heaps: "1. *Native gold*; 2. *Gold*; 3. *Silver*; 4. *Silver*."

On^a two piles of rectangular blocks: "1. *Lapis lazuli*; 2. *Malachite*."

31. The^b king and Thoth are before Amon; by the king:

I bring to thee silver, gold, copper, royal linen, gums of Punt. I fill thy treasury with every splendid costly stone, to brighten thy beauty therewith, forever and ever.

Over Thoth:

Utterance of Thoth: "I write for thee myriads of ten-thousands, united in a sum of millions, of silver, gold, copper, lapis lazuli, malachite of Reshet (*R³ -š³ -ty*), fine gold of Emu (*c³ mw*), before thy august father, Amon-Re, king of gods, that he may give to thee the jubilees of Re, the years of Atum."

32. On^c three heaps:

1. Fine gold of the mountain; 2. Real lapis lazuli.

3. Real malachite.

^cUtterance of King Ramses III to his father, Amon-Re, king of gods: "I bring to thee every real costly stone, silver and gold in sacks, I cause thy treasury to overflow, and provisions to flood in thy house."

On three piles of metal plates: "1. *Silver*; 2. *Copper*; 3. *Lead*."

33. A^d pair of balances, with the ape of Thoth at the top. Thoth, who presides over the weighing, says to Amon:

"I come to thee, to see thy beautiful face, bearing every splendid, costly stone, for the hills and mountains pay thee impost of gold and every costly stone."

The king then says to Amon:

"I come to thee, and I report to thee the statement of gold of the land of the Negro. It is thou, who makest the mountains, every costly stone, in order to brighten thy beauty. I bring them to thee in the accurate balances; I unite them for thee in myriads of millions."

^aDümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, I, 32.

^b*Ibid.*, I, 33.

^c*Ibid.*, I, 34.

^d*Ibid.*, II, 47, b; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 366.

The king bears a tray heaped with gold, and has before him the words: "*Bearing gold to his father, Amon-Re.*" On the scales is a pile of gold, bearing the words: "*Native gold.*"

34. One of the small rooms in the rear of the temple contains a relief, showing the gods of the South bringing their wealth to the king; they are accompanied by the words:^a

Utterance of the gods, the lords of the southern frontier, the gods who reside in the Southland, who bring the mountains with their costly stones, the trees with [their] fruit, [to] King Ramses III: "God's-Land, with every splendid costly stone, native gold of Emu (*c m w*), lapis lazuli, — —, malachite of Reshet (*R 3 -š 3 -t*), added together in millions, we bring northward to thee; the dues (*hsb*) of Negro-land by water, after the northward voyage. All the products of the Southland are in the writings of Thoth; they are for thy house of millions of years, according as thou lovest Thebes."

The enumeration of the tribute of the North, "*the sea and the isles*" then follows, but is not completely published.

II. FIRST LIBYAN WAR, YEAR 5

35. The materials for this war are extensive, but they are so unsatisfactory that we can only see in vague outlines a repetition of the conditions which led to Merneptah's Libyan war. The Libyans under their king, Themer, have made common cause with the roving sea robbers of the Thekel and the Philistines. Some of the latter joined the land forces of the Libyans; others entered the Nile mouths with their ships. The Libyans had improved the generation of laxity which preceded the rise of Ramses III's reign, to push eastward farther into the Delta, and, as in Merneptah's time, to settle on both banks of the "*great river*," the Canopic branch of the Nile. They had plundered the

^a*Recueil*, 19, 19.

towns of the western Delta from Memphis on the south to Kerben (probably in the vicinity of Canopus) on the north. This plundering had been going on for years unremittingly; but the invasion of the Libyan army forced Ramses III to act. He marched against the allies, met them in the western Delta at a town called "*Usermare-Meriamon-is-Chastiser-of-Temeh*" (§ 52), and completely defeated them, slaying 12,535 men and taking at least 1,000 prisoners. After a great triumph on the field, the captives and spoil were brought to the palace, where the king inspected them from the balcony, and the people rejoiced in their new-found security, as in the days of Merneptah.

The materials are these:

1. Great Inscription in the Second Court, Medinet Habu (§§ 36-47).
2. Relief Scenes in the Second Court and Outside North Wall, Medinet Habu (§§ 48-58).
3. Papyrus Harris, 76, 11-77, 6 (§ 405).

I. GREAT INSCRIPTION IN THE SECOND COURT (YEAR 5)^a

36. This inscription is the longest in the Medinet Habu temple, filling seventy-five lines. It is also by far the most difficult in this collection of difficult texts. It represents the last extreme of those peculiarities mentioned above (§ 21),

^aOccupying a large portion of the south wall, behind the columns of the southern colonnade in the second court of the Medinet Habu temple; in seventy-five vertical lines, not too well preserved. It was first published by Rosellini (*Monumenti Storici*, 139-41, but omitted by Champollion) and then by Burton (*Excerpta hieroglyphica*, 43-45); later by Dümichen (*Historische Inschriften*, II, 46); de Rougé (*Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 139-47); Brugsch (*Thesaurus*, 1197-1207), and extracts (including names of chiefs, ll. 47 and 48) by Lepsius (*Denkmäler*, Text, III, 178). Brugsch states that he used his own copy, and collated Burton, de Rougé, and a copy by Eisenlohr; but he inserts lacunæ at the ends of ll. 15-20, where they do not belong, and other slips show that we have still to await an adequate edition of this text. I collated the various editions for all questionable passages, and was able to use photographs of some portions.

so that whole passages are unintelligible. Nor would they, if translatable, furnish any new facts of importance concerning the war; for almost the entire inscription consists of praise of the king, mingled with exultation over the fallen foe and the lamentations of the conquered. Only here and there appear incidents of the campaign, or references from which its course and character may be inferred. They are chiefly four: the king's triumph as he views from the palace balcony the prisoners and the trophies of the slain (§ 42, ll. 36-41); the names of the hostile chiefs (§ 43, ll. 48 and 49); the brief mention of the northern sea-roving allies (§ 44, ll. 51-54); and the security of the people, even of a woman alone upon the road (§ 47, l. 73). Only portions of which the rendering would have been exceedingly uncertain have been omitted; but the entire text is of such peculiar difficulty that the following attempt at translation as a whole is exceedingly unsatisfactory to the author.*

Introduction

37. ¹Year 5 under the majesty of Horus: Mighty Bull, Extending Egypt, Mighty of Sword, Strong-Armed, Slayer of the Tehenu; Wearer of the Double Diadem; ²[Mighty in Strength, like his father, Montu], Overthrower of Tehenu in Heaps in their Place; Golden Horus: Valiant, Lord of all Might, Making the Boundary as Far as he Desires Behind his Enemies ——— ³his Fear, his Terror is a Shield [over] Egypt; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Lord of Day, Youthful and Bright, Shining like the Moon, he hath Repeated [his] Birth ——— [Usermare-Meriamon]; ⁴Son of Re: Ramses (III), Ruler of Heliopolis, first in victory, appearing [in] Egypt, of whom Re has exacted that he return with offerings, whom the divine ennead has caused ———

*The entire inscription has been translated only once, viz., by Chabas, in the first edition of his *Etudes sur l'antiquité historique* (which I have not seen), and again in the second edition (228-33), only ll. 17-50). But he had only the entirely inadequate publications of Rosellini and Burton; this fact, and the state of knowledge of the language over thirty years ago, made an understanding of the text and a realization of its difficulties impossible.

⁵victory, lord of valor, warrior, having an image like the son of Nut, to make the whole earth like ———— ⁶King Ramses III, ruler, great in love, lord of offerings, whose image is like Re at early morning.

The King's Power and Goodness

38. His terror ———— ⁷— of his serpent-crest, established upon the throne of Re as king of the Two Lands. The land from front to rear is relieved, ^a the chiefs do honor ———— ⁸gathered together in the lands, in the reign of King Ramses III, the brave and valiant king, who creates his —, when he sees ———— ⁹raging, 'favorite' protector, who has come in Egypt, long-armed, swift-footed, smiting every land; counselor, excellent in plans, skilled in laws, giving ———— ¹⁰exultation. His name has penetrated all hearts as far as the limit of the darkness; he reaches his limits, he terrifies the 'ends'^{1b} of the earth, [countries] ¹¹which they knew not. Their lords come with fearful step to crave the breath of life which is in Egypt from Horus, the mighty Bull, great in kingship, King Ramses III, the great wall ¹²of Egypt, protecting their limbs. His might is like Set in laying low the Nine Bows; youth, divine at his coming forth, like Harakhte. When he appears he seems like Atum, when he opens his mouth, with ¹³breath for the people, to sustain alive the Two Lands with his sustenance every day; favorite son, champion of the divine ennead, for whom they overthrow the lands.

Defeat of Amor?

39. 'Gored'^{1c} is the chief of 'Amor' (² -m- —) in [This] blood^d ¹⁴his seed is not; all his people are taken captive, carried off, 'spoiled'.

^aLit., "cooled."

^bOr possibly: "the isles."

^cThis uncertain adjective (^c b c ty) occurs several times in the texts of Ramses III, each time applied to the king. If this is the case here, it would leave "the chief of Amor" without a verb. I have supposed it to mean "horned," both possessing horns or gored with them. The paragraph certainly concerns some foreign chief, but the space in which he is abruptly introduced is very small; and the mention of Amor is a mere conjecture, based on the first two letters, the last letter (r?) being lost. Examination of the original would determine the matter in all probability. If Amor is correct, its desolation then refers to the invasion of the sea-peoples, by whom Amor was wasted, as narrated in the long inscription of year 8 (§ 64, l. 17). This fits well the mention of the sea-peoples as allies of the Libyans in the year 5 (below ll. 51 ff.). They had already reached Amor at that time, and some of their vessels had pushed on to Egypt in time to assist the Libyans in the war of the year 5.

^dSee Israel passage, III, 604, examples.

Everybody in his land comes with praise ¹⁵that^a the great sun of Egypt may look upon them, that the sun-disk may turn to them, the Sun '—1, coming forth, ¹⁶rising upon the earth, the warmth of Egypt, which is in heaven.

Praise of the People

40. They say: "Exalted is the Sun of our land! We were lost ¹⁷in the land daily (in¹) the darkness, which King Ramses III has expelled. The lands and countries are stripped, ¹⁸and brought to Egypt as slaves; gifts gathered together for her gods' satiety, provisions, supplies, are a flood ¹⁹in the Two Lands. The multitude rejoices in this land, none is sad, (for) Amon has established his son upon his throne, all the circuit of the sun ²⁰is united in his grasp; the vanquished of the Asiatics and the Tehenu. Taken are those who ²¹were spoiling the condition of Egypt. The land had been exposed in continual extremity, since the (former) kings. They were desolated, the gods as well as all people. There was no hero ²²to seize them when they retreated. Lo, there was a youth like a gryphon^b ²⁴like a bull ready for battle — — — — — upon the field. His horses were like hawks.^c '— — — — —' ²⁵roaring like a lion [terrible] in rage. The officers (*smn*) are mighty like Reshep, when they see ten thousands likewise. '— — — — —' like Montu. ²⁶His name is a flame, the terror of him is in the countries. The land of Temeh comes together in one place in Libya, —,^d and Meshwesh (*M-šꜣ -wꜣ -šꜣ*),³¹

The Overthrow of the Enemy

41. Lo, the heart of his majesty is violent with might, [like a] mighty [lion] ³²falling upon the sheep.^e Equipped is he like a valiant bull, (his) two arms are sharp horns to tear open the mountains, behind

^aDümichen indicates no lacunæ at the lower ends of ll. 14–20, and the sense confirms this; but Brugsch has inserted lacunæ at the ends of all but l. 14, where the connection is very evident. The photograph shows that these lines are over a door which rises into the inscription at this point. The hieroglyphs extend to the very edge of the door, which would suggest that the door had been cut in after the inscription, but as no hieroglyph is cut through and the connection between lines is good, there is certainly no loss.

^bObscure and partially fragmentary epithets of the king.

^cSee the same comparison complete in the march to Zahi, year 8 (§ 72).

^dName of a foreign country of which only a pyramid (*špd?*) at the end is visible.

^eAny small cattle.

['—]. The gods 'baffle' ³³their plans which they who confront him 'lay'. As for those who shall invade his boundary, his majesty goes forth against them like a flame — — — in the dry herbage. ['They flutter'] like wild fowl ³⁴in the midst of the net, with legs struggling in the basket, made into a roast, laid low, prostrate on the 'ground' — —. Their loss is heavy, ³⁵without number. Behold, evil is among them to the height of heaven.^a Bound are their mighty men upon the place of slaughter, they are made into pyramids upon their ³⁶ground, by the might of the king, valiant in his limbs, the sole lord, mighty like Montu, King Ramses III.

The King's Triumphal Audience

42. (They) come forth, carried off as captives to Egypt; the hands ³⁷and foreskins are without number; brought forward as captives, bound, under the balcony.^b The chiefs of the countries are assembled, beholding their evil plight. The tens^c ³⁸are conducted to the king, their arms extended, their praise reaching heaven, with hearts of love 'toward' Amon-Re, the god who accords them the protection of the ruler. ³⁹The messengers of every land come, their hearts fluttering, and so transported that they (the hearts) are no longer in their bodies. Their faces behold the face of the king like Atum, protecting against the Temeh, in order to perfect the 'reign' of his majesty. When their feet ⁴⁰trod Egypt, their leaders feared, and were made as common people in strength. ('Their') names abide through the great name of his majesty. Their leaders — — — ⁴¹fear; their mouths cannot mention the manner of Egypt.

The Discomfiture of the Enemy

43. The land of Temeh is spread out, they flee. The Meshwesh (*M-š² -w² -š²*) are hung up ⁴²in their land, their plant is uprooted, there is not for them a survivor. All their limbs tremble for the terror, which protects against them. They say: "Behold, we are 'subject' to Egypt, ⁴³its lord has destroyed our soul, forever and ever. . . . 44. . . .

^aA figure indicating the last extremity or excess.

^bThe balcony of the palace; see II, 982. This scene is depicted with all the details here narrated in the relief, § 52.

^cA term for councilors, or nobles; see Maspero, *Etudes égyptiennes*, II, 197-204, and Brugsch, *Wörterbuch*, Supplement, 927-29.

Our feet find not a way to go; we traverse all the lands as their warriors, (but!) they fight not with us in battle-array.^a We kindled ⁴⁵the fire for ourselves at our desire, (but) our own fire has taken (us), we cannot quench (it). Their lord is like Sutekh, beloved of Re, [his] roaring is heard — ⁴⁶like a gryphon. He is behind us slaughtering, and he has no pity. He turns us back [from the boundaries] of Egypt, forever. ⁴⁷ . . . The fire has penetrated us, our seed is not. As for Ded (*Dy-dy*), Meshken (*M-š³-k-n*), Meryey^b (*M-r³-y³-yw*) and Wermer (*Wr^c-m-r³*), ⁴⁸Themer (*T³-m-r³*), and every hostile chief who crossed the border of Egypt from Libya, he hath set fire from front to rear ⁴⁹ . . . We know the great might of Egypt, for Re gives to her protection and victory when he appears shining ⁵⁰like the sun, when he rises over the people (*rhy t*). We come to him; we cry, 'Salâm' to him, we kiss the ground (to) his great might — — ⁵¹King Ramses III."

Defeat of the Northern Countries

44. The northern countries are unquiet in their limbs, even the Peleset (*Pw-r³-s³-ty*), the Thekel (*T³-k-k[³-r³]*), ⁵²who devastate their land. Their soul came, in the last extremity. They were warriors (*t-h-r³*) upon land, also^d in the sea. Those who came^e on [land] — — ⁵³Amon-

^aThis line may contain some reference to the Libyans doing mercenary service in the Egyptian army; meaning that these are not the ones who have defeated Libya, but the native Egyptians.

^bMeryey is the Libyan king defeated by Merneptah, whose inscriptions mention Ded as his father (III, 579, l. 13). But the other Libyan kings above mentioned are new. They seem to be mentioned in chronological order. But as we know that Meryey was the son of Ded, Meshken is likely to have been the brother of Meryey. Themer was probably the contemporary of Ramses III, and Wermer reigned during the ephemeral kings of Egypt, between Merneptah and Ramses III, but survived into Ramses III's reign. Maspero thinks they are all contemporaries (*Struggle of the Nations*, 456).

^cBrugsch gives *Wr* as the first sign of this name (evidently following Burton), but he first read "Za" (*Geschichte*, 597). This first sign is indicated as lost in all the other publications, including Lepsius (*Denkmäler*, Text, III, 178). Only Chabas (*Etudes sur l'antiquité historique*, 236) gives The (*T³*) as the first syllable. But as it is wanting in Rosellini and Burton, whose publications Chabas used (*ibid.*, 227 f.), the reading must be a restoration which has passed from Chabas into the histories without inquiry as to its source, e. g., lastly in Maspero's *Struggle of the Nations*, 459.

^dSee Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 360, n. 4.

^eIn view of the following: "those who entered" (*n³-c³-k³*), we must certainly render here: "those who came" (*n³-yy*), and not merely "nahend" (*n³-yy*), as

Re was behind them, destroying them; those who entered into the river-mouths^a were like wild fowl, creeping into the net, made^r — — — — —
⁵⁴their arms. Their hearts fluttered, (so) transported (that) they were no longer in their bodies. Their leaders were carried off, slain, thrown prostrate. They were made captives — — — — — ⁵⁵.

Words of the Defeated Northerners

45. "The only lord is in Egypt, no warrior is (so) accurate in shooting, none escapes him — — — ⁵⁶the ends of the Great Circle (Okeanos, *šn-wr*), until they fear with one accord. We will beseech peace, coming with trembling step, for fear of him. ⁵⁷."

The King's Valor

46. He is like a bull standing in the field, his eye and his two horns ready and prepared to attack their rear with his head; a valiant warrior — — — — — ⁵⁸roaring; a warrior lord of might, taking captive every land. They come bowing down for fear of him, the blooming youth, valiant like Baal, — — — — — ⁵⁹the king effective in plans, possessed of counsel, not failing, but that which he does takes place instantly, Ramses III. ⁶⁰. He is like the lion with deep (lit., heavy) ⁶¹roar upon the mountain-tops, whose terror is feared from afar. A gryphon swift in every stride, whose two wings are iters of millions of years,^b ⁶²like the — of the gait of the panther, knowing his prey, seizing upon his assailant, his two arms destroy the limbs of those who invade

Müller has rendered (*Asien und Europa*, 360). We have in the entire passage, first the approach both on land and water, and then the destruction of both parties on land and water. The passage is referred by Maspero (following Chabas) to the war of the year 8. But it is evident that in an inscription of the year 5 it can only refer to the Libyan war of that year; and that we must conclude that the sea-peoples already assisted the Libyans in this war. This is again rendered evident by the hands cut off as trophies as in the Libyan war of Merneptah. Had there been only Libyans in the battle, we should have had only phalli. Again, when we consider that the sea-peoples were already in the Libyan ranks in Merneptah's day, there is, of course, no reason why they should not be there now. Only the Thekel and the Peleset have not heretofore appeared in the South.

^a*R* > -*h* > -*wt* occurs first in the Eighteenth Dynasty as "*river-mouths*," where the customs officers and frontier marine police were stationed by Amenhotep III (II, 916). In the war of the year 8 it is used also of "*harbor-mouths*" (§ 65, l. 20, and elsewhere).

^bOn "*iters*," see II, 965, l. 19, note; he means the distances attained with his wings would demand millions of years to cover with ordinary means of locomotion.

the boundary, raging — [—], whose right arm ⁶³is thrust into the fray, slaying hundreds of thousands in their place under his horses; he sees the thick of the multitude like grasshoppers, smitten, ground down, ⁶⁴crushed like [—]; strong-horned, relying upon his strength, before whom hundred-thousands and ten-thousands are despised. His form is like Montu, ⁶⁵when he goes forth. Every land bows down for him, at the mention of him, the ruler excellent in plan like Osiris, equipping this whole land with — — ⁶⁶strong-armed, great in strength in the lands and countries; all that he hath done takes place as (if done by) Thoth.

The King Egypt's Security

47. King Ramses III is kind-hearted toward Egypt, bearing the protection of the land ⁶⁷on the height of his back^a without trouble; a wall, casting a shadow for the people (*rhy' t*). They dwell in his time, with heart relying upon the might of their ⁶⁸protection, the [—] of his two arms, saying: "A divine hawk, smiting and seizing!" He has made hosts by his victories, filling the storehouses ⁶⁹of the temples with the plunder of his sword, preparing the divine offerings from his excellent things ⁷⁰. . . in that Amon, his august father, has given to him the lands, united together under the feet of King Ramses III. Lo, the golden Horus, rich in years, divine water ⁷¹of Re, which came forth from his limbs, august living image of the son of Isis (Horus), who was born adorned with the royal diadem like Set, great in inundations bearing their sustenance for Egypt, ⁷²so that the people (*rhy' t*) and the folk (*hnmm' t*) are possessed of good things; the sovereign, executing truth for the All-Lord, presenting it every day before him. Egypt and the lands are in peace in his reign, ⁷³the land is like [—] with untroubled heart. A woman goes about at her will, with her veil upon her head,^b her going extending as far as she pleases. The countries come, bowing down to ⁷⁴the fame of his majesty, with their tribute and their children upon their backs. South as well as north [come] to him with praise, when they see him like Re at early morning. They — ⁷⁵the plans and stipulations of the victorious king, the ruler, effective in plan like the Beautiful-Faced (Ptah), the king, Lord of the Two Lands, lord of might, Ramses III, given life, like Re, forever.

^aThat is, bearing the burden of the land's defense upon his shoulders.

^bThat is, not hanging down over her face.

2. RELIEF SCENES IN SECOND COURT AND OUTSIDE NORTH WALL
(YEAR 5)^a

48. These scenes depict various incidents of the war, from the march to the frontier to the final triumphs, and probably furnish us with more information as to the character of the campaign than the long inscription devoted to it, which we have just studied.

Scene^b

49. The king in his chariot, accompanied by troops, is marching against Libya. Before him is a chariot bearing the standard of Amon. Beside the king trots his tame lion. The inscriptions are these:

Over the Amon Standard

Utterance of Amon-Re, king of gods: "Lo, I am before thee, my son, lord of the Two Lands, Usermare-Meriamon, I give [to thee] all [might and power] among the Nine Bows; terror — — their chiefs, I will open [for] thee the ways of the land of Temeh. I will trample them before thy horses."

Over the King^c

The Good God, victorious king, rich in might, like Montu, lovely like Min, strong-armed like the son of Nut, great in strength, mighty in terror, whose roaring courses through the countries, a lion raging when he sees his opponent. None escapes — —. He rejoices among a hundred thousand, a valiant warrior in his own person, he looks upon untold myriads^d as one. When he appears upon the battlefield like Baal, his flame consumes the Nine Bows.

^aThe publications are totally inadequate; they began in the days of Napoleon's expedition (*Description*, II, Pl. 12), and continued until Lepsius' day. Some scenes are still unpublished; for the publications, see note on each scene. I am indebted to Mr. A. H. Gardiner for a number of readings from photographs of the relief inscriptions.

^bExterior, north side, west end; Champollion, *Monuments*, 217 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 124.

^cThis text also in Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, LV.

^dLit., "hundreds of thousands of myriads."

Scene^a

50. Ramses III, standing in his chariot with drawn bow, charges the fleeing Libyans, who are trampled by his horses. He is supported by mercenary archers and swordsmen, probably Sherden.

Inscription

Live the Good God, Montu, when he goes forth, beautiful upon the steed, charging into hundreds of thousands, mighty in valor, stretching the [bow] and shooting the arrows whither he will, fighting ——— piercing with sharp horns, overthrowing the Temeh, slain in their places in heaps before his horses, causing that they cease their opposition in their land, whose sword has overthrown their seed by the might of his father, Amon, in all lands together, Lord of the Two Lands, Ramses III.

Scene^b

51. The king in his chariot charging the enemy in the conventional manner. The latter, represented as Libyans, are scattered to right and left or trampled beneath his horses' feet. Among the attacking Egyptians are their foreign auxiliaries, the Sherden.

Inscription^c

Good God, in the form of Montu, great in strength, whose [heart] is glad when he sees the conflict, like a fire in —, firm on the right, stretching the bow, swift on the left, — — — with arrows, charging before him, conscious of his might, face to face, smiting hundreds of thousands, — the heart of the land of the Temeh; their lifetime, their

^aExterior, north side, west end; unpublished. Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1902, 303, "second scene." I had a photograph by Weigall.

^bEast wall, second court; Champollion, *Monuments*, 205 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 136; see also Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 176.

^cBehind the king there is a further inscription of one line, referring in the usual phrases to the enemy as "*overthrown before the horses of King Ramses III.*" The name of the royal horses is omitted in the publication.

souls are finished,^a the strong-armed son of Amon is behind them like a young lion.^b

Scene^c

52. The king stands in a balcony with his waiting chariot below (behind him); he harangues his nobles, who are grouped before him. Behind them approach five rows of captive Libyans and sea-peoples, each row headed by Egyptian officers and scribes, who throw down in five heaps severed hands and phalli, which the scribes record.

The accompanying inscriptions are these:

Before the King

Utterance of his majesty to the nobles and companions who are by his side: "Behold ye, the many good things, which Amon-Re, king of gods hath done for Pharaoh, his son, He hath carried captive the land of Temeh, Seped, and Meshwesh, who were robbers plundering Egypt every day, and overthrown them beneath my feet. Their plant is uprooted, so that not one survives. They have ceased all lying — —, forever, by the good counsels which his majesty has carried out, in order to cause — to be — [— —]. Rejoicing and joy are yours to the height of heaven. My [majesty] raged like Set, extending Egypt, mighty ———, overthrowing the Nine Bows, through that which my father, lord of gods, Amon, lord of [Thebes], creator of my beauty, did for me."

By the Palace

City (*dmy*) of "Usermare-Meriamon-is-the-Chastiser-of-Temeh."^d

Over the Nobles

Utterance of the nobles and companions, when they answered before the Good God: "Thou art Re ———— when thou risest, the people live.

^aSee Wadi Halfa stela of Sesostris, I, l. 16 (I, 512), and Breasted, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXIII, 233.

^bThe usual epithets of the lion: "*heavy-voiced, roaring in the mountains, etc.*," follow here, but are badly copied.

^cExterior, north side, west end; Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1902, 303, "third scene;" unpublished. I had a photograph by Weigall.

^dSo Daressy, *Recueil*, 19, 18; but I was unable to find this inscription on my photograph. It is also given by Brugsch, *Geschichte*, 597.

‘Thy heart’ is skilled in speech, and thy counsels are excellent. Thy fear hath repelled the Nine Bows; as for Temeh, their heart failed, coming that they might ‘—’ Egypt. As for the lands and countries, their limbs tremble, the fear of thee is before them every day; but the heart of Egypt rejoices forever.”^a

Total^b of foreskins ($k^3 - r^3 - n^3 - ty$), [1]^c2,535.

Total of hands, 12,535.

Total of —^d 12,758^e(+x).

Total of hands, 12,520 (+x).^f

Total of hands, 12,635 (+x).^g

Scene^h

53. The king is seated in his chariot with his back to the horses, which are held by his officers, while three attendants hold sunshades over him. Beside him (below in the relief) was a line of officers, now mostly disappeared. Before him, his sons and the highest officials of the kingdom bring up four lines of captured Libyans, and at the head of the first three, the scribes throw down and count the hands cut off from the fallen Libyans, while at the head of the fourth line they are doing the same with the phalli severed from the slain.

^aFour short lines more of conventional phrases.

^bEach total is over a different heap, five heaps in all.

^cThere is just room for the 10,000-sign, which must have been here as in the other lines.

^dThe heap is one of phalli.

^eThe hundreds may be 9, and the arrangement would indicate 9.

^fOnly the tens and units are uncertain, and the total is probably the same as in the first two.

^gThe hundreds may be 9; if only 6, then the tens would be 3. As two of these five totals are identical (12,535), and a third is almost certainly the same, it is evident that the number 12,535 is the sum-total of dead; otherwise we should have over 60,000 dead, which is quite impossible.

^hSouth wall, second court; Champollion, *Monuments*, 206 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 135; see also Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 177; Piehl, *Inscriptions*, I, CLVI, U-CLVIII; and part of inscription in Young, *Hieroglyphics*, 15; I had a photograph for some portions of the relief, especially the lowest row.

Inscription over the King

54. Utterance of the king, the lord of the Two Lands, Ramses III, to the king's-children, the king's-butlers, nobles, companions, and all the leaders of the infantry and chariotry: "Acclaim ye to the height of heaven! My sword has overthrown the Tehenu, who came, accoutered, their hearts determined to match themselves with Egypt. I went forth against them like a lion; I smote them, and they were made heaps. I was behind them like a divine Hawk when he has seen the birdlet in the — I laid low their soul, I took away their water, and my flame consumed their towns, I am like Montu in Egypt; my might overthrows the Nine Bows, (for) my august father, Amon, prostrates every land beneath my feet, while I am king upon the throne, forever."

Inscription over Hands and Phalli^a

Bringing up the captured before his majesty, from the vanquished of Libya; making 1,000 men; making 3,000 hands; making 3,000 foreskins.

Inscription over First Line

55. Utterance of the king's-children, king's-butlers, and nobles, before the Good God: "Great is thy might, O victorious king. Thy roaring courses through the Nine Bows. Thou art the rampart, protecting Egypt; they dwell confident in thy strength, O Pharaoh, L. P. H., our lord."

Inscription over Third Line^b

Utterance of the nobles and leaders (*h³ w³ tyw*): "Amon, the god, he has decreed the victory to the ruler, who carries off all lands, Ramses-Meriamon, ———."

^aThis inscription occurs four times, namely, over each of the four heaps, three of hands and one of phalli. Once (at the top) "*making 3,000 foreskins*" is omitted by Lepsius (*Denkmäler*, Text, III, 177); but the older publications (e. g., Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 135), are correct in inserting it, as the photograph shows. Each time it thus records the capture of 1,000 and the slaying of 6,000 men. Taken together, they record a total of 28,000 men killed and captured. This is, of course, impossible. Moreover, the third relief on the north wall (outside, § 57) gives 12,535 as the number of slain. If we assume that only the two lower rows (one showing phalli and one hands) are different in our relief, we obtain a total of 12,000 slain (6,000 in each row), which roughly agrees with the other relief. The two upper rows are then mere duplicates of the third, added to fill up the space at the disposal of the artist. As such repetition is certain in § 57, this solution is very probable.

^bNumbering from the top; the second line is without inscription.

Inscription over Fourth Line

Utterance of the king's-children, king's-butlers, and nobles: "Thou art the sun, when thou risest over Egypt, thy terror ——— O Pharaoh, L. P. H., child of Amon."

Scene^a

56. The king in his chariot, accompanied by a pair of sunshade-bearers, and a body of soldiers, drives before him three lines of fettered Libyan prisoners.

Inscription

Ruler, beautiful as king, like Atum, mighty —, — the Tehenu, who come for f[ear of him]; he — him who invades his boundary. Amon, his august father, makes sound his limbs, King Ramses III, given life. Valiant —, great in strength like his father, Montu. He hath overthrown his adversaries in their place. Those whom his sword captures, whose hands are bound before him, are living captives. He is like a mighty bull, he gores ——— beautiful, possessed of valor, [which] his father, Amon-Re, [gave] that he may give to him great victories, and a reign of jubilees like Re; the king, lord of might, Ramses III, given life like Re.

Scene^b

57. At the left Amon is enthroned in a chapel, with Mut standing behind him. The king, approaching from the right, leads three lines of Libyan captives, whom he presents to the god.

Inscription over Amon

Utterance of Amon-Re, king of gods, to his son, King Ramses III: "Praise to thee! Thou hast captured thine adversaries; thou hast overthrown the invader of thy boundary. I give to thee my might in thy limbs, that thou mayest overthrow the Nine Bows. My hand is

^aEast wall, second court; Champollion, *Monuments*, 207 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 137.

^bEast wall, second court; Champollion, *Monuments*, 208 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 138; see also Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 170; Piehl, *Inscriptions*, I, CLV, P, Q, R-CLVI (only inscriptions with divinities and king).

the shield of thy body, warding off evil from thee. I give to thee the kingdom of Atum, shining upon the throne of Re.”^a

Inscription before the King

58. Utterance of King Ramses III before his father, Amon-Re, ruler of the gods: “How great is that which thou hast done, O lord of gods. Thy plans and thy counsels are those which come to pass throughout. Thou sentest me forth in valor, thy strength was with me. No land stood before me, at the mention of thee. I overthrew those who invaded my boundary, prostrated in their place. Their warriors (*phrr*) were — pinioned, slain in my grasp. I laid low the land of Temeh, their seed is not.^b The Meshwesh (*M-šꜣ -wꜣ -šꜣ*), they crouch down for fear of me. It was ordained because of thy victory-bringing commands, it was given because of thy kingdom-bestowing ‘power’.”

Inscription over Libyans

Utterance of the leaders of the vanquished of Libya, who are in the grasp of his majesty: “Great is thy fame, O victorious king; how great the fear of thee and the terror of thee! Thou didst turn (us) back, when we went forth ‘to’ fight, to ‘invade’ Egypt, forever. Give thou to us the breath which we breathe, the life which is in thy hands, O lord, like the form ‘of’ Amon-Re, king of gods.”

III. NORTHERN WAR, YEAR 8

59. Already in Ramses III’s fifth year the tribes of the southern coast of Asia Minor and the maritime peoples of the Ægean had sent some of their advanced galleys to assist the Libyans in their war of that year against Egypt. Or, as in Merneptah’s day, the plundering crews of their southernmost advance had incidentally joined the Libyan invasion. These were but the premonitory skirmishing-line of a more serious and more general movement. The peoples involved were the probably Cretan Peleset, a settlement of whom

^aThe short speech of Mut is of no historical consequence.

^bSee III, 604.

later became the biblical Philistines; the Thekel, who may be the Sikeli, later of Sicily;^a the Shekelesh, the Denyen or Danaoi, and the Weshwesh (§ 64, l. 18), who are of uncertain origin.^b Owing to pressure from uncertain sources without, large numbers of these peoples, accompanied by their wives, children, and belongings, in clumsy ox carts, left their homes, and moving eastward along the coast of Asia Minor, penetrated Syria. They were accompanied by a strong fleet also. In the author's opinion, this movement was really a "Völkerwanderung," not merely an invasion, with a few families of the chiefs. They were strong enough to hold all northern Syria at their mercy; from Carchemish, through the Syrian Hittite conquests to the coast, as far south as Arvad, and inland as far south as Amor, they plundered the country. They had a central camp somewhere in Amor

60. Ramses evidently still held the coast south of Arvad. Mustering his forces, he dispatched his war fleet to this coast, possibly with his motley army of various mercenaries and Egyptians on board, or in transports thus convoyed. At some point^c on the coast he met the enemy; a land and naval action took place. Possibly the two battles were near together. In any case, Ramses, after the land victory, was able to station his archers on the strand and aid in the destruction of the hostile fleet. His victory over both forces seems to have been complete, for we do not hear of any further trouble from this source during the remainder of his reign.

^aBut see III, 570, note.

^bSee III, 306, and Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 360 ff. Papyrus Harris also adds the Sherden (§ 403), who probably were from Sardinia and associated with the Lycian tribes in common enterprises on the sea. On all these northern peoples, see also the discussion of Hall, *Earliest Civilization of Greece*, and *Annual of the British School at Athens*, VIII, 157.

^cThe land battle was certainly not south of Amor; the naval battle was in one of the harbors of the Phœnician coast.

The sources for this war are:

1. The Great Inscription on the Second Pylon (Medinet Habu, §§ 61-68).
2. The Relief Scenes on the North Wall and in the Second Court (Medinet Habu, §§ 69-82).
3. Papyrus Harris (§ 403).

1. GREAT INSCRIPTION ON THE SECOND PYLON, YEAR 8^a

61. Of the long inscriptions in the Medinet Habu temple, this is by far the most clear and intelligible, both in language and arrangement. After the date and the usual encomium of the Pharaoh, which occupies about one-third of the inscription (ll. 1-12), the king is introduced as addressing his court and the people of the land, in a speech very similar to that which concludes Papyrus Harris (Pls. 75-79). After reverting to Amon's choice of him for the throne, with which the Pharaohs so often introduce their addresses, he narrates the northern invasion of Syria (§ 64, ll. 16-18), his preparations to repel it (§ 65, ll. 18-23), and then, in highly figurative language, briefly describes the overthrow of the invaders by land and sea (§ 66, ll. 23-26). He closes with a song of triumph as long as the account of the war, occupying one-third of the inscription (§§ 67, 68, ll. 26-38). It is therefore only the middle third of the inscription (§§ 63-66, ll. 13-26) which contains narrative of historical importance.

^aOccupying the entire front of the north tower of the second pylon in the Medinet Habu temple. It is published entire only in Greene, *Fouilles exécutées à Thèbes dans l'année 1855* (Paris, 1855), Pls. I-III. Champollion noted and copied the parts containing foreign names (Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 348, giving date incorrectly as year 9); similar fragments also by Lepsius (*Denkmäler*, Text, III, 175, parts of ll. 1, 2, 17, 18, 20, 24, and 35); the important passage, ll. 16 and 17, also by Chabas (*Études sur l'antiquité historique*, 2d ed., 260 ff., from a photograph); finally, ll. 16-25, by Brugsch (*Thesaurus*, 1207-10). Not much can be said for the accuracy of any of these texts. I collated Greene exhaustively with a series of large-scale photographs, which brought out scores of new signs and many new words; Brugsch was also useful, but a careful publication is very much needed.

Introduction; Praise of Ramses

62. ¹Year 8, under the majesty of Horus: mighty Bull, valiant Lion, strong-armed, lord of might, capturing the Asiatics; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Mighty in Strength, like his father, Montu, destroying the Nine Bows, driving (them) from their land; Hawk, divine at his birth, ²excellent and favorite egg of Harakhte, sovereign, excellent heir of the gods, fashioning their images on earth, doubling their offerings; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re, Ramses (III), Ruler of Heliopolis; king, lord of valor, extending (his) two arms, and taking away the breath ³from the countries by the heat of his limbs, great in the power of Montu, — the fray like Re, ⁴'daily' ——— valiant upon (his) horse, fighting hand to hand upon his feet, warrior like the shooting-stars in heaven, King ⁴Ramses III; charging into the thick of the fray like ——— turning back the Asiatics, fighting in the territory of rebels who know not Egypt, who tell how they have heard ⁵of his might, who come with praise, trembling in all their limbs ——— of the Asiatics. His form and his limbs are ¹'straight', the equal of Baal, mighty in the multitude, without his like. He ⁶smites millions, alone by himself; all lands are despised and contemptible before him, appearing ———. They come — [⁷to⁷] look upon Egypt, prostrate, bowing down before him. They say every day: "Montu is in his great form, which is in Egypt ⁷among you, bearing his mighty sword. Let us all come, that we may make for him ——— him ¹'in' his grasp, the King Ramses III." Beautiful is the appearance of the king, like the son of Isis ⁸the defender, firstborn son of Re-Atum, ——— wearing the white crown, wearing the red crown, beautiful of face, wearing the double plume like Tatenen. His loveliness — — — in the early morning, beautiful, sitting upon the throne like Atum, when he has assumed the regalia of Horus and Set; Nekhbet and Buto, the serpent-crown of the South and the serpent-crown of the North, they take ⁹their place upon his head. His two hands grasp the crook-staff and hold the scourge, — conscious of strength — — ¹'among' the Nine Bows —. Plentiful are fowl and provision in his reign, like his father, the Beautiful-Faced (Ptah), Nun, great in love as king, like Shu, son of Re. ¹⁰When he appears, there is rejoicing over him, like Aton; strong and valiant, mustering the lands at [his] desire, — like ¹'Montu', creating them like Ptah; ready and skilled in law, there is none like him; like Re when he took the land

as a kingdom, King Ramses ¹¹III, — numerous in monuments, great in wonderful works, making festive the temples, — the son of Re, — who came forth from his limbs, — firstborn ^{10f} the gods. He was appointed as a youth to be king of the Two Lands, to be ruler of every circuit of Aton, a shield protecting ¹²Egypt in his time. They sit under the shadow of his might, the strong one ——— victorious hand laid upon their head; King Ramses III, the king himself, he saith:

Ramses' Speech; His Accession

63. "Hearken to me ¹³all the land, gathered in [one place], the court, the king's-children, the butlers, — living, the —,^a the youth, all^b the young men who are in this land. Give your attention to my utterance, that ye may know my plans for sustaining you alive, ¹⁴that ye may learn of the might of my august father, Amon-Kamephis, creator of my beauty. His great might —, victorious against every fallen foe, beneath my feet. He decrees to me victory, and his hand is with me, so that every invader of my boundary is slain in my grasp; his chosen one ¹⁵whom he found among hundreds of thousands,^c who was established upon his throne for safety [—] ¹when there was not a single man among them to rescue (them)¹ from the Nine Bows. I surrounded her,^d I established her by my valiant might. When I arose like the sun as king over Egypt, I protected her, ¹⁶I expelled for her the Nine Bows."

Northern Invasion of Syria

64. "The countries — —, the ¹Northerners¹ in their isles were disturbed, taken away in the ¹fray¹ — at one time. Not one stood before their hands, from Kheta (^Ḥ*t*), Kode (^Ḳ*dy*), Carchemish (^Ḳ-^r - ^k - ^m-^š), Arvad (^ʿ-^r - ^t*w*), ¹⁷Alasa (^ʿ-^r - ^s), they were wasted. [The]y [set up]^e a camp in one place in Amor (^ʿ-^m-^r). They desolated his

^aThe determinative shows that the word designates young men (*rnḫ'w*?).

^b"All" may apply to the whole series.

^cCompare the selection of Thutmose III from among the priests of Karnak (II, 131-48) by oracle of the god.

^dEgypt, as shown by the end of the line, compared with the beginning of l. 16.

^eThe lacuna is hardly large enough for a verb. The end of the plural suffix (*n* of *sn*) is visible before "*camp*." If we read "*their*" (*p'ysn*), it would fill the lacuna, and we should necessarily render: "*Wasted was their camp, etc.*," meaning the camp of the allied Syrians, which was wasted by the Northerners. The series of names preceding as object of the preposition must in that case close the preceding sentence.

people and his land like that which is not. They came with fire prepared before them, forward^a to Egypt. Their main support^b ¹⁸was Peleset (*Pw-r* ²-s ²-t), Thekel (*T* ²-k-k ²-r ²), Shekelesh (*Š* ²-k-rw-š ²), Denyen (*D* ²-y-n-yw, sic!), and Weshesh (*W* ²-š ²-š ²),^c (These lands were united, and they laid their hands upon the land^d as far as the Circle of the Earth. Their hearts were confident, full of their^e plans."

Ramses' Preparations

65. "Now, it happened through^f this god, the lord of gods, ¹⁹that I was prepared and armed^g to ¹trap¹ them like wild fowl. He furnished my strength and caused my plans to prosper. I went forth, directing these marvelous things. I equipped my frontier in Zahi, prepared before them. The chiefs, the captains of infantry, ²⁰the nobles, I caused to equip the harbor-mouths,^h like a strong wall, with warships, galleys, and barges, ¹—¹. They were manned ¹completely¹ from bow to stern with valiant warriors bearing their arms, soldiers ²¹of all the choicest of Egypt,ⁱ being like lions roaring upon the mountain-tops. The charioteers were warriors (*phrr*) ¹—¹,^j and all good officers (*smn*), ready of hand. Their horses were quivering in their every limb, ready to crush ²²the countries under their feet. I was the valiant Montu, stationed before them, that they might behold the hand-to-hand fighting^k of my arms. I, King Ramses III, was made a far-striding hero, conscious of his might, valiant to lead his army ²³in the day of battle."

^aThe meaning of this important phrase, "*forward*" (*m hr*), with a verb of going, is established among others by the passage in the Kadesh battle (III, 308: Poem, l. 12), and Merneptah's Hymn of Victory (III, 609, l. 5); but the idiom is not infrequent; see also Griffith, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 19, 298. "*To*" may be rendered "*toward*" or "*against*."

^bSee Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 360, n. 2.

^cOn these peoples, see introduction to this war (§§ 59 ff.).

^dLit., "*Two Lands*;" it is doubtful whether we are to suppose that this is an error (as later) for "land." Some of the northern ships had already reached Egypt, as they had done in the year 5 (§ 44, ll. 51 f.).

^eText has "*our*."

^fThat is, by his intervention.

^g*Grg hry*.

^hThe same phrase (*r* ²-h ²-wt) is used of the "*river-mouths*," in the war of the year 5 (§ 44, l. 53).

ⁱPossibly: "*of every land and of Egypt*."

^jSee Papyrus Harris, 8, 10, note.

^kOr possibly: "*the captures*;" the article is plural.

Defeat of the Enemy

66. "Those who reached my boundary, their seed is not; their heart and their soul are finished forever and ever. As for those who had assembled before them on the sea, the full flame was in their front, before the harbor-mouths, and a wall of metal ²⁴upon the shore surrounded them.^a They were dragged, overturned, and laid low upon the beach; slain and made heaps from stern to bow^b of their galleys, while all their things were cast upon the water. (Thus) I turned back the waters to remember Egypt;^c when they mention my name in their land, ²⁵may it^d consume them, while I sit upon the throne of Harakhte, and the serpent-diadem (*wr t-hk w*) is fixed upon my head, like Re. I permit not the countries to see the boundaries of Egypt to [—] among¹ them. As for the Nine Bows, I have taken away their land and their boundaries; they are added to mine. ²⁶Their chiefs and their people (come) to me with praise. I carried out the plans of the All-Lord, the august, divine father, lord of the gods."

Ramses' Song of Triumph

67. "Rejoice ye, O Egypt, to the height of heaven, for I am ruler of the South and North upon the throne of Atum. The gods have appointed me to be king ²⁷over Egypt, to be victor, to expel them for her from the countries; they decreed to me the kingdom while I was a child, and my reign is full of plenty — — — Strength has been given to me, because of my benefactions to the gods and goddesses, from a heart of love. I have expelled your ²⁸mourning, which was in your heart, and I have made you to dwell in peace. Those whom I have overthrown shall not return, the tribute — — — their land, their detestation is the daily mention of my name, King Ramses III. ²⁹I have covered Egypt, I have protected her by my valiant might, since

^aThe "*full flame*" is the Egyptian fleet in the harbor, and the "*wall of metal*" is the Egyptian infantry ashore, as shown in the relief (§ 74). These highly figurative phrases, otherwise unintelligible, are rendered quite certain by the relief.

^bLit., "*from tail to head*," a phrase which occurs also where ships are not concerned (§ 90, year 11, l. 18). Hence we should perhaps put a full pause here and render thus: ". *made heaps from tail to head. As for their galleys, all their things, etc.*"

^cOr: "*for a remembrance of Egypt*," meaning that they (the foe) may remember Egypt.

^dOr: "*the thought consumes*."

I assumed the rule of the kingdom ——— the might of my two arms, bringing terror among the Nine Bows. Not a land stays at hearing my name, ³⁰(but) they leave their cities, starting in their places, forsaking ——— before them. I am a goring Bull, confident in his two horns. My hand is equal ³¹to my courage following my valor, when my heart says to me: 'Make ———' my office ——— in the bow of the morning-barque (*mskt t*), I bring to you jubilation. ³²Mourning is in the countries, trembling is in every land ——— which I wrought. My heart is filled as a god — — valiant, lord of the sword. I know that his might is greater ³³than (that of) the gods. The 'lifetime' which the gods who are in — decree ———. There is not a moment in your presence, which brings not plunder by the plans of the counsel ³⁴which is in my heart, for the support of Egypt. Desolated is ——— the chief of their cities, wasted at one time. Their groves, and all their people are consumed by fire.^a ³⁵They lament in their hearts: 'We will ——— their — to Egypt.'"

68. "I am the strong and valiant one; my designs come to pass without fail. ³⁶I have shown my excellence, since I 'know' this god, the father of the gods ——— I have not ignored his temple, (but) my heart has been steadfast to double the feasts and food-offerings ³⁷above what was before. My heart is filled with truth every day, my abhorrence is lying ——— the gods are satisfied with truth. Their hands are for me the shield of my body, to ³⁸ward off evil and misfortune from^b my limbs; the king, ruler of the Nine Bows, Lord of the Two Lands, Ramses III, given life, stability, satisfaction, like Re, forever and ever."

2. RELIEF SCENES OUTSIDE NORTH WALL AND IN SECOND COURT, YEAR 8

69. These scenes depict the war against the invading sea-rovers of Asia Minor with unusual interest. We see the equipment of the troops, the march to Syria, even possibly a lion^c hunt on the march, the great battle, both on land and sea, furnishing the earliest known representation of a naval battle, and the final triumphs.

^aLit., "have become ashes" (*ssf*), used of a roast fowl.

^bLit., "that are in"(!), meaning "that might be in, etc."

^cSee § 74, note.

Scene^a

70. Ramses III stands in a balcony, with two sunshade-bearers behind him. Before him are the standard-bearers of the army, who kneel in salute, followed by a trumpeter. Beside these appear lines of the new recruits levied for the coming war, to whom the officers are distributing bows and quivers of arrows. Spears, quivers, bows, and swords lie piled up beside them.

71. The inscriptions are these:

Behind the King

All the gods are the protection of his limbs, to give to him might against every country.

Before the King

——— king; he saith — — to the princes, every leader of the infantry and chariotry who are before his majesty: "Bring out the weapons ———. Let the archers march to destroy the enemies, who know not Egypt, with might."

Over the Officials

Utterance of the princes, companions, and leaders of the infantry and chariotry: "Thou art the king who shinest upon Egypt. When [thou] risest, the Two Lands live. Great is thy might in the midst of the Nine Bows. Thy roaring is as far as the circuit of the sun. The shadow of thy sword is over thy army. They march, filled with thy might. Thy heart is stout, (for) thy excellent plans are established. Amon-Re appears, leading thy way. He lays low for thee every land beneath thy feet; [thy] heart is glad — forever. 'Thou art' the protection which comes forth without delay. The heart of the Temeh is [dis]turbed,^b the Peleset (*Pw-[r³]-s³-t*) are hung up, [—] in their towns, by the might of thy father, Amon, who has decreed to thee ———."

^aOutside north wall of second court; Champollion, *Monuments*, 218 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 125; cf. Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 370.

^bRead *tjy*.

Over Officers by the Weapons^a

———— [Give] the weapons to the infantry, the chariotry and to the archers ———.

Over Officers Distributing Weapons

Take ye the [weapon]s of [King] Ramses III.

Over Soldiers Receiving Weapons

The infantry and chariotry who are receiving [weapons].

Scene^b

72. Ramses III in his chariot, followed by two sunshade-bearers, and accompanied by Egyptian and Sherden infantry, departs for Zahi. The inscriptions are these:

Over the King

The king, rich in might, at his going forth to the North, great in fear, dread of the Asiatics (*St^t ty*), sole lord, skilled in hand, conscious of his might, like Baal, valiant in strength, ready for battle against the Asiatics (^c *mw*), marching afar in his advance, 'confident', —, smiting tens of thousands 'in heaps' in the space of an hour. He overwhelms the combatants like fire, causing all those who confront him to become [ashes].^c They are terrified at (the mention of) his name, while he is (yet) afar off, like the heat of the sun over the two (Nile) shores; a wall casting^d a shadow for Egypt. They dwell [confident in] the might of his strength; King Ramses III.

Over Horses

Great first span of his majesty (named): "Amon-He-Giveth-the-Sword."^e

^aThis and the following inscription have been omitted by Champollion, and Rosellini is very fragmentary. Still another address (below) among the officers has been omitted by Champollion, and is too fragmentary in Rosellini to be read.

^bOutside north wall of second court; Champollion, *Monuments*, 219 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 126.

^cRead *ssj*, from parallel texts.

^dRead *kh*, as in year 5, l. 67 (§ 47).

^ePublished also in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 172.

Behind King and over Sherden

His majesty marches out in victorious might, to destroy the rebellious countries. His majesty [marches out] for Zahi, like the form of Montu, to crush every country that has transgressed his boundary. His infantry are like bulls, ready for battle upon the field. [His] horses are like hawks in the midst of the fowl before him. The Nine Bows are under (his) power. Amon, his august father, is for him a shield, King — —, Lord of the Two Lands, Ramses III.

Scene^a

73. Ramses III in his chariot, with drawn bow, charges into the discomfited northern allies, chiefly Peleset, as shown by their high feathered head-dress. Their chariots are manned by two warriors armed with shield and spear, and a driver. On foot they fight by fours, each man with two spears and a shield. The native Egyptian troops and their Sherden auxiliaries are mingled in the thick of the fight, slaying the Northerners on every hand, and penetrating to the heavy two-wheeled ox carts in which are the enemy's wives, children, and supplies.

The inscriptions are these:

Over the Battle

——— [at] the sight of him, as when Set is enraged, overthrowing the enemy before the celestial barque (*mskt' t*), trampling the lands and countries prostrate, crushed [—] before his horses. His heat consumes [them] like fire, desolating their gardens — —.

Over King's Horses

Great first span of his majesty (named): "Beloved-of-Amon."

Scene^b

74. Five warships of the Northerners, manned by Peleset and Sherden, are hard pressed by four Egyptian warships,

^aOutside north wall of second court; Champollion, *Monuments*, 220-220 bis = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 127, 128.

^bOutside north wall of second court; Champollion, 222, 223 = Rosellini,

whose native bowmen are disabling the enemy with a severe archery discharge at long range, before the heavy swords and spears of the latter can be brought into play at close quarters. When the archery has nearly emptied the enemy's vessels, the Egyptians close in with sword and shield, and in the resulting mêlée one of the northern ships has capsized. In three of the Egyptian vessels are pinioned prisoners taken from the enemy, while those who swim ashore are seized and bound by the waiting Egyptian archers. The latter, led by the king, themselves augment the volleys of the Egyptian archers in the warships, and render still more disastrous the complete destruction of the northern fleet. Behind the king are his chariot and waiting attendants.

75. The inscriptions are as follows:

By the King

The Good God, Montu over Egypt, great in might, like Baal in the countries, mighty in strength, far-reaching in courage (lit., heart), strong-horned, terrible in his might, a — wall, covering Egypt, so that every one coming shall not^a see it, King Ramses III.

Over the Chariot

Lo, the northern countries, which are in their isles, are restless in their limbs; they infest the ways^b of the harbor-mouths. Their nostrils and their hearts cease breathing breath, when his majesty goes forth like a storm-wind against them, fighting upon the strand like a warrior (*phrr*). His puissance and the terror of him penetrate into their limbs.^c

Monumenti Storici, 130, 131; Mariette, *Voyage dans la haute Egypte*, II, 55. I had also good photographs. At this point the order of the war reliefs is interrupted by the scene of a lion hunt, the inscriptions of which contain only conventional phrases in praise of the king. It has often been published; best by Mariette, *ibid.*, II, 54; also by Champollion, *ibid.*, 221; and Rosellini, *ibid.*, 129.

^aNegative with a verb implying negation; lit., "everyone coming shall not fail to see it."

^bThe word "*way*" (*wyt*) is used by the Egyptians for a sea route as well as a land route.

^cChampollion has here interchanged two lines, but they are correct in Rosellini.

Capsized and perishing in their places, their hearts are taken, their souls fly away, and their weapons are cast out upon the sea. His arrows pierce whomsoever he will among them, and he who is hit falls^a into the water. His majesty is like an enraged lion, tearing him that confronts him with his hands (sic!), fighting at close quarters on his right, valiant on his left, like Set; destroying the foe, like Amon-Re. He has laid low the lands, he has crushed every land beneath his feet, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare-Meriamon.

Scene^b

76. The king, attended by sunshade- and fan-bearers, stands in a balcony.^c Behind him waits the royal chariot, with numerous attendants and soldiers. A castle is depicted over the chariot. Before the king, the two viziers and other officers of high rank present to him Peleset prisoners. Other officials superintend the counting of the hands severed from the fallen of the enemy, the numbers being recorded by four scribes.

77. The inscriptions are these:

By the King

Utterance of his majesty to the king's-children, the princes, the king's-butlers, and the charioteers: "Behold ye, the great might of my father, Amon-Re. The countries which came from their isles in the midst of the sea, they advanced to Egypt, their hearts relying upon their arms.^d The net was made ready for them, to ensnare them. Entering stealthily into the harbor-mouth, they fell into it. Caught in their place, they were dispatched, and their bodies stripped. I showed

^aLit., "*becomes one fallen into the water.*"

^bOutside north wall of second court; Champollion, *Monuments*, 224 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 132; the inscriptions are also in Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 47; the castle and a few extracts, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 171.

^cThis balcony is, of course, to be understood as belonging to the castle depicted over the chariot; but it has been detached by the artist, in order to enlarge it sufficiently to accommodate the king's figure represented with the usual heroic stature.

^dNot weapons.

you my might which was in that which my majesty wrought while I was alone.^a My arrow struck (lit., seized), and none escaped my arms nor my hand. I flourished like a hawk among the fowl; my talons descended upon their heads. Amon-Re was upon my right and upon my left, his might and his power were in my limbs, a tumult for you; commanding for me that my counsels and my designs should come to pass. Amon-Re established the — of my enemies, giving to me every land in my grasp.”

Over the Officials

Utterance of the king's-children, the princes, and the companions; they reply to the Good God: “Thou art Re, shining like him. Thy might crushes the Nine Bows, every land trembles at thy name, thy fear is before them every day. Egypt rejoices in the strong-armed, the son of Amon, who is upon his throne, King Ramses III, given life, like Re.”

Over the Castle

Migdol of Ramses, Ruler of Heliopolis.

Over Horses

Great first span of his majesty (named): “Strong-is-Amon.”

Over Grooms

Live the Good God, achieving with his arms, making every country into something that exists not, strong-armed, mighty, skilful of hand, King Ramses III.

Over Prisoners^b

Said the vanquished chieftains of Thekel ($\overline{T}^{\circ} -k-k^{\circ} -r^{\circ}$): “——— like Baal ——— give to us [the breath that thou givest] ———.”

Scene^c

78. In a small chapel sits Amon, with Mut and Khonsu behind him. The king standing before him leads by cords

^aChampollion has here omitted an entire line, which will be found in Rosellini's and Dümichen's copies.

^bOmitted by Rosellini and Champollion, and only noted by Lepsius (*Denkmäler*, Text, III, 171); the fragments he gives show that it contained the conventional phrases.

^cOutside of north wall of second court; Champollion, *Monuments*, 226 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 134; the inscriptions alone, Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, LV, 3, 4; and the words of the Thekel also, Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 47, a.

two lines of foreign captives, above Thekel, below Libyans. The inscriptions are as follows:

Over Amon

Utterance of Amon-Re, lord of heaven, ruler of gods: "Come thou with joy, slay thou the Nine Bows, lay low every opponent. Thou hast cast down the hearts of the Asiatics, thou takest the breath from their nostrils, — — — by my designs."

Before the King

Utterance of King Ramses III before his father, Amon-Re, king of gods: "I went forth, that I might take captive the Nine Bows and slay all lands. Not a land stood fast before me, and my hands took captives in the van of every country, by the decrees which came forth from thy mouth, that I might overthrow my every opponent. The lands behold me with trembling, (for) I am like Montu, — — — him who relies upon thy designs, O protector, lord of might — — —."

Over the Thekel

79. Said the fallen, the great ones of Thekel, who were in the grasp of his majesty, while praising this Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare-Meriamon: "Great is thy strength, victorious king, great Sun of Egypt. Greater is thy might than a mountain of gritstone, and thy terror is like Set. Give to us breath, that we may breathe it, the life that is in thy grasp, forever."

Over the Libyans

Said the fallen of Libya, who were in the grasp of his majesty: "Breath, breath! O victorious king, Horus, great in kingship."

Scene^a

80. Amon, with Mut behind him, stands extending the sword to Ramses III. The latter, leading three lines of fettered captives, advances toward the god, to whom he stretches out his arm. The inscriptions are these:

^aSecond court, second pylon, left (southern) tower, front; published by Champollion, *Monuments*, 332 (in publication, 331 *bis*, where it is located in the Ramesseum!); Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 144 (both omit divinities and accom-

Before Amon^a

Utterance of Amon-Re, lord of heaven: "Come thou in peace! Thou hast taken captive thine adversary,^b and slain the invader of thy border. My strength was with thee, overthrowing for thee the lands. Thou cuttest off the heads of the Asiatics (^c *mw*). I have given to thee thy great might, I overthrow for thee every land, when they see thy majesty in strength like my son, Baal in his wrath."

Before the King

81. Utterance of King Ramses III to his father, Amon-Re, ruler of the gods: "Great is thy might, O lord of gods. The things which issue from thy mouth, they come to pass without fail. . . . Thy strength is behind as a shield, that I may slay the lands and countries that invade my border. Thou puttest great terror of me in the hearts of their chiefs; the fear and dread of me before them; that I may carry off their warriors (*phrr*), bound in my grasp, to lead them to thy ka, O my august father, — — — — —. Come, to 'take'^c them, being: Peleset (*Pw-r²-s²-t*), Denyen (*D²-y-n-yw-n²*), Shekelesh (*Š²-k²-rw-š²*). Thy strength it was which was before me, overthrowing their seed, — thy might, O lord of gods. He who relies upon him whom thou hast entrusted with the kingship, and everyone that walks in thy way are in peace. Thou art the lord, strong-armed for him who leans his back upon thee,^d a Bull with two horns, ready, conscious of his strength. Thou art my august father, who createdst my beauty, that thou mightest look upon me, and choose me to be lord of the Nine Bows. Let thy hand be with me, to slay him that invades me, and ward off every enemy that is in my limbs."

panying inscriptions); Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 211 (inscription over prisoners, also *ibid.*, Text, III, 174); Sharpe, *Inscriptions*, II, 39; Mariette, *Voyage dans la haute Egypte*, II, 52 (one row only); de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 129 (upper ends of lines of king's speech, lower ends being covered by rubbish). I had a photograph by Schroeder & Cie., Zürich.

^aThe one before Mut contains only the conventional assurances of protection.

^bLit., "the one reaching thee" (*ph tw*); the phrase is common in these inscriptions, with varying pronoun ("him, her") for "his, her adversary." Cf. the personal name, *Ph-sw-hr* = "His adversary is fallen."

^cPossibly: "to number."

^dLit., "thou art a strong-armed lord, for him who leans to him (his) back." The preposition "to" (*n*) is more often "upon" (*hr*).

Over Captives

82. Utterance of the leaders of every country, who are in the grasp of his majesty: "Great is thy might, victorious king, great sun of Egypt. Greater is thy strength than a mountain of gritstone; thy might is like Baal. Give to us the breath that we breathe; the life which is in thy hands."

Over Middle Line of Captives

Utterance of the vanquished of Denyen (*D ³ -y-n-yw-n ³*): "Breath! Breath! O good ruler, great in might [like] Montu, residing in Thebes."

Over Lower Line of Captives

Utterance of the vanquished of Peleset (*Pw-r ³ -s ³ -ty*): "Give to us the breath for our nostrils, O king, son of Amon."

IV. SECOND LIBYAN WAR

83. The disastrous defeat of the year 5 had doubtless too seriously weakened the Libyans for them again to attempt the invasion of Egypt during the reign of Ramses III. But in the year 11 they were themselves invaded by the Meshwesh, a related tribe living on their west, and the Meshwesh chieftains, Keper and Mesheshher, father and son, laid waste the Libyan country. The Libyans were then forced to join the Meshwesh in an invasion of Egypt. The allies pushed eastward as far as the canal of Heliopolis, called the "*Water of Re*,"^a doubtless at some point near its departure from the Nile. Here, at a place called Hatsho (*h·t-š·t*), in the early part of the twelfth month of his eleventh year, Ramses defeated them in a disastrous battle, in which Keper was captured and his son Mesheshher killed. Ramses pursued the routed enemy over eleven miles^b

^aThe name of the herd of Amon in Papyrus Harris, 10, 8 (§ 224), shows that the battle was fought near this canal.

^bIf the terminus of this eleven miles is the margin of the Libyan desert, the point on that margin must be well south in the narrow part of the Delta; otherwise it would be more than eleven miles from the canal of Heliopolis to the Libyan

westward as far as his own town, on a rise of ground called "*The - Town - of - Usermare-Meriamon - Which - is - upon - the - Mount^a - of - the - Horns - of - the - Earth.*" He slew 2,175 men, and took 2,052 prisoners, of whom 558 were women and girls; among these were the survivors of the household of the hostile chief. Returning, flushed with victory, Ramses indulged in the usual triumphal celebrations. The prisoners were distributed throughout the country, and nearly a thousand of the Meshwesh were made herdmen in charge of a herd of Amon, named after this victory (Harris, 10, 8, § 224).

84. These wars, while they checked the aggressiveness of the tribes^b on the west of the Delta during the remainder of reign of Ramses III, could only temporarily interrupt the tide of immigration into the Delta from the west. Still Ramses III could now style himself in his titulary: "*Protector of Egypt, guardian of the countries, conqueror of Meshwesh, spoiler of the land of Temeh.*"^c

The sources for this war are:

1. Great Inscription of the First Pylon (Medinet Habu, §§ 85-92).
2. Poem on Second Libyan War (§§ 93-99).
3. Relief Scenes on First Pylon and Outside North Wall (Medinet Habu, §§ 100-114).
4. Papyrus Harris (76, 11-77, 6, § 405).

desert. The question of how the pursuit crossed the Nile branches is a difficult one. In the war of the year 5 the Libyans are stated to have been on both sides of the river; if the victory of year 11 took place on the Heliopolis canal, they must have been on both sides at this time also.

^aThis place also marked the limit of the pursuit of Merneptah; see Great Inscription of Karnak, l. 49, note (III, 588).

^bPapyrus Harris (77, 3, § 405) gives a list of five of these unknown tribes, beside the Meshwesh and the Libyans.

^cLepsius, *Denkmäler*. Text, III, 170; left pylon, front of Medinet Habu temple; compare similar title of Thutmose IV (II, 822).

I. GREAT INSCRIPTION ON THE FIRST PYLON^a

85. The fifty long lines of this document, owing to their bad state of preservation, the lack of clear arrangement in the content, and that highly figurative style, extreme in this document even for Medinet Habu, are hardly less difficult than the long inscription of the year 5. Whole lines are so fragmentary that it would have served no practical purpose to introduce their mutilated words and phrases here; they have therefore been omitted wherever necessary, but the omission is always indicated. Under these circumstances the progress of the narrative can be but vaguely discerned. At the beginning it is fortunately more clear. The alliance, undoubtedly between the Meshwesh and the Tehenu of Libya (§ 86, ll. 1 and 2), although mentioned before the invasion of the Tehenu by the Meshwesh (§ 87, l. 2), of course preceded that invasion, which issued in the alliance. Then follow, in natural order, the invasion of Egypt by the allies (§ 88, ll. 3-5), the march of Ramses III (§ 89, ll. 6, 7), and the battle (§ 90, ll. 7-20). This last, as usual, is chiefly a song of praise to the Pharaoh's valor, which is brought out by depicting the ruin of Meshesher, the Meshwesh chief with his chiefs, his family, and his host. This leads to a long triumphal description of the discomfiture of the defeated (§§ 91, 92, ll. 20-41); and the document then concludes with a speech by the Pharaoh, glorifying himself in the conventional phrases.

^aOn the back of the southern tower of the first pylon facing the first court, in 50 vertical lines over the battle scene (§ 101). There are long and frequent lacunæ. It was published by Dümichen (*Historische Inschriften*, I, 20-25); partially by de Rougé (*Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, III-III3, ll. 19-30, lower ends wanting; wrongly attached to another inscription); and extracts by Lepsius (*Denkmäler*, Text, III, 174). A photograph shows that Dümichen's text is excessively incorrect; but unfortunately my photograph shows only the lower ends of a few lines.

The Alliance

86. "[The foe]^a had allied themselves against Egypt, the god permitting that they should lead on to mount their horses¹, (but) mighty was the valor of him who is the sole lord, and his talons made ready¹ like a trap¹ at their arrival, when they came with restless limbs^b to lay themselves like mice under his arms, the king, Ramses III.

Invasion of Tehenu^c

87. As for the (chief of)^d Meshwesh (*M-š²-w²*, sic!), since he appeared, he went to one place, his land with him, and invaded the Tehenu, who were made ashes, spoiled and desolated were their cities, their seed was not.

Invasion of Egypt

88. They disregarded¹ the beauty of this god who^e slays the invader of Egypt, saying: "We will settle in Egypt." So spake they with one accord, and they continually entered the boundaries of Egypt. Then was prepared for them death^f of the mighty¹ god, — — [who brightens¹] the heaven more than the sun, mighty¹ with their hands before him. They were numerous⁵. Amon was his protection, his hand was with him, to confound their faces, to destroy them.

March of the Pharaoh

89. King Ramses III; his majesty went forth in — — — his heart [confident¹] in his father, the lord of gods. He was ——— seized herds of small cattle; his infantry and his chariotry bearers of victory; the mighty men whom [he] trained [as¹] valiant warriors. He was a strong wall, firm in ——— King Ramses III.

^aSome such words must be lost in the small lacuna (see Brugsch, *Hieroglyphisch-demotisches Wörterbuch*, Supplement, 568).

^bLit., "showing restlessness in their limbs;" the phrase is several times used of the northern peoples also, in the Medinet Habu inscriptions.

^cThat this is an invasion of Libya by the Meshwesh is unnoticed in any of the histories. It seems to have been noticed by Spiegelberg (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 34, 23, [65]), though he draws no historical conclusions.

^dThe phrase below, "his land with him," would indicate that the chief of the Meshwesh is designated here. He gathered all his people (called "land") in one place.

^eLit., "when slaying, etc."

^fLit., "Death was put round about for them," or: "death surrounded them."

The Battle

90. His majesty was a hero, protecting — — ⁸to fight hand to hand, his voice upraised, shouting like a gryphon — — — his beauty, undivided — — — his nostrils; his talons were — — — ⁹his every — before him against his enemy; fearful in might like the shout — — —, swift of foot, falling — — — horses — — — — arrows, — — ¹⁰slain in their place, their hearts and their souls are finished, perishing — — —. Their mouths have ceased contradiction in — — —. Egypt — — — their souls — — — —. ¹¹His arms are against them like '—', his hand is upon them, he feels about, surrounding — — all — their limbs. Meshesh (M-š² -š² -r), son of Keper (K² -pw-r) — — — ¹²laid low at the feet of his majesty. His chiefs, his family, his army are lost — completely. His eyes behold the hue^b of the Sun, his warriors (phrr) fight — — — their —, their children — — — ¹³their arms and their hearts, as living captives; their stuff and their children are borne ['upon'] their backs. Their herds, their horses, [their] wives — — —. The god brings them and their — — — — ¹⁴against them, a lesson for millions of years. All generations are desolated upon — 'women', their —, stripped are their — — — — flourishing — — them, Amon-Re, with the 'hand' of — — — — mighty, confident — — — ¹⁵to — extol him who repels her^c assailant, — — King Ramses III, who moves quickly, bathing the sword in the slain — — — their food, fruitlessly looking while there is no — — ¹⁶the way '—' before them. As for the land of Meshwesh (M-š² — — —), 'when they' seize their people, their weapons fall from their hands, their hearts cannot — — — smelling fear at a single 'attack' — — — — ¹⁷they ['know'] who is lord of the [land] of Egypt, the great flame of Sekhmet — — — their hearts, consuming their bones, in the midst of their bodies; the —^d — — — — them. The land re[joices]^e and exults at the sight of his valor, the Lord of the Two Lands, Ramses III. ¹⁸Every — is in his hand as far as the ['southern'] towns, as well as the northern marshes. — — — —

^aThe battle begins in ll. 9, 10, which are unfortunately almost entirely destroyed.

^bLit., "skin of the sun!" This remarkable phrase is applied to the shining appearance of the sun, in religious texts, and Horus is said to have a shining skin. "The sun" must here be a figure for the Egyptian king.

^cEgypt's.

^dThe first lost word, as determinative shows, is some designation of the king.

^eRead *wnj*.

fire, strong-armed, hurling flame, — to pursue their souls, to plunder their —, which are in their land. The excellent words of Thoth confound their faces; (from) tail to head among them, they are laid low in their place. ^{19a}His hand clutches^b the body of the invader of his border, the 'breath' of [their] nostrils — — taken, perishing, — he leaves not, when enraged — — — —. His talons are over the head of the Meshwesh, the king, Ramses III, ²⁰the kindly.

Discomfiture of the Enemy

91. The Meshwesh and the land of Temeh, who were bound — — — in Egypt. All lands bow themselves to him, like Set, — overthrowing '—', laying low. The Meshwesh and Temeh mourn and are cast down; they go ^{21c}Their eyes — the ways, looking behind them; 'flying' far, fleeing in ²²The flame seizes them, destroying their name; their feet are weary upon the ground, (but) they wait not the great lord of Egypt. ²³. . . They say when they see the people:^d "— — Montu is the form of the man who is behind us — — — . . . ²⁴He is behind us like Set, [destroying] the foe. He beholds myriads like grasshoppers; behold, they are in an evil plight. ²⁵. . . We are like the 'driven barque' with the wind behind it. Our weapons are lost, cast away; our hands are 'weak'." Their soul and their heart are finished — — — . . . ²⁷victory from the time of the god to eternity. "Her^e violence is that which courses in our limbs, her lord is he who is in heaven; his form is like him — — — Ramses III. ²⁸He seems like the radiance of the sun; his reach, and the terror of him are like Montu — — — ³⁰. . . tearing like a divine hawk, we are made 'impotent', cut down '— —'. He sends arrow upon arrow like shooting-stars — — — . ³¹The net was spread for us, while we were before ['him']. Our 'hands' and our feet were — in the palace. The god has taken us for himself, as 'prey', like wild goats creeping into the trap. The fierce-eyed — — — ³². . . He turns

^aThe upper two-thirds of ll. 19-30 are also published by de Rougé (*Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, III-13).

^bLit., "claws."

^cThe last third of ll. 21-31 is lost, except a word or two at the ends of ll. 22-27.

^dProbably meaning, when they arrive at home and see their own people, they excuse their flight in this way.

^eMeaning Egypt.

not back, he heeds not our pleadings. . . .³³ . . . We are overthrown, our heart perishes ——— like trees. We have heard since those things^a from our grandfathers, 'our repulse in their time'^b³⁴ from Egypt and we desired to take to our heels,^b 'fleeing' from the flame. Libya has misled us like —. We hearkened to their counsels,^c the fire — seized³⁵ ——— making for us a warning forever and ever, a chastisement for those whom the boundary of Egypt beholds."^d He shall tread upon '—' 'as far as' Tazoser; Montu, strong in arm, he³⁶ who takes — ['in'] the fray with you, his assailant, King Ramses III. The land of Meshwesh is desolated at one time, the Libyans and the Seped are destroyed, their seed is not³⁷ . . . their 'arms' hanging over their heads;^e their children do not ——— whom fear has seized, weeping and [lamenting] in their hearts: "The fame of thy majesty³⁸ ——— them like fire"⁴⁰ bearing [their] tribute — — — [to] laud and to praise⁴¹ the Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, making [his] boundary as far as he desires in all lands.

Speech of Ramses

92. Lo, Horus, rich in years, who came forth from Re, from his very limbs, ⁴²to whom he decreed —, abiding upon his throne^f⁴⁴ King Ramses III; he says to the king's-children, the great princes, the leaders ⁴⁵of the infantry and chariotry: "Give to me your attention — — — complete. I will tell you, I will inform you; I am the son of Re, I came forth from his limbs, I sit ⁴⁶upon his throne in rejoicing, since I have been established — —. I give to this land my good counsels, (my) plans are carried out. I am the hero of Egypt, I defend her, placing her — — — ⁴⁷lord. I overthrow for [her] every one who invades [her] boundary, I am an abundant Nile, supplying her —, overflowing with good things. I am the excellent sovereign who fills ⁴⁸—, giving breath to the nostrils of all people. I have laid low the Meshwesh, and the land of Temeh by the might of my sword. I have caused their overthrow. Behold, ⁴⁹ye ['know'] that there is no

^aOf course, meaning former defeats.

^bOn hearing the stories of their earlier defeats, they were reluctant to invade Egypt again, and wished to flee.

^cThe Meshwesh now blame the Libyans for their defeats.

^dWhen they would invade it.

^eThe arms of the prisoners were often so bound, over their heads.

^fHere follow nearly three lines of conventional epithets of the king.

contradiction in [‘my speech’]. It was the might of Amon which carried them off, that he might give myriads of jubilees to his son, the Lord of the Two Lands, Ramses III.”

^{50a}The king, like the form of Re, of ‘abiding’ — — —. His heart is stout, like his father, Montu. ^bHe takes as living captives the Meshwesh and the land of Temeh bound before him, taxed with their impost for the [‘treasury’] ———.

2. POEM ON THE SECOND LIBYAN WAR^c

93. Over two-thirds of the poem are taken up by the date, and the laudation of the Pharaoh appended to it. The narrative then begins with the invasion of Egypt (§ 95, ll. 23, 24), followed by Ramses’ attack (§ 96, ll. 24–27), the capture of Keper, the father of the Meshwesh chief (§ 97, ll. 27–30), the defeat of the enemy (§ 98, ll. 30–32); and the poem concludes with Ramses’ victorious return (§ 99, ll. 33, 34).

Date

94. ¹Year 11, second month of the second season (sixth month), seventh day^d under the majesty of Horus: Mighty Bull, Great in Kingship; Wearer of the Double Diadem, [Great in Jubilees, like Ptah]; Golden Horus: Rich in Years, like Atum, Sovereign, Protector of [Egypt, Binder of the Coun]tries; ²King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses (III), Ruler of Heliopolis.^e

^aThis line has no connection with the preceding, but belongs to the figure of the king.

^bOr: “*His captivity as living prisoners, the Meshwesh, etc., are bound, etc.*”

^cOn the face of the first pylon, Medinet Habu, right hand (northern tower), beside the right-hand doorpost of the central portal; published by Champollion (*Notices descriptives*, I, 728 f.; extracts only); relief and list at the top, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 209, d (see also *ibid.*, Text, III, 170); list only in Champollion, *ibid.*, I, 345; complete by Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, I, 13–15, and de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 121–26; de Rougé gives much the better text. The list was also published by Dareddy (*Recueil*, 20, 119).

^dThe date is some six months after the victory.

^eThe fivefold titulary is followed by seventeen lines of which only fragments have survived. They contained only a long succession of the conventional laudatory epithets applied to the king, constituting merely an expansion of the titulary. References to the defeat of the enemy begin in l. 19, introducing the poetic account of the invasion.

Conclusion of Introductory Triumph

The flame ——— ²⁰their bones, boiling and scorching in their limbs. They tread the land like those who come into the trap; slain are their ²¹heroes on the spot they tread, and their speech is taken away forever. They are overthrown at one time, seized upon are their leaders who were before them. ²²They are bound like fowl before the hawk whose every step is concealed in the midst of the thicket, sitting in^a — —. ²³They are laid low, doing obeisance.

The Invasion

95. The hostile foe had taken counsel again, to spend their lives in the confines of Egypt, that they might take the hills and plains as their (own) districts.^b ²⁴The foe set their faces toward Egypt, coming on foot themselves^c to —,^d which is in the ^efire of the 'lowlands' with its mighty heat.^e

Ramses' Attack

96. The heart of ²⁵his majesty was wroth like Baal in heaven, all his limbs were endowed with strength and might. He betook himself — — a goodly 'charge', to fight hand to hand multitudes on his right hand and on his left, ²⁶meeting their very selves, advancing like an arrow against them, to slay them. His — strength was mighty like ²⁷his father, Amon.

Capture of Hostile Chief

97. Keper (*K* > -*pw-r* >) came to salām, like '—',^f he laid down his arms, together with his soldiers. He ²⁸cried to heaven, to beseech his son;^g his feet and his hands were 'paralyzed', he stood still in his place,

^aThe king is the hawk; the picture is that of the fowler sitting behind a screen, or in the bushes, waiting to pull together the open net, as often seen in tomb reliefs. But the introduction of the hawk mixes the figures.

^bDümichen has numbered 23 twice.

^cOr: "on their own feet," being perhaps contrasted with those who went riding, or by water?

^dThe determinative indicates a building.

^eAn overdrawn figure for the dangerous proximity of the king in the Delta or lowland.

^f*T* > *k* with determinative of an eye.

^gFor help; "to heaven" is merely idiomatic for "at the top of his voice," and does not indicate the place to which his cry was directed. The word "cry" is here *d* < *k*, Hebrew, *pṣx*.

while the god,^a who knew his ²⁹reins, (even) his majesty, fell upon their^b heads like a mountain of granite.

Defeat of Enemy

98. They were scattered, overturned, brought to the ground; their blood was^c ³⁰like a flood, their bodies 'crushed on' the spot, trampled ———. The army was slain ³¹——— to take them, slaying those whom his arms had taken, bound like fowl, laid low upon the '—' ³²under the feet of his majesty. He was like Montu the victorious, with his feet upon his^d head. His^e leaders are before him, slain in his grasp.

Victorious Return

99. ³³Happy are his counsels, his designs have come to pass. He returns to his palace, his heart gratified. He is like a plundering lion, terrifying the ³⁴goats, in his 'coat of mail', King Ramses III. As for Egypt, their hearts rejoice at seeing his victories; they acclaim with one accord over the flight ———.

3. RELIEF SCENES ON FIRST PYLON AND OUTSIDE NORTH WALL^f

100. These scenes are of the conventional order, but furnish some facts that are new, regarding the campaign. Some of the accompanying inscriptions also are of the greatest importance; e. g., the short line over the battle scene, giving the limits of the pursuit (§ 102). The long inscription over the same scene (§§ 103, 104) is almost exclusively laudation of the Pharaoh for his prowess, but mentions

^aMeaning the Pharaoh.

^bMeaning doubtless Keper and his son; the latter is mentioned (§ 90, l. 11), and his name given as Meshesh. Our narrative describes the capture of his old father, who afterward appears in the list of 'captives' as "*chief of the Meshwesh, 1 man*," but without name appended (§ 111). In the inscription belonging to the battle the son is said to have been killed (§ 90, ll. 11, 12), and the father driven pinioned before the Pharaoh's horses. He is depicted so pinioned in the line of foreign chiefs on the pavilion (§ 114, No. 6).

^cDe Rougé's copy here inserts the words: "*in their place*."

^dThe head of the conquered foe, perhaps the Libyan chief.

^eThe Libyan chief's leaders.

^fAlso one relief from the front of the pavilion (§ 114).

the capture of Keper and adds the important fact that his son (Meshesher) was slain (ll. 11, 12). The closing section (§ 105, l. 24) also furnishes the date of the battle, between the tenth and twentieth of the twelfth month in the year 11. The date of the Poem (§§ 93-99) is some six months later. The final triumph (§§ 110, 111) furnishes the exact numbers of captured and slain.

Scene^a

101. In the conventional manner the king is shown charging the enemy in his chariot, in which he stands with drawn bow. Two lines of Egyptian chariots accompany him, with occasional bodies of infantry; and the enemy, driven before them, or falling pierced by the king's arrows, are scattered in the wildest confusion, as the king drives over the fallen.

102. The inscriptions are these:

Over the Charge^b

[The pursuit]^c from Hatsho^d (*H' t-š c' t*) to the town of Usermare-

^aFirst pylon, inside, southern tower; unpublished; I had a photograph by Schroeder & Cie., Zürich.

^bFragments of the name of the king's steeds may be discerned over the horses, but large pieces have fallen off, carrying it nearly all away.

^cSome such words must have begun this title of the charge; but some six or eight words have really been lost, for some early vandal has cut out a large rectangle here, carrying away a third of this little inscription. This important line was overlooked by Dümichen in his first publication; but appeared in his *Photographische Resultate* (Pl. 26), too small to be read. It was used by Brugsch in his *Geographie* (35, 36), where he misunderstood the portion he published (Pl. IV, No. 242). He then published it entire in the *Wörterbuch* (Supplement, 164), and in *Aegyptologie* (472); again by Levy, *Recueil*, 15, 171.

^dThis town, the name of which means "House of Sand," is depicted on the north wall (§ 107). It was a stronghold on the western road, 8 iters from the edge of the plateau. The name is misread by Brugsch as *H' t-h c' t*; but it is clearly *H' t-š c' t* in § 107, and I have verified the reading on both walls carefully in the photographs. It must have been near Perire, where Merneptah's pursuit of the Libyans began (III, 579, 600), if not identical with it. There is a *H' t-š c' t* mentioned on a late stela at Coptos (Petrie, *Coptos*, XXII). See also Daressy, *Recueil*, 19, 19.

Meriamon, which is upon the "Mount of the Horns of the Earth,"^a making eight iters^b of butchery among them.

Over Battle^c

103. Horus, strong bull, mighty-armed, strong-armed, lord of terror in the lands and countries, desolating the Temeh^d and Meshwesh, who are made heaps, crushed, destroyed before [his horses]. ²Live the Good God, son of Amon, brave, valiant, like Montu, residing in Thebes, great ruler, by whose name one adjures, beautiful upon the steed, ³brave in the fray, strong-horned among multitudes, ⁴experienced in¹ charging among them like ⁵one rejoicing in heart, hero ⁶slaying¹ his ⁷assailing¹ enemies, seizing the aggressor, confronting the invader of ⁸his boundary, great in fame in the land of Meshwesh, great in terror, lord of might, destroying the name of the Asiatic lands, sending ⁹his fire as a flame into their limbs, like Re, when he rages, in order to extend the confines of Egypt, by the great victories ¹⁰of his sword, despising a million, holding in contempt two millions, firm-hearted, charging into hundred-thousands, the youthful Bull, mighty in ¹¹slaughter, like Set when he is enraged, the valiant warrior, achieving with his two arms, planning in heart, like Shu, son of Re, ¹²great in victory among the lands and countries, planting terror in the heart of the Meshwesh, their people and their heirs upon the earth have vanished,^e ¹³their — has perished forever, the countries — their soul —, they mention his every name in dread, King

^aAlso the limit of Merneptah's pursuit of the Libyans (III, 600, ll. 1 and 9), *q. v.* Ramses III otherwise uses this word for the far south, the commoner application. At Karnak he applies it as a gentilic parallel with the people of Upper Nubia (*Annales*, IV, 5, l. 2). His new town or fortified station, not mentioned in the first Libyan war, was doubtless founded at the close of that war as a safeguard against Libyan aggression. In Papyrus Harris (51, a, 5) it is again mentioned and shown to be on the "western canal," perhaps "The Water of Re" of 10, 8, and 62a, 2.

^bThis is, of course, parallel with the pursuit measured in iters by Thutmose III (II, 479, l. 18). On the length of the iter, see II, 965, note, and Levy, *Recueil*, 15, 161-171.

^cThis inscription has been published by Dümichen (*Historische Inschriften*, I, 18, 19, and *Photographische Resultate*, 26), and de Rougé (*Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 114-17); see also Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 173.

^dThis line is longer than the rest, and the lower end was covered in de Rougé's day. His publication therefore omits the end from here on, but makes no note of the loss.

^eLit., "are not." This phrase is thus parallel with the much-discussed phrase applied to Israel: "his seed is not." (III, 604.)

of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare-Meriamon, ¹¹victorious king, conscious of his might, ruler treading ¹—, repelling the Nine Bows, taking captive the Meshwesh, who are made heaps; their chief^a ¹²is fettered before his (Pharaoh's) horses, his son, his wife, his family are slain, their children and their stuff upon their backs ¹³while coming, subjecting themselves to his valor; like a bull with ready horn, he thrusts, becoming that which his father, Amon-Re grants him, destroying ¹⁴this —, King Ramses III, ruler, giving breath to Egypt, so that they sit under the shadow ¹⁵of his might, beautiful when appearing upon the throne of Atum; his [form] is like Re over the shadows, great in might, the rampart of this land, it acclaims and it jubilates ¹⁶(over) his valor.

104. Lo, this Good God, the august, divine youth, who came forth from Re, beautiful as a child, like the son of Isis, ¹⁷Sutekh, valiant, strong-armed, like [his] f[ather], Montu, the white and red crown, and the etef-crown are upon his head ¹⁸. . . mighty of arm in drawing the bow.^b When he beholds millions before him like a flood, (he) charges into the multitude, ¹⁹repelling the invader; they are laid low on his right and his left; overthrowing the Temeh, desolating the Meshwesh, ²⁰causing them to cease trampling the boundaries of Egypt, King Ramses III, sole lord, making his boundary as far as he desires, putting ²¹fear and terror in the heart of the Asiatics, mighty Lion, plundering his every adversary, taking captive the lands of the Nine Bows, overthrowing them; a — tempest, ²²he comes up behind his adversaries; they ²³hear¹ his roaring like Baal in heaven; his august father, Amon-Re gives ²³the lands of the Nine Bows to him . . . lord of strength, destroying the name of the Meshwesh forever and ever, King Ramses III, given life, like Re, forever.

105. ²⁴Year 11, fourth month of the third season (twelfth month), day 10(+x),^c of King Ramses III. Beginning^d of the victory of Egypt, ²⁵which the victorious king established;^e who receives acclamation, who exercises the kingship of Re, enlarging Egypt, repelling

^aThis chief, Keper by name, is counted in the enumeration, § 111; see also § 97, note.

^bLit., "*in drawing (stretching out) when bearing the bow.*"

^cNot more than 20.

^dThe form is not the usual one here, and another rendering is possible.

^eOr: "*recorded.*"

the Nine Bows, setting terror in every land. It was ²⁶the sole lord who made heaven and earth from the origin of the world, Amon-Re, king of gods, the mighty Bull, with ready horns. Lo, the heart of this god who created the earth, inclined to establish ²⁷the boundaries of Egypt, with great power. He chose a lord, whom he created, ²⁸begotten, the issue of his limbs, a divine boy, an august youth, ²⁹great in might, strong-armed, full of plans, brave, lord of counsels, firm-hearted, ready in ³⁰designs, wise in life, like Thoth, taking account like Shu, son of Re, Usermare-Meriamon, ³¹egg that came forth from Re, Ramses, Ruler of Heliopolis, youthful, valiant lord, to whom was assigned ³²victory from birth, the hero of great — like Montu, who has commanded him to crush ³³the lands, to lay them low, to repel them from Egypt. Montu and Sutekh are with [him in] ³⁴every fray, Anath (^c *nt*) and Astarte (^c *-s-ty-r-ṯ*) are his^a shield. Amon judges ³⁵his speech, he turns not himself back, bearing the sword of Egypt over the Asiatics. He is the example of every land to^b ———.

Scene^c

106. Battle with the Libyans. The Egyptian heavy infantry, with sword and shield, preceded by the archers, all in faultless line, have thrown into confusion the Libyans, among whom Egyptian officers leap forward for the hand-to-hand fray. Ramses III has dismounted from his chariot and binds Libyan captives;^d by his waiting chariot are his officers and bodyguard.

The inscriptions are the following:

Before the King

Good God, [great] in victory, lord of might, seizing every land, encompassing the lands, — — — to seek them that transgress his bound-

^aThe ancient artist has inserted the pronoun in the wrong place, as belonging to Astarte.

^bBoth Dümichen and de Rougé have omitted something at the end of the line, or more probably omitted the last line.

^cFirst pylon, rear (west) side of projection, outside of north wall, lowest row; Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1902, 303; unpublished; I had a photograph by Weigall and another by Beato.

^dThis portion will be found summarily published from Beato's photograph in Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 473.

ary, charging into —, slaying hundreds of thousands; before whom none stands; he is like Baal in his hour (of wrath). He rages like a hawk among the birdlets and the 'doves' (*š/w*); valiant upon the battle-field, fighting hand-to-hand upon his feet, seizing the chiefs with his two hands; (even) King Ramses III.

Over Captives

Barbarians (*H' š' tyw*), whom his majesty took as living captives, 2,052. Slain in their place, 2,175.^a

Over the King's Horses

Great first span of his majesty (named): "Beloved-of-Amon," of the great stable of Usermare-Meriamon (Ramses III).

Over Officers

Charioteers — —^b of his majesty, who are favorites of the Good God.

Scene^c

107. Ramses in his chariot, supported by his chariotry, charges the discomfited Libyans. The Egyptians are supported by archers, who shoot the Libyans from the walls of two neighboring Egyptian fortresses.

The inscriptions, which are badly weathered and broken, are these:

Over the King

King great in might, slaying the Meshwesh, smitten and overthrown before his horses^d

Over the Horses

Great first span of his majesty (named): "Victory-in-Thebes."

^aThese numbers are corroborated by § 111, where they are itemized.

^bDeterminative of men.

^cEast half of north wall, outside of first court, lower row; unpublished; Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1902, 303. I had a photograph by Weigall.

^dThe remainder (seven short lines) is badly weathered and not wholly legible on the photograph, but all that is clear consists solely of the conventional epithets of the Pharaoh.

Over Fortresses

— of the Meshwesh who came into Egypt [—] before¹^a

In One Fortress

Hatsho (*H t š c t^b*).

Scene^c

108. Ramses III steps into his chariot, dragging Libyan captives, whom he grasps by the hair.

An inscription^d over the horses reads:

The Good God, Set, when he appears He hath — the hearts of the Meshwesh, their mighty men are —, 'seized' —, pinioned before his horses. His terror [—] diffuses through their limbs, and his fear penetrates their members. Amon-Re is with him 'against them', to lay them low, overthrown at the fame of him, (even) Ramses III.

Scene^e

109. Ramses III, accompanied by two sunshade-bearers and an adjutant officer, inspects three lines of captives brought up by three Egyptian officers.

The inscriptions are these:

Before Middle Row

[Utterance of Pharaoh to the —], commander in chief of the army, king's-son: "Say to the vanquished chief of the Meshwesh: 'See how thy name is obliterated forever and ever. Thy mouth hath ceased con-

^aThe remainder (consisting of as much again) is broken by a joint in the masonry along which the horizontal line of text runs.

^bSee § 102. The determinative is a small circle, both here and in § 102; ignoring the *t*, which does not mean much in this period (other late examples of "sand" written with *t* are known), we should have a "*House of Sand*." It is evident that the Meshwesh invasion had reached and invested this fortress, which Ramses III is here pictured as relieving.

^cEast half of north wall, outside of first court, lower row; unpublished; Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1902, 303. I had a photograph by Weigall.

^dUnpublished.

^eEast half of north wall, outside of first court, lower row; unpublished; Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1902, 303. I had photograph by Weigall.

tradiction at the mention of Egypt, by the might of my father, the lord of gods.”

Over Officer

“See how Pharaoh hath obliterated thy name forever. Thy mouth hath ceased contradiction at the mention of Egypt.”^a

Scene^b

110. King Ramses III, enthroned, with two sunshade-bearers behind him, addresses a prince of rank and his two viziers, the court and leaders of the army, while two lines of captive Meshwesh, preceded by the collected hands severed from the slain, are presented to him. Over the whole is the long inscription of fifty lines translated above (§§ 103-5). The other inscriptions are these:

Before the King

Utterance of his majesty to the hereditary prince, and the two viziers: “Behold ye, the many good things which Amon-Re, king of gods, has done for Pharaoh, L. P. H., his child, ——— [his] dues, his possessions, his cattle, the plunder which Egypt carried away, slaying — — — — —.” The Pharaoh [‘recorded’] them victoriously in his own handwriting.

Over the Viziers

Utterance of the hereditary prince and the two viziers who are in the presence of his majesty, praising this Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare-Meriamon (Ramses III): “Thou art Re, shining like him. When thou risest, the people live. Thy strength is mighty, overthrowing the Nine Bows; kindly disposed toward Egypt, bringing victory. The might of Montu is mingled with thy limbs. Thy counsels abide, thy designs come to pass, for whom Amon finds — —, establishing the throne of Egypt, — — whom his heart loves, ruler, enduring in monuments — — he — for thee the kingdom. He hath made — — as far as the Great Bend, beneath thy feet.”

^aThe officer, who is the king’s son, thus carries out the instructions of his father.

^bFirst pylon, inside, facing first court, north tower. Published partially, but with the inscriptions complete, by Dümichen (*Historische Inschriften*, I, 26, 27).

Over the Hands

III. Total, 2,175^a hands.

Over the Libyans

The captivity which the mighty sword of Pharaoh, L. P. H., carried away from the vanquished of the Meshwesh:

Chiefs of the Meshwesh	1 man ^b
Chieftains (ꜥꜣ) of the — enemy	5 men
Meshwesh	1,20[5] ^c men
Youths	152
Boys	131
Total	1,494
Their wives	342 women
Maids (<i>nfr t</i>)	65
Girls	151
Total	558

(Total) of the mighty sword of Pharaoh, as living captives: 2,052^d various persons.

Those whom his majesty slew in their place were 2,175.

Their possessions:

Cattle: bulls	119(+x)
Swords of 5 cubits (length)	115
Swords of 3 cubits (length)	124
Bows	603
Chariots	93 ^e
Quivers	2,310
Spears	92
Horses of the Meshwesh, and asses	183

^aCorroborated by § 106, on the back of the first pylon, outside the first court.

^bThere is a reference to this "*chief*" (*wr*) in the inscription over the battle (§ 103, ll. 11, 12).

^cThe units are restored by calculating from the total given. The bulk of these prisoners, viz., 971, were enslaved, to care for herds in the vicinity of the battle (see Harris, 10, 8).

^dThis number is the correct sum-total of prisoners, male and female, above enumerated, and is corroborated by § 106.

^eThe units are uncertain, and may be increased; but 93 is a minimum, and 99 is a maximum.

Scene^a

112. Ramses III, riding in his chariot, drives before him two lines of Libyan captives, and is greeted by a group of priests. Beside the horses trots the king's tame lion.

The inscriptions are the following:

By the King

Live the Good God, plenteous in valor, lord of might, confident in his strength^b

Over Upper Line

Utterance of the leaders of the land of Meshwesh, who are pinioned before his majesty: "Great is thy might, O victorious king, Sun of Egypt"^b

Over Lower Line

Utterance of the vanquished of Meshwesh, who are before his majesty: "Breath! Breath! O ruler, good and beautiful as king of Egypt."

Over Priests

Utterance of the prophets ———: "."^c

Scene^d

113. Ramses III leads two lines of captive Libyans and presents them to Amon, who is seated in a chapel, with Mut standing behind him. The inscriptions before the divinities contain only the conventional promises usual in such scenes. The king boasts that in the strength of Amon, "*the* (singular) *Meshwesh was overthrown*." Over the prisoners are the words: "*Utterance of the fallen of Meshwesh who are in the grasp of his majesty:*"^e

^aEast half, north wall, outside of first court; lower row; unpublished; Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1902, 303. I had a photograph by Weigall.

^bOnly similar epithets.

^cThe usual epithets, without a single specific allusion.

^dEast half of north wall, outside of second court, lower row; unpublished; Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1902, 303. I had a photograph by Weigall.

^eThe usual prayer.

Scene^a

114. A line of seven kneeling chiefs (one lost), with arms pinioned behind them; they are recognizable in features and costume, and by accompanying inscriptions, as follows:

1. Negro.

The chief of Kush the wretched.

2. Lost.

3. Negro. Inscription lost.

4. Libyan.

The chief of Libya.

5. Negro.

The chief of Terses (*Tw-r²-ss*).

6. Libyan.

The chief of Meshwesh.

7. Negro.

The chief of Terew (*Ty-r² y-w²*).

V. THE SYRIAN WAR

115. The materials for this war are solely relief scenes, which are too meager to afford us more than a hint of its extent or character. The invasion from Asia Minor had broken the strength of the North-Syrian peoples. Ramses III therefore improved the opportunity to invade them. The reliefs show him storming no less than five strong cities. One of them is called "*the city of Amor*," with perhaps the name of the city lost at the end; two others are defended by Hittites; a fourth is surrounded by water, and is, therefore, thought to be Kadesh; the fifth stands on high ground, but offers no other characteristic by which it might be identified.

^aRelief on the façade of the left wing of the pavilion; published by Champollion, *Monuments*, 202 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 142 = Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 209, a; pendant to the similar relief on the other wing (§ 129).

116. It is clear that Ramses III pushed down the Orontes as far as the Hittite frontier, and Shabtuna just south of Kadesh is mentioned in his geographical list (§ 131). But he apparently made no permanent conquests, and the campaign was evidently little more than a plundering expedition, though it may have been necessary for the preservation of the Pharaoh's Syrian possessions. The question of the date of this campaign will be found discussed in §§ 132, 133.

Scene^a

117. The king assaults a Syrian fortress on foot; he has left his chariot, and shoots with the bow as he advances; before him are his bodyguard and Sherden mercenaries. The fortress rises in four successive battlements to a lofty citadel or tower in the middle, from which waves a triangular banner. Here stands the chief and his companions. The walls are manned with bearded Semites, one of whom offers incense to Ramses from the lowest battlement.

Inscriptions^b

In the city: "*Amor*" (ʔ -*m-r* —); by a chief beseeching mercy: "*Utterance of the chief of the city of Amor.*" By the king, only the conventional phrases descriptive of his valor.

Scene^c

118. The king standing in his chariot with uplifted sword, charges the chariotry of the Syrian enemy; before him Egyptian archers and heavy Sherden infantry are

^aFirst court, north wall, behind pillars, lower row; unpublished; Baedeker's *Egypt* (German edition, 1897), 301. I had a photograph by Weigall.

^bUnpublished, except the name of the city and the title of the chief, by Müller (*Asien und Europa*, 226, from notes by Eisenlohr). In my photograph the inscription in the city is concealed by a pillar.

^cEast half of north wall, outside of first court, upper row; first scene from east end; published by Champollion, *Monuments*, 228; the city also by Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 226.

assaulting a fortified city surrounded by water, evidently a moat. The scaling-ladders are up, and while some of the assaulting party attack the gate with axes, others have climbed the ladders, gained a footing on the ramparts, and are slaying the defenders. From the top of the wall an Egyptian trumpeter sounds the victory.^a

Scene^b

119. The king, having left his chariot, charges the Syrian enemy on foot, spear in hand. Behind him follow the chariotry and heavy infantry. The enemy are defending a walled city, which stands upon a hill. The short inscription (mutilated and very incorrectly published) contains the usual epithets of the king. It refers to enemy as "*Asiatics*" (*St·tyw*).

Scene^c

120. The king in his chariot, with drawn bow, storms two fortresses. Behind him are his bodyguard and adjutants. The defenders of the strongholds, who fall in numbers before his attack, are Hittites. The scene, therefore, commemorates the capture of at least two Hittite walled towns in Syria. The name of one of the fortresses is given as "*Ereth*" (*ꜥ-rꜥ-tꜥ*).^d The inscription over the king contains only the customary epithets extolling the king's valor. The name of the chariot horses is recorded as "*Victory-in-Thebes*."

^aThe two short inscriptions contain the usual epithets of the king, but they are excessively incorrect as published, and also fragmentary.

^bEast half of north wall, outside of first court, upper row; second scene from east end; published by Champollion, *Monuments*, 227; the city also by Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 225.

^cFirst pylon, rear (west) side of projection outside of north wall, upper row; unpublished; Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1902, 303. I had a photograph by Weigall.

^dSo Daressy, *Recueil*, 19, 18; I could not discern the name on the photograph.

Scene^a

121. The king, standing alone, receives three lines of Syrian (Semitic) prisoners, each headed by an Egyptian officer. The only inscription, that before the king, reads:

The king himself, he said to the hereditary prince, king's-scribe, commander in chief of the army, king's-son — —:^b "Collect the captives whom the valor of Pharaoh, L. P. H., has taken, and place them [in] the offices in the house (*pr*) of Amon-Re, king of gods; (for) it was his hand which captured them."

Scene^c

122. Riding in his chariot, with his tame lion trotting beside the horses, Ramses III drives before him two lines of Syrian (Semitic) captives. The inscriptions are these:

Over King

Good God, beautiful in his appearance, like Re, ———, coming in triumph — — —. His valor is mighty, he hath taken captive the lands of the Asiatics (*St tyw*).^d

Over Captives

Utterance of the vanquished of every country who are before his majesty: "Breath from thee! O lord of Egypt, Sun of the Nine Bows! Thy father, Amon, hath put us beneath thy feet forever, that we may see and breathe the breath of life; that we may hail (*brk n*)^e his temple. Thou art our lord forever, like thy father, Amon. Every land is beneath thy feet, like Re, forever, O Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare-Meriamon."

^aNorth wall, east end, outside, first court, upper row, third scene from east end (Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1902, 303); unpublished. I had a photograph by Weigall.

^bLeft vacant by the scribe; who was to be crown prince was not certain at this time!

^cNorth wall, east end, outside first court, upper row, fourth scene from east end (Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1902, 303); unpublished. I had a photograph by Weigall.

^dCustomary epithets of the king.

^eSee also § 127.

Scene^a

123. "Triumphal return of the king in his chariot, followed by two sunshade-bearers and his bodyguard; he drives before him three rows of prisoners—Libyans, Syrians, Peleset, etc.—whom he holds by cords, and is received by the rejoicing Egyptian grandees." The inscription over the king refers to "*the chiefs of the countries pinioned before him,*" but otherwise contains only the usual epithets. The horses are called: "*Great first span of his majesty (called): 'Repulser-of-the-Nine-Bows,' of the great stable of Usermare-Meriamon (Ramses III).*"

Inscriptions over Grandees^b

Utterance of the —, the nobles, and the [lead]ers: "[Come] in peace, victorious king, Horus, rich in years. Thou hast seized the lands, the Nine Bows are fettered before thy horses, for thy father, Amon, hath assigned to thee [all lands] beneath thy feet."

Scene^c

124. "The king stands in a balcony; behind him two sunshade-bearers, two fan-bearers, officers, and priests; Syrian captives are led before him in three rows," preceded by Egyptian officers and a group of nobles.

The inscriptions are these:

Before the King

Utterance of King Ramses III to the king's-children, magnates, —¹ and attendants: "Hear ye my words, that I may cause you to know of the might of Amon, lord of eternity, since he crowned me as king, as

^aFirst court, north wall, behind pillars, lower row; unpublished; Baedeker's *Egypt* (German edition, 1897), 302. I had a photograph by Weigall, but the speech of the grandees was cut off by a pillar.

^bOnly this greeting of the grandees is published by de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 127.

^cFirst court, north wall, behind pillars, lower row; unpublished; Baedeker's *Egypt* (German edition, 1897), 301. I had a photograph by Weigall.

Over Amon

Utterance of Amon, lord of Thebes, to his son, Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare-Meriamon: "Come thou in peace, O Good God, lord of might, captor of the Nine Bows, at thy return having crushed the countries. Thou hast slain their chiefs, who were beginning to trespass thy boundaries, they fell by thy blade. The countries that knew not Egypt come to thee, (with) their tribute upon their backs, from the victories which I have decreed to thee forever."

Before the King

The king himself, presenting the tribute to Amon from the great chiefs of every country, being: silver, gold, lapis lazuli, malachite, all (kinds of) costly stones without limit, from the booty which his majesty carried off, from that which his valiant sword captured; placed before (his) august father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, according as he gave to [him] all valor.

Over the Chiefs

127. Utterance of the wretched chief of Amor (³-m-r³), and the wretched, vanquished chief of Libya: "Breath! O Good ruler, strong-armed, great in might. Thou art verily the son of Amon, thy form is like him. He has assigned to thee every land, together overthrown beneath thy feet. Thou art like the sun, when he rises; men live at thy appearance. Give to us the breath, which thou givest, that we may hail^a thy double serpent-diadem, that we may speak of thy might to our sons' sons. They are brought low through the fear of thee, of which we tell them; O thou Sun over Egypt, like the one which is in heaven, King Ramses III."

Scene^b

128. "The king leads two rows of prisoners, before the Theban triad."

Inscription over King^c

Utterance of the king, Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare-Meriamon, before his father, Amon-Re, lord of heaven, ruler of gods: "I went upon

^aB 3 -r 3 -k 3 =Semitic, בִּרַךְ, "bend the knee;" see Bondi, *Lehnwörter*, 40, 41. See also § 122.

^bFirst court, north wall, behind pillars, lower row; Baedeker's *Egypt* (German edition, 1897), 302.

^cOnly the inscriptions over the king and prisoners are published; Rouge, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 127, 128; letter by Piehl, *Inscriptions*, I, CXLVII, f. A.

thy way, I came at thy command, all thy designs come to pass, thou causest the — of the countries to — for fear^a of me, overthrown in their place. I cut [them] down, slain at the fame of me. I carried off their people, all their possessions, all the splendid costly stone of their country; they are placed before thee, O lord of gods. Give to thy beloved, grant thou the participation of thy divine ennead in the might of thy sword.^b I have carried them away: the males thereof to fill thy storehouse; their women to be subjects of thy temple. Thou causedst that I make my boundary as far as I desired. My hand was not repulsed; behold, the lands praised my might like a strong-armed one before them, by the might of thy sword, O my august father. Thy terror and thy — overthrew —.”

Over Prisoners

Utterance of the chiefs of all countries who are in the grasp of his majesty: “Thou art Re.”^c

Scene^d

129. A line of seven captive chiefs kneeling with arms pinioned behind them. Their racial peculiarities are clearly depicted in features and costumes, and also indicated by accompanying inscriptions.

Inscriptions

1. Hittite.

The wretched chief of Kheta as living captive.

2. Amorite.

The wretched chief of Amor.

3. Asiatic.

Chieftain (^c) of the foe of Thekel (*T³ -kw-r*).

^aOr possibly: “because I was ready for battle.”

^bThe other gods are to receive only as much of the booty of Amon's sword as he permits.

^cHere follow the conventional epithets of praise.

^dRelief on the façade of the right wing of the pavilion of Medinet Habu; published by Champollion, *Monuments*, 203 = *Notices descriptives*, I, 720, 721 (see also *ibid.*, I, 709) = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 143 = Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 209, b; Mariette, *Voyage dans la haute Egypte*, II, 51; pendant to the similar relief on the other wing (§ 114).

4. Sherden.

Sherden ($\text{Š}^{\text{d}} - \text{r}^{\text{d}} - \text{d}^{\text{d}} - \text{n}^{\text{d}}$) of the sea.

5. Bedwi.^a

Chieftain (c^{d}) of the foe of Sha[[su]] ($\text{Š}^{\text{d}} - \text{—}$).

6. Teresh.

Teresh ($\text{T}^{\text{y}} - \text{w} - \text{r}^{\text{d}} - \text{š}^{\text{d}}$) of the sea.

7. Head lost.

Chieftain of the Pe[[leset]] ($\text{P}^{\text{w}} - \text{—}$).

Scene^b

130. Amon standing at the right extends to the king the sword, and leads to him 126 captives of the conventional form, each bearing an oval containing the name of a conquered city or country. The king smites with the war-mace a group of the enemy, whom he holds by the hair.

The inscriptions are these:

Over Amon

Utterance of Amon-Re, lord of Thebes: "O my son, of my body, my beloved, Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare-Meriamon, rich in years like Atum — overthrowing his enemies. Thou hast slain every land that began to trespass thy borders, in thy grasp. Thou hast taken every land. . . . Thou hast — him on the north of him; the great fame of thee, it has encompassed every land; the fear of thee, it has penetrated the countries. Thou art like Horus over the Two Lands, the son of the bow-peoples. I magnify^c thy victories, I set the fear of thee in the hearts of the lands of Haunebu. Thy mighty blade is in

^aSee Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 139 and 393. This chieftain is therefore to be connected with the war against the Seirites (§ 404).

^bFirst pylon, left hand (southern) tower, front, left half; published by Dümichen (*Historische Inschriften*, I, 11, 12), but with only the upper portion of the geographical list, and omitting the king's figure; list entire by Daressy (*Recueil*, XX, 116–119, and *ibid.*, XXI, 30–39) and partially by Maspero (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1882, Pl. VI). A similar scene at Karnak shows Ramses III receiving from Amon the countries of "*Retenu*" and the "*southern countries*," while he "[*cuts off*] the heads of the rebels" before the god.

^cDümichen's lacuna is not in the text (photograph).

their limbs, thy majesty strikes^a them down, thy hands cut off the head of thy enemy. I make [thee] lord of —, the Sand-dwellers [come!], bowing down to thy name. Dreadful is thy serpent-crest among them; the war-mace in thy right hand, the — in thy left hand. Thou hast subdued the hearts of the rebels; the chiefs come to thee, bearing tribute —, every good product of their countries. I give to thee Egypt with good things, the bow-peoples as subjects of thy palace. The South comes to thee in fear, and the North bowing down to thy fame. I open for thee the ways of Punt, with myrrh and incense for thy serpent-diadem. I lead thee, and my strength is in thy limbs, to destroy the lands that invade thee. . . .”^b

By the Victims

Smiting the chiefs of all countries.

131. The geographical names borne by the captives (who are alternately Semite and Hittite in features)^c are largely taken from the list of Ramses II at Karnak. In the portions not so borrowed^d such a name as Shabtuna (*S³-bw-dw-n³*, No. 75)^e indicates the Amorite valley, as we should expect.^f The insertion of such names as Carchemish, Mitanni, and Arrapachitis^g shows clearly the decorative character of the list. The most interesting name is Levi-El (*R³-wy-³-r³*), which is parallel with Jacob-El and Joseph-El, which Daressy would identify with Shiloh.^h

^aRead the *f* as determinative, misunderstood from the hieratic. “Majesty” is perhaps to be read “mace.”

^bThe conclusion contains only the conventional promises.

^cExcept 8 (at the ends of the rows) who are Negroes; and the names they bear are taken from the list on the other pylon (§ 138).

^dThe entire list of Ramses II at Karnak is not yet excavated, or, if now excavated during the recent work at Karnak, is not yet published, so that the extent of the borrowing is not yet certain. See Daressy, *Recueil*, XX, 119.

^eSee III, 310, note.

^fWe might expect some places from the Edomite war (§ 404) also, but there is not space here for such discussion.

^gSee Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 227.

^hSee Daressy, *Recueil*, XXI, 37, 38; on the list as a whole, see Müller (*Asien und Europa*, 227 f.), who had only Dümichen's incomplete publication, and Sayce, *Bulletin de la Société Khédiviale de Géographie*, 1892, 661.

BLESSING OF PTAH^a

132. This document is the pendant of the one of the year 11 (§§ 93-99). It is dated in the year 12, and the presence of the date would indicate that it records some specific occurrence; but it is difficult to determine what this occurrence was from our inscription, as it is copied from that of Ramses II at Abu Simbel (III, 394-414).

133. This brings up the whole question of the date of the Amorite war. The arrangement of the records in the Medinet Habu temple in chronological order from rear to front is so evident that the location of those reporting the Amorite war is of the first importance. We find them all (with one exception) on walls in front of—that is, later than—the second pylon (bearing records of the year 8), and among records of the Libyan war of the year 11. Had the Amorite campaign immediately followed the defeat of the sea-peoples in the year 8, it is certain that the very full records of that year would have contained some reference to it. But the long row of scenes depicting the campaign of the year 8 (outside north wall) contains nothing from the Amorite war, and the arrangement^b of the whole wall clearly indicates that the Amorite war is at least as late as the year 11. But as the second Libyan war occurred in that year, the Amorite war would have probably been later. We have to remember,

^aInscription at Medinet Habu temple of Ramses III, cut into the front of the first pylon, on the south (left) tower, just at the left of the entrance. It exactly matches in form and size the inscription of year 11 (§§ 93-99) on the right of the entrance. Published: relief at top and list, by Champollion, *Monuments*, 204; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 123; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 209, c (see also, *ibid.*, Text, III, 170); complete by Dümichen (*Historische Inschriften*, I, 7-10); and Rougé (*Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, II, 131-38, but without the relief at the top). The geographical list at the top also, by Daressy (*Recueil*, XX, 120).

^bThe reliefs begin at the rear with three scenes from the war of year 5; proceed toward the front with seven scenes from the war of year 8; and conclude at the front with a group of scenes from the Libyan war of year 11, and the Amorite war.

however, that on the treasury in the rear of the temple interior (that is, the oldest portion of the building) there is a relief (§§ 126, 127) showing the king of Amor as a captive. But he is here in company with a Libyan king, and as we cannot suppose that the Amorite war occurred as early as the year 5 (first Libyan war), it is evident that this Libyan king was taken in the Libyan war of year 11, when Ramses III actually did capture a Libyan king (§ 97), whereas no such capture is mentioned in the records of the year 5. Thus this relief on the treasury again connects the Amorite war with the Libyan war of year 11. They must thus have occurred close together, from the testimony of the reliefs.

134. Returning now to our monument, copied, as we have stated, from an Abu Simbel stela of Ramses II, we find that the slight changes in it, necessary to suit the times of Ramses III, are not in favor of the above conclusion. Especially is this true in one case, where Ramses II's stela refers to the Hittites thus, (Ptah speaks): "*I have made for thee the land of Kheta into subjects of thy palace*" (III, 410). Here Ramses III's redactor has changed "*Kheta*" into "*every land*;" although, according to the reliefs and the lists, Ramses III must have fought the Hittites. The relief at the top of our stela contains a list of names of three African and ten Syrian towns, accompanying thirteen Asiatic (sic!) prisoners, and Müller^a refers the latter without hesitation to the Amorite war. The presence of the African names with Asiatic figures would lead one to suspect this list to be nothing more than decorative. Against this stela one must now weigh the evidence of the reliefs, which seems to me conclusive for dating the Amorite war in or shortly after the year 11. This conclusion is thus reached rather in spite of than because of our stela.

^aMüller, *Asien und Europa*, 394 ("S. 227").

135. All changes in the version of Ramses II have been indicated in the footnotes to the translation of the Abu Simbel stela (III, 594-414), which may therefore serve in place of a repetition of the document here.

The relief at the top shows Ramses III, "*smiting the chiefs of all countries*" in the presence of Ptah-Tatenen, who presents to him a sword, and leads up thirteen Asiatic captives, represented in the conventional form with ovals, the first three of which contain the names of African places.

VI. THE NUBIAN WAR

136. The materials for this war, like those of the Amorite war, are solely relief scenes. These permit no definite conclusions regarding it. Nubia had now been so thoroughly Egyptianized that Ramses III's war or wars there were doubtless confined to quelling unimportant insurrections on the extreme southern frontier, or to expeditions against the outlying tribes on the east of Nubia.

Besides the material below, see also the Nubian chiefs represented with the Meshwesh chief captured in the year 11, on the pavilion (§ 114). There are also unpublished scenes from this war on the rear (west) side of the temple (Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1902, 302).

SLAYING OF PRISONERS BEFORE AMON-RE^a

137. This relief shows Ramses III "*slaying the chiefs of all countries*" in the presence of Amon-Re, who extends to him a sword at the same time leading to him a list of 124 captives, depicted in the usual form, each with an oval con-

^aRelief scene on the façade of the Medinet Habu temple, right (northern) tower, front, first pylon; published by Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 725-28 (list partially); Dümichen (*Historische Inschriften*, I, 16-18, without king's figure, the victims and accompanying inscriptions) and Rougé (*Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 109, 110, with same omissions and without list). Rougé has incorrectly appended to the long inscription in this scene twelve lines, from the back of the same pylon-tower, belonging to the war of the eleventh year, ll. 19-30; Dümichen

taining the name of each place or country symbolized.^a Over the god is a poetic inscription of eighteen lines, taken from the similar scene among the Karnak reliefs (III, 116) of Seti I, who appropriated it from the Building Inscription of Amenhotep III (II, 891, 892). It had meantime been expanded by Seti I (III, 113-18); his version was now slightly elaborated by Ramses III.^b His additions, however, contain nothing of historical importance. Under the god's arm is an inscription, which has now become stereotyped in this position. Each strophe begins: "*I cause them to see thy majesty, etc.*;" and the whole is taken from Thutmose III's Hymn of Victory (II, 658 ff.), following the example of Seti I and Ramses II.

138. The list of 124 geographical names is largely a compilation from the lists of Thutmose III, and other earlier sources, and therefore of little historical importance, save in restoring the earlier lists where they are fragmentary. They are chiefly African countries;^c but some names repeated on the other pylon (§ 131) are evidently Asiatic.^d

(*Historische Inschriften*, I, 22, 23); also by Lepsius (*Denkmäler*, III, 210, a; see also *ibid.*, Text, III, 171). None of these publications has the complete geographical list, which has been published by Daressy (*Recueil*, XX, 113-16). I also had a good photograph by Schroeder & Cie., Zürich.

^aAn unpublished scene on the left (south) tower of the pavilion shows the king "presenting two rows of captives before Amon" (Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1902, 298). The lower row are Libyans, but, according to the inscriptions (Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 722 f.), they also include Nubians, for the king says: "*Thou givest to me the land of Kush.*" Otherwise the inscriptions contain nothing of historical importance.

^bThe beginning of the same inscription is used again by Ramses III accompanying a duplicate of this scene in the great Karnak temple (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 207, d). The geographical list, however, is limited to fifteen names, chiefly the Nine Bows.

^cThe arrangement in Karnak places the southern countries on the southern pylon-tower; but this arrangement was not retained by Ramses III, who places this African list on the northern pylon-tower.

^dThe inscription over the god says: "*I cause to come to thee the chiefs of the southern countries, with their tribute and their children upon their backs, every good product of their country.*" This would indicate that the list should be African; but see the further content of the poem (III, 116).

MEDINET HABU TEMPLE CALENDAR^a

139. This, the most elaborate temple calendar which has survived from the pre-Ptolemaic age, contains a number of historic data of the greatest interest. It begins with a long speech^b by Ramses III, addressed to Amon. The king offers the usual praise to the god, and continues with an enumeration of his own good works for him in Thebes. These are in general those which we have more in detail in Papyrus Harris. In mentioning the feasts it is evident that the Medinet Habu temple was their center rather than Karnak. Of the property of the Medinet Habu temple, the king says to Amon:

140. I have put its possessions into writing, that I might inclose them in thy grasp. I made for thee thy property lists, that they might be "forever and [ever] in thy name. I offered to thee the Two Lands as thy portion, according as thou gavest them to me since I was born.

141. This is followed by matters of historical importance:

I built strongholds (*bḥn'w*) in thy name in Egypt¹⁸ and [all] lands, likewise the land of Asia. I taxed them for their impost every year, every town by its name, gathered together, bearing their tribute, to bring them [to] thy ka, O lord of gods¹⁹. I made these things by my might, from that which my ka created,^c from my captures²⁰ in the land of the Negroes, and in the land of Zahi (*D³-hy*). There was naught therein for any (other) god, but I gave them to thy ka, that thou mightest be satisfied therewith, for thou art my divine father, heir of eternity, traversing everlastingness as lord of gods. ²¹Set me in thy heart at all times, let the land abide like Thebes, thine accustomed house. ²²Let thy provision be brought into its midst and all plenty into the chapel multiplying its children, that they may be prophets and divine fathers for thee, to call [for] thee for thy food, ²³to praise thee;

^aOn the outside of the south wall; it has never been properly or exhaustively published; the publications will be found in the notes on §§ 139-45.

^bDaressy, *Recueil*, XIX, 15-17.

^cThe "generations" or "classes" of youth and captives classified for service are constantly said to be "created" (*shpr*) by the king. So Papyrus Harris often. The exact meaning is often "brought up, trained, educated," and again, "organized."

others 'for' the administration 'of' the work, in order to supply all daily offerings. I have collected for the herds of all small cattle, fields, domains of high land ^{24f} — — gardens of — — wild fowl descending into the pool; in order to make festive thy oblations, with plenty. . . I — all — the captivity of my sword. Every land overflowed ^{25f} — — gold, silver, and the possessions of all lands went into it, that my house might be for thee an august sanctuary, with thy majesty in the midst thereof — forever.

The king's speech then concludes with further praise and prayer.

142. Following this inscription is the act of establishment^a of the festal offerings of the temple. It begins:

Year 12, first month of the third season (ninth month) [twenty-sixth day, the day] of the king's [coronation] upon the Horus-throne, when he received the regalia of his father, Re.

143. The new calendar of feasts was thus introduced on the anniversary of the king's coronation in his twelfth year at the completion of the temple of Medinet Habu and the termination of his wars. The act mentions several new feasts founded by Ramses III, to one of which are appended the words:

Which Ramses III founded for his father, Amon-Re, king of gods, from the [victories] which the — might of Pharaoh won, among the fallen of — in the year —, ^c third month of the third season (eleventh month) [day] —.

144. Now follows the great calendar^d enumerating all

^aSo Daressy (*Recueil*, XIX, 17), but the act itself is very mutilated; he publishes only the opening line, as above, and the names of two feasts mentioned by the document.

^bThe day is known from the calendar following.

^cEvidently the numeral 11 is to be inserted, as he was out on the campaign of that year in the eleventh month.

^dDümichen, *Aegyptische Kalender-Inschriften*, Taf. I-XXXIV; and *Die kalendarischen Opferfestlisten im Tempel von Medinet Habu*; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, II, 364; Greene, *Fouilles à Thèbes*, IV-VI.

the old and new annual feasts of Amon, and to each feast is attached a list of the various offerings to be presented at that feast. These are so elaborate and extensive that they cover a large part of the southern wall of the temple. The particular treasury or source of income from which each offering or group of offerings shall be taken is also indicated. It begins with the daily offerings for each of the 365 days, followed by the eight "*feasts of heaven*," which were at monthly, half-monthly, or shorter intervals. This introduces the chief section of the calendar, the portion which treats of the annual feasts. As of prime importance to the king, the feast of his coronation on the twenty-sixth of Pakhons (ninth month) heads the list. It lasted one day, but was later lengthened by the king to no less than twenty days.^a All the other annual feasts which now follow are in proper chronological order, beginning with the rising of Sirius on New Year's Day, and proceeding with the other three traditional feasts^a of the first month. On the nineteenth of the second month (Paophi) began the next feast, that of Opet, the greatest in the Theban calendar. It continued under Ramses III till the twelfth of the third month, a total of twenty-four days.^c The list is preserved only as far as the seventeenth or eighteenth of the fifth month, but, besides the above, it contains seventeen more annual feast days, making in all no less than forty-five annual feast days during the first 138 days of the year; that is, almost one annual feast every three days, or more than 120 in the year,

^aSee Papyrus Harris, § 237.

^bWag, Thoth, and the "*Great Going Forth of Osiris*."

^cIn Thutmose III's day it was eleven days long (see my remarks, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 37, 126), so that it has been prolonged thirteen days since his reign; in Papyrus Harris it is twenty-seven days long, so that it was extended at least three days by Ramses III.

at the same rate.^a This is not including the minor “*feasts of heaven*” which were connected with each month.

145. Among the names of the new feasts there is one of historical importance in the fifth month (the day is not given), called: “*Slaying-of-the-Meshwesh*.”^b

The lists of objects offered are precisely those enumerated in Papyrus Harris, and an exhaustive comparison would throw much light on the lists in the papyrus.

ACT OF ENDOWMENT OF THE TEMPLES OF KHNUM^c

146. To Sethe's arguments that this document was issued by Ramses III, may be added the remark of de Rougé that the neighboring fragment,^d containing the name of Ramses III, is of the same style. Sethe has shown^e that the “*field*,” regularly referred to is the “*dodekaschoinos*,” the field of twelve schoinoi belonging to Khnum, which extended from Assuan to Takompo.^f This land is by this document of

^aThe rate for the remainder of the year is not likely to have decreased much, for Ramses III later prolonged the feast of his coronation to twenty days; it fell in the ninth month.

^bDümichen, *Aegyptische Kalender-Inschriften*, XXXIII.

^cBlocks built into the quay on the island of Elephantine; published by de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 256–58; de Morgan, *Catalogues des monuments*, I, 118, c, 119, d; see Spiegelberg, *Studien und Materialien*, 94–98; also translated by Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, II, 27, 28. I have mostly followed Sethe in the above translation, with some few additions from Rougé's copy, which was not used by Sethe.

^dThis fragment bearing the name of Ramses III (Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 258), records his command “to cleanse all the temples of the South from all abomination to inspect the treasures and granaries, to protect the people and herds, to double ———, to bring in truth and to banish falsehood, to cause lying to be an abomination; to build ———.”

^eSethe, *Untersuchungen*, II, 28.

^fAccording to an inscription in Maharraka, found by Sethe in one of Lepsius' notebooks, Takompo must be at least as far south as the former town, so that Sethe's ably defended thesis confining the dodekaschoinos to the cataract between Assuan and Philæ is thus disproved for the Græco-Roman age at least, and probably also for the earlier time. See Sethe, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 41, 60, 62.

Ramses III conveyed for all time to Khnum. That this was a new gift the late copy of Zoser's donation of the same land shows to be impossible. Hence we here see Ramses III confirming an old possession of the god, which confirmation he, of course, viewed as a gift, precisely as we find him doing in Papyrus Harris (§ 222). The enactments of the document, making the land given, as well as its inhabitants and products, free from taxation by the crown, or any government requisition by the vizier, are most important. They confirm the statements in Genesis (47:21-26) that the priests were not taxed.

Date

147. 1 ————— 2

³Decree issued at the court on this day to the vizier, the princes, the companions, the courts of justice,^b the mayors commanding settlements [and all royal officers; that the inhabitants of this ⁴field be not taken for enforced labor¹] by an officer of the royal estate or any people sent on a commission to the field; that their ships be not stopped by any patrol; that their ships be not taken by (lawful) seizure, in order to carry out any commission of the Pharaoh, by any people sent on a commission [to the field] ————— ⁵ ————— [that there be not taken¹] any 1^c belonging to them by (lawful) seizure, by robbery, or 1^c, by any mayor, any inspector, any officer sent on a commission to the field. As for anyone who shall do it, the 1^c which he took shall be collected from him ————— ⁶ —————.

148. [As for the] fishermen, fowlers, natron-gatherers, salt-gatherers, all who pursue their callings for the temples of the father^d of all gods and goddesses, there shall be no 1^cprocedure¹ against them by [any] one ————— ⁷ —————.

149. [As for] — — — — [any] honey-collectors, any one belonging to a temple, against whom some one shall transgress, and he shall

^aThat the lost beginning contained the date is evident from the mention of "this day" in l. 3.

^bLit., "the courts that hear (cases)."

^cSethe suggests "Stück Vieh."

^dKhnum.

say: "A certain inspector or a certain officer is the one who has transgressed against me," he shall 'see to it' that the damage accruing shall be made good, that the first, which shall be secretly taken from the temple, shall be made good to the god. And there shall not be collected ——— 8 ——— ['but there shall be taken'] all that they have, 'besides' what they cultivate for themselves, for their divine offerings.^a

150. And no overseer of cattle, nor any one shall take a beast of the-herd, to give it to another as 'food' or by robbery ——— 9 ——— to '—' it from him secretly likewise '— —'. And no future vizier shall make requisition upon any prophet of these temples, for silver, gold, leather, clothing, ointment ——— 10 ——— but all people shall stand and abide in these temples, following their callings [for] their gods therein ———.

PAPYRUS HARRIS^b

151. The invaluable treasure of facts and statistics preserved to us in this remarkable document has, with the exception of one section at the end, never been exhaustively studied until recently. The closing section, which is a short historical account of Ramses III's reign, has received much

^aTemple income.

^bFound by the natives at Thebes in 1855. It lay with four other rolls in a hole in the floor of a common cliff-tomb near Der el-Medineh, beneath a pile of mummies which filled the tomb. Together with some twenty other rolls, found by the Arabs at the same time, it was offered for sale to Mr. A. C. Harris, of Alexandria, who purchased it; hence its name. The other papyri, not purchased by him, seem to have belonged to the series of court records containing the prosecution of tomb-robbers under Ramses IX. Papyrus Harris is now in the British Museum, where it was admirably published by Birch, *Facsimile of an Egyptian Hieratic Papyrus of the Reign of Ramses III, now in the British Museum* (London, 1876). It is practically in a perfect state of preservation, there being only a small piece of three lines torn out of Pl. 1. The *Dictionnaire du Papyrus Harris* (Vienna, 1882), by Piehl, is invaluable as a concordance, to which I express my general obligation here.

[Since finishing my study of the Papyrus Harris, I have received Professor Erman's admirable essay, "Zur Erklärung des Papyrus Harris" (*Sitzungsberichte der Königlichen Preussischen Akademie, der Wissenschaft*, 1903, XXI, 456-74). Additional observations drawn from his study are severally acknowledged in the notes.]

attention, but the apparently uninteresting gifts and lists, which occupy 95 per cent. of the space in the document, have never, until recently, been carefully examined for historical purposes.^a The following discussion and translation are not offered as an exhaustive monograph on the papyrus; they purpose no more than to enable the reader to employ the invaluable data furnished by the document, for historical purposes. The numerous metrological, botanical, and archæological questions^b suggested by the lists do not fall within our province in the present treatise, and no attempt has been made to settle them.

152. This remarkable manuscript is the largest papyrus extant, being no less than 133 feet long, and containing 117 columns,^c usually of twelve or thirteen lines. Written in a magnificent hand, it is the most sumptuous manuscript left us by ancient Egypt. The content of the document is not less remarkable than its external form. It is a detailed statement of Ramses III's benefactions to gods and men during his entire reign of over thirty-one years. It was compiled at his death by his son, to be placed in the king's tomb, and is distinctly mortuary in its character and pur-

^aProfessor Erman's essay, mentioned above (p. 87, n. b).

^bFor the metrology involved in the historical discussion, I have followed Griffith. For the reader's convenience, I append the following equivalents:

1 deben=about 1,404 grains, or 2.925 troy ounces.

1 kidet=about 140.4 grains ($\frac{1}{10}$ of a deben).

1 sixteen fold heket=about 2.10 to 2.16 imp. bushels.

1 heket=about 292 to 300 cubic inches (1 bushel=about 7.39 to 7.59 heket).

1 hin=about 29.2 to 30 cubic inches.

1 stat=about $\frac{2}{3}$ of an acre.

But most of the units of measure employed are unknown, and I have simply transliterated. Where I have translated botanical names, I have been dependent for the most part upon Loret's very useful investigations; but in cases of doubt I have usually transliterated the term without comment. As to the metals involved, this papyrus uses *hm·t* for both bronze and copper, and unless the alloy is indicated, I have regularly rendered copper (see 14a, note).

^cPublished in seventy-nine plates.

pose. It was intended to secure to the departed Pharaoh the favor of all the gods in the hereafter, by showing them his numerous benefactions in all their temples, and his great deeds among men. Prayers for the king's well-being in the world beyond continually appeal to these good works as ground for the favor of the gods, on whose good-will the king's happiness after death depends. Ramses IV, the son to whom the document clearly owes its preparation, does not forget to put into his deceased father's mouth long prayers in his own (the son's) behalf, entreating for him from the gods, whose companion the departed king now is, a long and prosperous reign. So prominent are these prayers for Ramses IV that they must also have formed a strong motive for the preparation of the document by him.^a

153. The document is dated on the day of the king's death,^b as will be evident from the following considerations: The long lists of gifts cover thirty-one years; all annual traditional feasts of all the temples recorded were celebrated thirty-one times. It is thus evident that Ramses III died so early in the year 32 that the small fraction of gifts presented during the beginning of that year were not considered; nor did the king survive long enough in the year 32 to celebrate any of its feasts. To this last observation there is one exception: a certain feast founded by Ramses III himself was celebrated in the year 32. It began on the

^aIn precisely the same way the deceased Seti I prays for his son, Ramses II (III, 280); and we find the latter petitioning his deceased father to pray to the gods, whose companion he (the father) now is, for his (the son's) welfare (III, 279).

^bThis was long ago recognized by Birch (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1872, 119 ff.), although his data, as he took them from the papyrus, were seriously in error. But, this conclusion of Birch has since been entirely overlooked, and and it has been generally held that the papyrus was written and dated some time before the king's death, although it over and over again, with all the euphemisms known to the Egyptians, states that he was already dead. [Later: See also Erman on this point (*op. cit.*).]

twenty-sixth of Pakhons, and lasted twenty days. This feast must therefore have fallen early in the year 32, and the king lived at least twenty days of that year. Now, in Ramses III's calendar of feasts at Medinet Habu the feast of the anniversary of his coronation is recorded as beginning on the twenty-sixth of Pakhons^a (ninth month), so that the twenty-day feast in our papyrus is the celebration of the coronation anniversary; its first day, the twenty-sixth of Pakhons, is the first day of each year of the reign. This feast, which began the year 32, the old king celebrated in that year; but no more. When the Feast of the Nile-god,^b which fell just ninety-five days after the close of the Feast of Coronation, was celebrated, the Pharaoh had been gathered to his fathers, for the papyrus records this feast no later than the year 31. We have thus fixed the date of the king's death within ninety-five days, and the papyrus is dated on the sixth of Epiphi, which falls within that period.

154. When, furthermore, we remember that the papyrus continually represents the king as stating that he is deceased, it is evident that the date at the head of the document is that of the king's death, the last date which could be recorded in his reign. The papyrus thus furnishes us the exact length of his reign, thirty-one years and forty days, or more exactly, forty-one days, if we include the day of his death.^c

^a §§ 142, 143.

^b The date of this feast is not given in the papyrus, but is to be found on Ramses III's stela at Silsileh (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 218, d, l. 15).

^c That Ramses III ruled in round numbers thirty-one years is also shown by the Papyrus Mallet (*Recueil*, I, Pl. I, ll. 2, 3), which contains a statement of payments made "from year 31 to year 3, making 4 years." Had Ramses III ruled far into year 32, the above limits would have included more than four years; but the scribe ignores the forty days of year 32. There is no coregency with Ramses IV here (Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 480); and the dates as they stand are clear proof that there was never any coregency at all. Still less is there a shadow of proof that the coregency lasted four years (Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 481), making Ramses III reign thirty-six years. The document on which this

155. The document was evidently put together as rapidly as possible after the king's death, and the sections furnished by the three main temples—Thebes, Heliopolis, and Memphis—were written by three different scribes, as the varying hand and orthography clearly show.^a The Theban scribe wrote also the general introduction, but a fourth scribe had to do with the records from the smaller temples, while a fifth furnished the concluding or historical section. One of these scribes was perhaps also the artist of the three vignettes. The haste with which the document was compiled is evident both from the fact that some of the greatest of the minor temples are entirely omitted, and from the numerous errors in the footings of the lists, as well as some glaring omissions. It is evident, also, that the scribes at Heliopolis and Memphis were unable to render as full reports as that of the Theban scribe; doubtless owing to the shorter time allowed them because of the delay involved in the journey from Thebes with their instructions, and the return thither with the finished report, before the day of the king's funeral. The entire omission of many of the more important smaller temples is probably to be accounted for in the same way; their reports failed to arrive in time.^b

156. The material in the great papyrus is, in the main, very systematically arranged. To the three great gods of Egypt—Amon of Thebes, Re of Heliopolis, and Ptah of Memphis—the major portion of the space is naturally devoted. Besides these three great sections is another, of

last conclusion is based contains an encomium of the reign of Ramses V, copied by a scribe in the year 4. Its attribution to Ramses IV (*ibid.*, 481) is an oversight, for it was formerly correctly assigned by Maspero to Ramses V (*Momies royales*, 664).

^aSee Erman (*Sitzungsberichte der Königlichen Preussischen Akademie*, 1903, XXI, 459–62) for a table of these differences.

^bThis will not, however, explain the absence of such temples as Erment and Dendera, which were but a few miles away from Thebes.

general scope, devoted to the other temples, followed by a summary of all the temples of Egypt, and a concluding historical section, reciting the king's great deeds in war, commerce, and the like.

157. The following table will render this arrangement clear:^a

- I. Introduction (1; §§ 182, 183).
- II. Theban Section (2-23; §§ 184-246).
- III. Heliopolitan Section (24-42; §§ 247-304).
- IV. Memphite Section (43-56; §§ 305-51).
- V. General Section (57-66*b*; §§ 352-82) (small temples).
- VI. Summary (67-74; §§ 383-96).
- VII. Historical Section (75-79; §§ 397-412).

Each of these sections, except the first and last, is arranged on the same general plan. At the beginning of each of the sections II, III, and IV is a vignette, showing the king worshipping the gods to whom the following section is devoted. The text of each section is then introduced by a prayer, which merges into a recital of the king's buildings and other benefactions for the god, concluding with an appeal to him, calling attention to the following lists. These lists contain six different classes of material: (1) the god's estate; (2) his income; (3) the king's new gifts to him; (4) grain for the old feasts; (5) offerings for new feasts founded by him; and (6) offerings to the Nile-god.

158. The statement that the first class of material constitutes the god's estate will need some demonstration. It is clear that the papyrus enumerates old income of the god merely confirmed to him by Ramses III, in the offerings of grain for the old annual feasts like that of Southern Opet at Thebes (16*b*, 13-15); for these are not only separated

^aBold figures indicate the plates of the papyrus.

by a rubric from the new feasts founded by Ramses III (e. g., 17a-21b), but they refer distinctly to "*that (income) which was before*" (16b, 14), which is included in them. If this be true, we may expect to find old possessions of the god elsewhere in the lists. Thus among the king's gifts we find the statement that he "*made*" for Amon the great vineyard called "*Kanekeme*" (8, 5). Had we no other information regarding this vineyard, we must have supposed that it was a new possession of Amon, equipped and given him by Ramses III. But we know that it was in existence long before Ramses III's time, and in possession of Ramses II's mortuary temple, the Ramesseum, also a temple of Amon at Thebes.^a We thus see that Ramses III enumerates as his own gifts, property long in the possession of the god before Ramses III was born, evidently viewing his confirmation of it to the god as the conveyance of a gift.^b To us it is indifferent whether such confirmation really did constitute a gift; it is enough for us to know that all property so confirmed was an old possession belonging to the earlier estate of the god. With this fact in mind, let us see if such property as enumerated can be distinguished from the new donations actually given by Ramses III.

159. The first list in each of the Theban, Heliopolitan, and Memphite sections is headed thus:

List of things, cattle, gardens, lands, galleys, workshops, and towns, which Pharaoh^c gave to the house (*pr*, estate) of the god X, as property forever and ever (10, 1 ff.; 31, 1 ff.; 51a, 1 ff.; 61a, 1 ff.).

160. The second section of the lists is clearly the god's annual income or a part of it; it is headed each time^d thus:^e

^aSee 8, 5, and note.

^bHe does the same in his Elephantine act of endowment (§§ 146-50).

^cSo Thebes; the rest use Ramses III's name.

^dThe scribe has omitted the heading by mistake in the general section.

^eSo the summary; the others give the various temples, etc., by name.

Things exacted, impost of the people and all the serf-laborers of the houses, temples, and estates which he gave to them as their yearly dues (12a, 1 ff.; 32a, 7 ff.; 51b, 3 ff.; 68b, 4 ff.).

Yet it is stated that Ramses III "gave" this income to the gods, although it is evident that it is income which they must long before have enjoyed.

161. The third section of the lists is five times so headed:

Gold, silver, etc.,^a which Ramses III gave as gifts of the king, in order to provision the house of the god X, from the year 1^b to the year 31.^b

162. We see that these "gifts" are distributed through thirty-one years, while the "property"^c of the first heading is, as far as the heading is concerned, each time merely once given, and is never called "gifts of the king." On looking at the lists themselves, under the first and third headings, we find, for example at Heliopolis, lands under both; while at Thebes we find cattle under both. Why were these not put together? Evidently because some of the land was former "property" of the god, while the rest was a "gift of the king." Now, the estate of the god, as Erman has noticed, is of course given as it was found at the king's death, using the names then in vogue; hence we find the keepers of a herd named after Ramses III's victory over the Meshwesh (10, 8) included in the estate. Evidently the 971 Meshwesh slaves who kept this herd were a gift of Ramses III, and other gifts of his, not discernible because not accidentally so distinguished, are thus, of course, included in the estate. This made no difference to Ramses

^aLong series of portable property.

^bThe summary has for this phrase, "*while he was king upon earth.*"

^cThe word employed (*ymy-pr*) is the usual term, both for the document by which property is conveyed by mortmain, and for such property itself. The term is therefore of itself sufficient to determine the character of the property to which it is applied.

III, while claiming, as he did, to have given the whole estate to the god.

163. The important point for us is, that we have here an inventory of the whole estate, and that we can now determine from the great papyrus the total wealth held by the three great temples of Egypt—an economic datum till recently unknown in the study of ancient Egypt or of any other oriental country of the time. If we thus leave the total amount of Ramses III's new gifts somewhat uncertain, such uncertainty is of little importance, for it is evident in any case that the bulk of his alleged donations to the gods were old and traditional possessions, for a large share of which the priesthoods were doubtless indebted to the Eighteenth Dynasty.^a

164. The classification of the property of the temples in the document is shown in the appended table (p. 96).

165. We can now proceed to determine what proportion of the wealth of the country was in possession of the temples of the land. To do this, we must compile a condensed summary of their property, taking first the temple estates (see table, p. 97).

166. With these data we can safely deal only in the case of people and land. The cattle are lumped together without showing what proportion of sheep, goats, etc., the numbers contain. We do not know the size of the gardens and groves, or towns; nor the size and value of the ships and workshops. But with the people belonging to the temples, and the lands, we can operate with tolerable precision, as compared with our former total lack of data. The population of Egypt up to within the last five or six years was reckoned at toward six millions, but the latest census places

^aFor example, Amon owns but nine Syrian towns, and we know that Thutmose III alone gave Amon three Syrian towns (II, 557).

CLASSIFICATION OF THE PROPERTY OF THE TEMPLES

	II. THEBAN SECTION	III. HELIOPOLI- TAN SECTION	IV. MEMPHITE SECTION	V. GENERAL SECTION (SMALL TEMPLES)	VI. SUMMARY
1. Introductory Vignette	2; § 184	24; § 247	43; § 305	None	None
2. Prayer to the God and Recital of the King's Benefactions in Buildings and Gifts	3-9; §§ 185-221	25-30; §§ 248-79	44-50; §§ 306-36	57-60; §§ 352-63	None
3. The God's Estate	10-11; §§ 222-26	31-32a, 6; §§ 280-82	51a-51b, 2; §§ 337-39	61a-62a, 10; §§ 364-70	67-68b, 3; §§ 383-85
4. The God's Income	12a-12b; §§ 227-30	32a, 7-32b; § 283	51b, 3-52a, 3; §§ 340, 341	62a, 11-13; § 371	68b, 4-70a, 2; §§ 386, 387
5. The King's Gifts to the God	13a-16b, 12; §§ 231-35	33a-34b, 5; §§ 284-88	52a, 4-53b, 11; §§ 342-45	62b-66a; §§ 372-81	70a, 3-74 §§ 388-96
6. Grain for the Old Feasts	16b, 13-15; § 236	34b, 6-9; § 289	53b, 12-54a, 1; § 346	None	
7. Offerings for New Feasts Founded by Ramses III	17a-21b, 10; §§ 237-44	34b, 10-37a; §§ 290-95	None	None	
8. Offerings for the Nile-god	None	37b-41b; §§ 296-303	54a, 2-56a; §§ 347-50	None	Above in the estates
9. Private Statues of Amon	21b, 11-16; § 245	None	None	None	
10. ^a Concluding Prayer of Ramses III	22, 23; § 246	42; § 304	56b; § 351	66b; § 382	None

^aThese numbers do not wholly conform with those found in the translation, because of the absence of some of the heads in certain sections. Thus No. 8 of this table is wanting in the Theban section, and hence in the translation No. 9 has become No. 8.

TEMPLE ESTATES

	^a THEBES	HELIOPOLIS	MEMPHIS	GENERAL (SMALL TEMPLES)	SUMMARY
People	86,486 ^b	12,364 ^c	3,079	5,686 ^d	107,615 ^e
Large and Small Cattle	421,362	45,544	10,047	13,433	490,386
Gardens and Groves	433	64	5	11	513 ^f
Lands	864,168 $\frac{1}{2}$ stat	160,084 $\frac{3}{4}$ stat	10,154 stat	36,012 stat	1,070,419 ^g stat
Ships	83	3	2	None	88
Workshops	46	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ (sic!)	None	2	53 $\frac{1}{2}$ (sic!)
Towns of Egypt	56	103	1	None	160
Towns of Syria and Kush	9	None	None	None	9
Total Towns	65	103	1	None	169

^aTo the fortune of Amon (Thebes) must also be added the 2,756 statues, of which the materials are enumerated (68a, 3-68b, 3).

^bThe papyrus gives the correct total in this case.

^cThe papyrus gives 12,963.

^dThe papyrus gives 5,811.

^eThe papyrus gives 113,433.

^fThe papyrus gives 514.

^gThe papyrus gives 1,071,780.

it above nine millions. It is much to be doubted whether in its ancient state the land could support as large a population as modern improved conditions have produced. Granting this, we see that one person in about eighty-five of the population was temple property; or, accepting the lower figure for the ancient population (Diodorus gives six million as the population in Roman times), one person in about fifty-five. But, remembering that the list of smaller temples is incomplete, we may say that one person in from fifty to eighty of the population belonged to the temples. In no case were more than 2 per cent. of the people temple property.

167. Turning to the consideration of the land, we find the temples in possession of a total of 1,070,419 stat, or about 722,533 acres. The archives of modern Egypt contain a registration of about five millions of acres,^a whence it will be seen that the temples owned nearly one-seventh, or over 14½ per cent., of the land. Including the smaller temples^b omitted by the papyrus, probably over 15 per cent. of the land belonged to the religious foundations. This was distributed as follows:

Thebes	583,313.57 acres
Heliopolis	108,057.2 "
Memphis	6,853.95 "
Small } Temples }	24,308.1 "
Total	<hr/> 722,532.82 acres

168. The income of the temples is also very instructive when tabulated.

^a*Reports by His Majesty's Agent and Consul-General on Egypt and the Soudan*, in 1902 (published April, 1903), 24, 25.

^bThe scribe does not itemize the land by temples (62a, 8), but as he does not include Khnum of Elephantine among the list of temple-slaves, he may be omitting the entire dodekaschoinos, which we know was the property of Khnum under Ramses III (§§ 146-50).

TEMPLE INCOMES FOR THIRTY-ONE YEARS

	THEBES	HELIOPOLIS	MEMPHIS	GENERAL (SMALL TEMPLES)	SUMMARY
Gold	569 d., ^a 6½ k. or 138.852 lb.	None	None	None	569 ^b d., 6½ k. or 138.852 lb.
Silver	10,964 d., 9 k. or 2,672.694 lb.	586 d., 3½ k. or 142.933 lb.	98 d., 3½ k. or 23.983 lb.	None	11,649 ^b d., 6½ k. or 2,839.61 lb.
Copper	26,320 d. or 5,279.04 lb.	1,260 d. or 252.72 lb.	None	None	27,580 d. or 5,531.76 lb.
Garments	3,722	1,019	133½	None	4,874½ ^c
Yarn	3,795 d. or 761.17 lb.	None	None	None	3,795 d. or 761.17 lb.
Incense, Honey, and Oil	1,047 various jars ^d	482 various jars	None	None	1,529 various jars
Shedeh ^e and Wine	25,405 various jars ^d	2,385 various jars	390 various jars	None	28,180 ^f various jars
Silver received in Exchange for Objects of Impost Sold by the Temples	3,606 d., 1 k. or 878.987 lb.	456 d., 3½ k. or 111.235 lb.	141 d., 3½ k. or 34.444 lb.	None	4203, d., 7½ k. ^g or 1,024.666 lb.

^ad. stands for deben=about 1,404 grains (91 grammes); k. stands for kidet, which is 1/10 of a dehen. Precious metals are in lbs. troy.

^bThese two numbers are totally wrong as given by the papyrus, see note 68b, 6.

^cPapyrus has 4,575.

^dContent unknown.

^ePerhaps a wine of pomegranates, perhaps must.

^fPapyrus has 28,080.

^gPapyrus has 4,208 deben, 7½ kidet.

d. c. r.

TEMPLE INCOMES FOR THIRTY-ONE YEARS—*Continued*

	THEBES	HELIOPOLIS	MEMPHIS	GENERAL (SMALL TEMPLES)	SUMMARY
Grain	309,950 ^a measures	77,100 ^a measures	37,400 ^a measures	73,250 ^a measures	497,700 ^b measures
Vegetables	24,650 bundles ^c	4,800 bundles ^c	600 bundles ^c	3,300 bundles ^c	33,350 ^d bundles
Flax	64,000 bales ^c	4,000 bales ^c	None	3,000 bales ^c	71,000 bales
Water-fowl	289,530	37,465	None	None	326,995 ^e
Cattle	866 head	98 head	15½ head	None	979½ ^f
Geese	744 head	540½ head	135 head	None	1,419½ ^g
Ships	82	8	None	None	90
Products of the Oasis	Numb'rs not given	Numb'rs not given	Numb'rs not given	None	Numb'rs not given
Products of God's-Land, Syria, and Kush	Included above	Included above	Numb'rs not given	None	Numb'rs not given

^aSixteenfold heket.

^bPapyrus has 460,900, having evidently omitted Memphis.

^cSize unknown.

^dPapyrus has 32,750.

^ePapyrus has 100,000 more!

^fPapyrus has 980.

^gPapyrus has 1,920.

169. The above table shows the total income for thirty-one years, so that all numbers must be divided by thirty-one to obtain the annual income. Egypt's wealth has from the most ancient times consisted chiefly of grain and cattle, but especially the former. Yet of cattle the annual income of all temples was less than thirty-two head a year, and so great a temple as Memphis is charged with only half a beef each year. There is no gold in the income of either Heliopolis or Memphis, nor in that of the latter any incense, honey, oil, or flax. Other items are so small that it is impossible to believe that these lists contain the total income of any temple. The numbers would indicate that this entire list may be the income exclusively from Ramses III's new endowments.^a Having already credited himself with giving the hereditary estate of each temple, when he comes to the income, he probably omits the annual receipts from the hereditary estate, which formed an old and standing income, and lists only the income from his own new endowments.

170. This income is annually as follows:

^aErman has also expressed his doubt as to the possibility that this list represents the entire income of the temple (*op. cit.*, 471), but thinks them possibly "nur nebensächliche Steuern."

	THEBES	HELIOPOLIS	MEMPHIS	GENERAL (SMALL TEMPLES)	SUMMARY
Gold	18 d., 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ k. or 4.48 lb.	None	None	None	18 d., 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ k. or 4.48 lb.
Silver	353 d., 7 k. or 86.214 lb.	18 d., 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ k. or 4.612 lb.	3 d., 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ k. or 0.775 lb.	None	375 d., 8 k. or 91.601 lb.
Copper	849 d. or 170.285 lb.	40 d., 6 k. or 8.143 lb.	None	None	889 d., 6 k. or 178.428 lb.
Garments	120	33	4	None	157
Yarn	122 d. or 24.47 lb.	None	None	None	122 d. or 24.47 lb.
Incense, Honey, and Oil	34 various jars	15 various jars	None	None	49 various jars
Shedeh and Wine	819 various jars	77 various jars	13 various jars	None	909 various jars
Silver received in Exchange for Objects of Impost Sold by the Temples	116 d., 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ k. or 28.353 lb.	14 d., 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ k. or 3.588 lb.	4 d., 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ k. or 1.111 lb.	None	135 d., 6 k. or 33.052 lb.
Grain	9,998 measures	2,487 measures	1,207 measures	2,363 measures	16,055 measures
Vegetables	795 bundles	155 bundles	20 bundles	106 bundles	1,076 bundles
Flax	2,064 bales	129 bales	None	97 bales	2,290 bales
Water-fowl	9,340	1,208	None	None	10,548
Cattle	28	3	$\frac{1}{2}$	None	31 $\frac{1}{2}$
Geese	24	17	4	None	45
Ships	About 8 every 3 years.	About 1 every 4 years	None	None	3
Products of Oasis	No numbers	No numbers	No numbers	None	No numbers
Products of God's-Land, Syria, and Kush	Included above	Included above	No numbers	None	Uncertain

171. The political significance of these lists largely attaches to the question of Amon's share in them. The estate of the god embraced over 10 per cent. of the lands of Egypt,^a and at most about $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the population, or perhaps even a little less than 1 per cent. This meant a fortune in land of over five times that of Heliopolis, and over nine times that of Memphis, while in people the disproportion was still greater. That this disproportion was due solely to Ramses III is impossible. If we are correct in concluding that the above income was derived from Ramses III's new endowments, there is nothing in these figures which would indicate that Amon's vast wealth was due to Ramses III alone. Amon's annual income in gold, of which the other temples received none, is something less than 26,000 grains. Of other items Amon received roughly: 17 times as much silver; 21 times as much copper; 3 times as many garments; 2 times as much incense, honey, and oil; 9 times as much shedeh and wine; $1\frac{2}{3}$ times as much grain; 10 times as much flax; 8 times as many water-fowl; 7 times as many cattle; about the same number of geese; 10 times as many ships; as all the other temples combined. This disproportion, if maintained through the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties, would account for the enormous wealth of Amon;^b but that wealth was not the result of the donations of one reign.

172. At this point we must examine the list explicitly stated to contain Ramses III's gifts to the temples.

^aSee table, p. 98.

^bIt is to be supposed that the old fortune of Amon, if confiscated or depleted by Amenhotep IV, was restored by Harmhab.

	THEBES	HELIOPOLIS	MEMPHIS	GENERAL (SMALL TEMPLES)	SUMMARY
Gold	183 d., 7 k. or 44.777 lb. ^a	1,479 d., 3½ k. or 360.583 lb.	265 d., 5½ k. or 64.728 lb.	1,719 d., 8½ k. or 419.207 lb.	3,648 d., 31½ k. or 889.295 lb.
Silver	827 d., 1½ k. or 201.612 lb.	2,285 d., ½ k. or 549.668 lb.	516 d., 6 k. or 125.921 lb.	2,428 d., 5½ k. or 591.951 lb.	6,027 d., 21½ k. or 1,469.152 lb.
Lapis lazuli	14 d., ½ k. or 3.425 lb.	1 d., 1 k. or 0.268 lb.	3 d., 2 k. or 0.780 lb.	10 d., 6 k. or 2.583 lb.	28 d., 9½ k. or 7.056 lb.
Copper and Bronze	822 d. or 164.87 lb.	1,883 d., 7 k. or 377.816 lb.	2,018 d. or 404.753 lb.	14,130 d., 3 k. or 2,834,134 lb.	18,854 d. or 3,781,573 lb.
Myrrh	5,140 d. or 1,252.875 lb. 3 heket, 20 hin	1,787 d. or 435.581 lb. 2 heket	1,046 d. or 254.962 lb.		7,973 d. or 1,943.418 lb. 5 heket, 20 hin
Garments	9,116	18,793	7,026	2,947	37,882
Incense, Honey, Oil, and Fat	9,105 various jars	3,740 various jars	1,046 various jars	2,574 various jars	16,485 various jars
Shedeh and Wine	22,566 various jars	103,550 vari'us jrs.	25,978 various jars	3,287 various jars	155,381 vari'us jrs.
Grain	None	5 heket	40 heket	2,231 ^b measures	35,741 heket
Cattle	297	None	979	1,142	2,418
Geese	8,160	None	419	194	8,773
Water-fowl	126,300	None	576	2,073	128,949
Land	None	54½ stat and 2 gardens	None	1,361 stat and 4 gardens	1,415½ stat and 6 gardens

^aAll conversions are in lbs. troy except copper and bronze, which are avoirdupois.^bSixteenfold heket.

173. This list shows immensely more gold, silver, copper, garments, cattle, grain, and land given to the other temples than to Amon, while it is only in a few less valuable commodities that Amon is in the lead. Even including Amon's income with the above gifts, Heliopolis was yearly receiving twice as much gold as Thebes from all sources. Amon's superiority is, however, in the aggregate decidedly maintained, as a combination of the income and the gifts shows. It is evident also that, while the gifts of land to other temples have been enumerated in this list, the lands given to Amon are not included here, but are counted in Amon's estate, as it was also clear from the names of the herds that the cattle given Amon were to some extent included in the estate. In using the list of gifts, therefore, it must not be forgotten that in the items of land and cattle it is incomplete, and that it is impossible to determine exactly the extent of Ramses III's gifts in these two forms of property. But, judging from those gifts of which we are able to determine the amount, the wealth of Amon in Ramses III's day, was not due to his donations, nor can we aver that the fortune of Amon of necessity constituted such a menace to the state as alone to threaten its overthrow—a conclusion now current, and everywhere accepted.

174. An important question suggested by these lists is the relation of income and expenditure. The following tables indicate the total income of three great temples in grain:

GRAIN FOR OLD FEASTS DURING THIRTY-ONE YEARS

Thebes	2,981,674	16-fold heket
Heliopolis	1,097,624	“ “
Memphis	947,688	“ “
Small temples	Not given	

The total annual income in grain was therefore as follows:

Thebes	{ For the old feasts	96,183	16-fold heket
	{ Income (from Ramses III)	9,998	“ “
Total		106,181	“ “
Heliopolis	{ For the old feasts	35,407	“ “
	{ For the offerings to the Nile	3,598 ^a	“ “
	{ Income (from Ramses III)	2,487	“ “
Total		41,492	“ “
Memphis	{ For the old feasts	30,570	“ “
	{ For the offerings to the Nile	1,211 ^b	“ “
	{ Income (from Ramses III)	1,207	“ “
Total		32,988	“ “

175. From these figures it will be seen how far the income of Ramses III was from furnishing enough grain for the old feasts. They must have been drawn from the old income, which, in view of the vast extent of the temple lands, was greatly in excess of these amounts contributed to the offerings. Erman suggests that the surplus was used in building Ramses III's temples,^c like that at Medinet Habu, Karnak, and other places. But the question arises whether it was not consumed in the maintenance of the other temples of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties. We know that some of the Eighteenth Dynasty Theban temples, like that of Amenhotep III behind the Memnon colossi, had already perished at the vandal hands of the Nineteenth Dynasty kings. We can understand, too, how the mortuary temples, which were so largely the personal sanctuaries of earlier Pharaohs, might be desecrated. Yet, if their offerings were in some cases maintained, Ramses III would

^aOnly during the last seventeen years of the reign.

^bOnly during the last three years of the reign.

^c*Op. cit.*, 474.

have been likely to include them in the totals given in the papyrus, without any remark as to their employment; for he does not itemize by temples the grain and other offerings given for the feasts.

176. This brings up the question: What Theban temples are known to the papyrus as sharing in Amon's income and Ramses III's bounty? They are referred to in three different places: the narrative of buildings and good works (§§ 189-214), the list of people (§§ 223, 224), and the income (§ 227); and they include six different temples:

No. 1. TEMPLES BUILT OR IMPROVED ^a	No. 2. PEOPLE ATTACHED TO	No. 3. INCOME
Medinet Habu temple.	Medinet Habu temple.	Medinet Habu temple.
Small Karnak temple.	Small Karnak temple.	Small Karnak temple.
Southern Karnak temple.	Luxor temple.	Luxor temple.
Great Karnak temple.	Southern Karnak temple.	Southern Karnak temple.
Khonsu-temple.		Khonsu-temple.

177. From this it is evident that the income and the people of the great Karnak temple must be included elsewhere. When we notice that the Medinet Habu temple is credited with 62,626 people (10, 3), or three-fourths of all the people belonging to Amon, it is evident where the people belonging to the Karnak temple are to be found. Again, when we see that the people attached to the Khonsu-temple

^aThe Luxor temple is omitted, and yet Ramses III built a chapel on the river side of this temple. The lower part of a sandstone stela (*Recueil*, 16, 55, 56), used in antiquity to prop a falling statue of Ramses II at Luxor, contains a record of building by Ramses III in the same temple: "*Ramses III, doubling offerings in Luxor maker of monuments, profitable to him that begat him building a house in Luxor on the right of his august father, Amon-Re. It is like the horizon of heaven, made of fine sandstone; it shall endure as long as heaven endures, a place for the promenade of the lord of gods at his beautiful feast of Opet. He made (it) as [his] monument for his father, Amon-Re, presider over his Yp't; making for him a great and august chapel of the front, of marvelous great blocks.*" The omission of this building in the Theban section is another evidence of the hastiness with which the document was prepared, and the resulting incompleteness.

are also included somewhere else, we are led to conclude that the fortunes of the different Amon-temples are not always kept apart by the papyrus; in other words, the fortunes of all might be comprehended under one head as the estate of Amon.

178. Indeed, this common estate is unequivocally mentioned, for we find the five herds belonging to the five temples of No. 3 spoken of as "*the five herds made for this house*" (12a, 3, 4). "*This house*," therefore, comprised the property of five different temples, and beyond doubt designates the estate of Amon, irrespective of the different temples among which it was divided. That other temples besides the five of No. 3 above may be included under one head is indicated by a record of restoration in the small Eighteenth Dynasty temple by Ramses III, which reads thus:^a

179. He made it as a restoration of the monument of his father, "Amon-Re-of-Splendid-Seat,"^b who rests in his temple in the precinct^c of "The-House-of-Millions-of-Years-of-King-Usermare-Meriamon-Possessed-of-Eternity-in-the-House-of-Amon"^d on the west of Thebes, when his majesty found it beginning to fall to ruin.

180. This small Medinet Habu temple is nowhere mentioned in the inscriptions; yet it was clearly restored and maintained by Ramses III, and is here included in the precincts of Ramses III's great temple, which stood beside it. Its people were, of course, also included in the 62,626 people of the great temple. Clearly, Ramses III made

^aSharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 60; again, less accurately, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 163. The inscription occurs twice with unimportant variants.

^bThis is the name of the Amon of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple of Medinet Habu. It literally reads: "*Amon-Re-Splendid-of-Seat*;" compare a similar Amon on a bronze axe in Alnwick Castle (Birch, *Catalogue*, Pl. B): "*Amon-Splendid-of-Horizon*," in the record of a foundation ceremony by Thutmose III.

^cMr.

^dThe name of Ramses III's Medinet Habu temple; see building inscriptions (§§ 1-20), where a shorter form is also in use.

his temple of Medinet Habu the administrative head of Amon's estate, and counted as belonging to it the property of the Karnak temple, that of the small Medinet Habu temple, and doubtless of others also, like that of Mut, who is mentioned in the headings, but whose fortune is nowhere listed. This fact once established for Thebes, the same may be true of Heliopolis and Memphis; and the vast income of these great sanctuaries, which we may compute from the temple lands, may have been distributed among far more temples than those mentioned in the papyrus. This distribution of income we cannot control (even if it were all counted in each case as income of the chief sanctuary alone), because the income lists evidently contain only a part of the income, as we have already shown; and the outgo covers only the maintenance of feasts, not the support of the great army of priests and officials.^a

This discussion of the lists might be carried much farther, but doubtless the subject is above sufficiently introduced to make the importance and proper significance of the lists evident.

181. The historical section at the end furnishes a valuable supplement to the records of Ramses III's wars in his Medinet Habu temple. It is especially instructive, despite its obscurity, in its account of the anarchy preceding the rise of Ramses III's father. This paragraph, with its description of civil war and famine, reads like a chapter from the rule of the Mamlukes in Egypt. The section further furnishes accounts of an Edomite war, a new well in the Ayan desert, expeditions to Punt and the Sinaitic Peninsula,

^aCertain things consumed by the priests are included in the great Medinet Habu Calendar, but only during feasts, like that of Opet, to the offerings of which is appended a list of the grain, beer, oil, etc., consumed by the priests during the twenty-four days of the feast. Such expenses may therefore be included in the lists of festal offerings in our papyrus, and evidently are so, e. g., in § 238, Pl. 17b.

besides new details regarding the wars already known to us from the Medinet Habu temple. It finally closes with a brief statement of Ramses III's philanthropic measures for his whole realm, followed by a prayer for the prosperity of his son, whom all are exhorted to obey.

I. INTRODUCTION

Pl. 1. Date and Introduction

182. ¹Year 32, third month of the third season (eleventh month), sixth day;^a under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Meriamon, L. P. H.; Son of Re: Ramses (III), Ruler of Heliopolis, L. P. H., beloved of all gods and goddesses; ²king, shining in the White Crown like Osiris; ruler, brightening the Nether World^b like Atum; 'ruler' of '—' of the great house in the midst of the cemetery, traversing eternity forever as king of the Nether World; King of Upper and Lower Egypt; Usermare-Meriamon; Son of Re: Ramses (III), Ruler of Heliopolis, L. P. H., the Great God.

Content and Purpose of the Document

183. ³He tells, in praise, adoration, and laudation, the many benefactions and mighty deeds, which he did as king and as ruler on earth, for:

Gods of Thebes^c

1. The house (*pr*) of his august father, Amon-Re, king of gods, ⁴Mut, Khonsu, and all the gods of Thebes;

Gods of Heliopolis

2. The house (*pr*) of his august father, Atum, lord of the Two Lands of Heliopolis; Re-Harakhte; Saosis (*Yws-^c-st*), mistress of Hotepet and all the gods of Heliopolis;

^aAll words in spaced type are in red in the original.

^bBecause he is dead, as this and the following phrases show.

^cThe following five paragraphs are the heads of the five great sections of the papyrus, II, III, IV, V (VI, a summary, is not noted), and VII.

Gods of Memphis

3. The house of his august father, ⁵Ptah, the great, South-of-His-Wall, lord of "Life-of-the-Two-Lands;"^a Sekhmet, the great, beloved of Ptah; Nefertem, defender of the Two Lands and all the gods of Memphis;

All Gods

4. The august fathers, all the gods and goddesses of South and North;

Men

5. As well as the good benefactions [which he did for] the people of the land of Egypt and every land, to unite them^b all together; ⁶in order to inform the fathers, all the gods and goddesses of South and North, and all [foreigners],^c all citizens, all ('common') folk, and all people, of the numerous benefactions and many mighty deeds, which he did upon earth as great ruler of Egypt.^d

II. THEBAN SECTION

I. INTRODUCTORY VIGNETTE

Pl. 2. Vignette

184. Ramses III stands praying before Amon-Re, Mut, and Khonsu. The accompanying notes are:

Over Amon

Amon-Re, king of gods, lord of heaven, ruler of Thebes.

^aName of a sacred district in Memphis in which the chief Ptah-temple stood.

^bViz., his benefactions, etc., that is, to make a list of them, as contained in this document.

^cThis list is almost a repetition of that in 78, 13; hence it probably began, as that does, with foreigners. The whole list would then be: [*kwy*], *pct*, *rhyt*, *hnm't*, and differs from 78, 13, only in the order of *pct* and *rhyt*, which are there reversed. The exact meaning and relations of these different terms are unknown except of the first, and the above renderings are purely arbitrary. We only know that they are all commonly used, with no obvious distinctions in meaning, for the people of Egypt.

^dThis long sentence may be epitomized thus: In the year 32, etc., of Ramses III, deceased (ll. 1, 2), he tells the benefactions and mighty deeds which he did while king for the gods of Thebes, Heliopolis, Memphis. and of South and North, as well as for all men, in order to inform gods and men of these deeds (ll. 3-6). It will be seen that this introduction epitomizes the content of the entire papyrus.

Over Mut

Mut, the great, mistress of Ishru.

Over Khonsu

Khonsu in Thebes, beautiful rest.

Before the King

I tell the prayers, praises, adorations, laudations, mighty deeds and benefactions which I did for thee, in thy presence, O lord of gods.

2. PRAYER TO AMON,^a AND RECITAL OF THE KING'S BENEFLECTIONS*Pl. 3. Introduction*

185. ¹Praises, prayers, brave deeds and benefactions which he did for the house (*pr*) of his august father, Amon-Re, king of gods; Mut, Khonsu, and all the gods of Thebes.

Prayer of Ramses III

186. ²Said King Ramses III, L. P. H., the Great God, in praising this god, his august father, Amon-Re, king of gods, the primordial, who was at first, ³the divine god, the self-begetter, who sustains the arm and exalts the etef-crown, maker of what is, creator of what exists, hiding himself from men and gods:

His Decease

187. Give to me thy ears, O lord of gods; ⁴hear my prayers which I make to thee. Lo, I come to thee, to Thebes, thy mysterious city. Thou art divine among the gods who are in thy image. Thou hast gone to rest in "Lord-of-Life,"^b thy glorious seat, ⁵before the august front of thy court;^c (so) I have mingled with the gods, the lords of the nether world, like my father, Osiris, lord of Tazoser. Let my soul (*b* ⁷) be like the souls of the gods who rest at thy side ⁶in the eternal

^aAlthough all three of the great gods of Thebes are mentioned in the introduction, the following prayer is really addressed to Amon only. In the other two sections (Heliopolis and Memphis) the same is true; that is, the prayer is actually addressed to the great god, although the other gods are mentioned in the beginning.

^b*Nb*-*c nb*, a euphemism for the place of the dead, often applied to the west side at Thebes.

^cLit., "*forecourt*," a metonymy for sanctuary, referring to Karnak, which faces west.

horizon. Give breath for my nostrils and water for my soul (*b* ʔ). Let me eat the oblations, the provisions of thy divine offerings. Make my majesty to be noble, abiding in thy presence ʔlike the great gods, the lords of the nether world. May I go in and go out in thy presence as they do. Command thou that my fame be like theirs against my enemies; establish my offerings presented to my ⁸ka, abiding daily unto eternity.

Retrospect

188. I was king upon earth, ruler of the living; thou settedst the crown upon my head, as thou didst; I was inducted in peace into the august palace; ʔI sat upon thy throne with joy of heart. Thou it was, who didst establish me upon the throne of my father, as thou didst for Horus on the throne of Osiris. I did not oppress, I did not deprive ¹⁰another of his throne.^a I did not transgress thy command, which was before me. Thou gavest peace and contentment of heart among my people (*hnm̄t*), and every land was in adoration before me. I know of the excellent things ¹¹which thou didst as king, and I multiplied for thee many benefactions and mighty deeds.

Pl. 4. Medinet Habu Temple^b

189. I made for thee an august house of millions of years, abiding upon the mountain of "Lord-of-Life,"^c before thee, ¹built of sandstone, gritstone, and black granite; the doors of electrum and copper in beaten work. Its towers were of stone, towering to heaven, ²adorned and carved with the graver's tool,^d in the great name of thy majesty. I

^aI am not sure that this is correct. The difficulty is one of interpretation. He may merely mean: "*I did not oppress, I did not plunder another in his place;*" as the word "*throne*" may equally well mean "*seat, place,*" as commonly. The above rendering, however, connects logically with the preceding. "*Oppress*" (ʔ-š ʔ-ḳ) is Hebrew, פשע.

^bSee Peuillet, *Recueil*, XVIII, 166 ff.; also Daressy, *ibid.*, XX, 133 ff.

^cA general name for the west, which was localized at Medinet Habu; it is opposite Karnak, Amon's great temple, hence "*before thee.*" An inscription in the temple itself places it on the same mountain; Amon speaks of "*the great house of Atum, established before me forever, upon the mountain of 'Lord-of-Life'*" (Cham-pollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 736). On the later name, see Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 507, n. 3.

^dSee Brugsch, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1876, 146-48; and for correct reading (*bsn̄t*), Brugsch, *Hieroglyphisch-demotisches Wörterbuch*, Supplement, s. v.

built a wall around it, established with labor, having ramps and towers^{1a} of sandstone. ³I dug a lake before it, flooded with Nun,^b planted with trees and vegetation like the Delta.^c

Temple Endowment and Equipment

190. I filled its treasury^d with the products of the lands of Egypt: ⁴gold, silver, every costly stone by the hundred-thousand. Its granary was overflowing with barley and wheat; (its) lands, its herds, their multitudes were like the sand of the shore. I taxed for it the ⁵Southland as well as the Northland. Nubia and Zahi [came]^e to it, bearing their impost. It was filled with captives, which thou gavest to me among the Nine Bows, (and with) classes^f which I trained by the ten-thousand. ⁶I fashioned thy great statue^g resting in its midst; "Amon-Endowed-with-Eternity" was its august name; it was adorned with real costly stone like the horizon.^h When it appeared, there was rejoicing to see it. ⁷I made for it table-vessels, of fine gold; others of silver and copper, without number. I multiplied the divine offerings presented before thee, of bread, wine, beer, and fat geese; ⁸numerous oxen, bullocks, calves, cows, white oryxes, and gazelles offered in his slaughter yard.

Accessory Monuments

191. I dragged great monuments like mountains of alabaster and hus stone,ⁱ ⁹sculptured with labor, and resting on the right and the left of its portal,^j carved with the great name of thy majesty forever;

^aThese words (כֹּחַ וְכֹחַ and כֹּחַ וְכֹחַ) occur five times together in this papyrus, each time as the accessories of an inclosure wall. The first is the Hebrew עֲלִיָּה, and hence here an ascent or ramp; see Bondi, *Lehnwörter*, 36, 37. The second is perhaps a Hebrew סִנְיָה, as Bondi suggests (*ibid.*, 88), and means inclosed towers or strong closures of the gates and windows.

^bCelestial water; see II, 888, l. 20.

^cLit., "Northland."

^dSee inscriptions in this treasury, which is still in a perfect state of preservation (§§ 25-34).

^eThe verb has clearly been omitted by error of the scribe.

^fSee 76, 5, 6, § 402.

^gThis is the cultus statue; as it was light enough to be carried in procession, the adjective "great" is only conventional.

^hOr the horizon-god.

ⁱ*Hws*, an uncertain stone.

^jThese are the colossi which were placed on each side of a temple entrance. They have now disappeared at Medinet Habu.

other statues of granite and gritstone; ¹⁰scarabs^a of black granite, resting in its midst. I fashioned Ptah-Sokar,^b Nefertem and all the gods of heaven and earth, resting in its chapel, wrought with fine gold, ¹¹and silver in beaten work, with inlay of real costly stones, beautified with labor.

Pavilion and Connected Buildings^c

192. I made for thee an august palace of the king in its midst, like the great house of Atum which is in heaven. The columns, ¹²door-posts, and doors were of electrum; the great balcony for the (royal) appearances was of fine gold.

Pl. 5. Temple Ships

193. I made for it^d ships laden with barley and wheat for transport to ¹³its granary without cessation. I made for it great treasure-ships upon the river, laden with a multitude of things for its august treasury.

Temple Lands

194. ¹⁴It was surrounded with gardens and arbor-areas,^e filled with fruit and flowers for the two serpent-goddesses. I built their 'châteaux'^f

^aLike the colossal scarab in black stone, discovered in Constantinople and now in the British Museum.

^bThis statue doubtless stood in the first court by the first pylon, where there is a votive text to "*Ptah, residing in 'The-House-Usermare-Meriamon-Possessed-of-Eternity-in-the-House-of-Amon' on the west of Thebes*" (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 173).

^cThis is the palace connected with the Medinet Habu temple, of which the so-called "pavilion" formed the monumental entrance. The "pavilion" being of stone, has survived, but the bulk of the building, being of sun-dried brick, has perished. It ran at least as far back on the south side of the temple as the middle of the first court, with which its balcony was connected by a stairway still partially surviving. See Daressy (*Recueil*, XX, 81-83), who separates the pavilion from the building at its rear, to which the stairway belongs; but it is evident that the pavilion, the temple, and connected buildings formed one whole, designated by the same name; for the pavilion and the temple bear the same name (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 167): "*The (h'-t)-House-of-Usermare-Meriamon-in-the-House-of-Amon.*"

^dThis "*it*" (feminine in Egyptian) refers to the temple (fem.), and not to the palace (masc.).

^eLit., "*places of chambers of trees*;" cf. § 264.

^fSee III, 588, l. 49.

having ³“windows”; I dug a lake before them, supplied with lotus flowers.

Small Karnak Temple

195. ⁴I made for thee a mysterious horizon in thy city of Thebes over against thy forecourt,^a O lord of gods, (named): “House (*pr*)-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Amon,” abiding like the heavens bearing the sun. ⁵I built it, I laid it in sandstone, having great doors of fine gold. I filled its treasury with the things which my hands carried off, to bring them ⁶before thee every day.

Southern Karnak Temple

196. I adorned^b for thee Southern Opet^c with great monuments; I built for thee a house therein like the throne of the All-Lord (named): “Temple-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-⁷Possessed-of-Joy-in-Karnak.”

^aUsed here by metonymy as often for sanctuary as a whole. This small temple is in front of the great Amon-temple of Karnak, and the later Bubastite extension inclosed it partially within the said temple. It is identified by Ramses III with the great Karnak temple, and bore the same name given above, as is shown by the following inscriptions in the first court of the small Karnak temple (Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 12-14; Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, 57, 1; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 207, c): “(Ramses III). He made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, king of gods; making for him the ‘House (*pr*)-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis-in-the-House-of-Amon,’ anew of fine white sandstone, established as an eternal work, [wherein] [‘Amon’] appears, to give a multitude — — [‘to’] King Ramses III.” On the other side of the court it reads: “Ramses III, maker of the monument, establishing (it) for him that formed him, in the great and splendid seat, on the divine ground before Karnak, illuminating Thebes wherein Amon rests, his heart glad, and his great divine ennead follows him, rejoicing to see the beautiful pure monument of King Ramses III, beloved of Khonsu-Neferhotep.” The great Karnak temple bore the same name as this small temple, as is seen by comparing 5, 7 and 6, 3 with above inscriptions in the small temple. The latter was already finished in his sixteenth year, as new offerings are recorded on the wall as founded in Pauni of that year (Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, I, Pl. 40; Champollion, *Monuments descriptives*, II, 15, 16).

^bLit., “made festive.”

^cSouthern Opet is usually the name for Luxor, but the temple was counted as in Karnak (*Yp-t-ys-wt*), as its name shows. It stood, however, on the south of the great temple, by the temple of Mut, and hence could be spoken of as in Southern Opet.

Works in Great Karnak Temple^a

197. I again established thy monuments in "Victorious Thebes,"^b the place of thy heart's rest, beside thy face (named): "House (*pr*)-of-Usermare-Meriamon-in-the-House-of-Amon,"^c like the shrine of the All-Lord; built of stone, like a marvel established as an eternal work; the doorways upon them were of granite, doors and ⁹doorposts of gold. I supplied it with classes which I trained, bearing offerings by the hundred-thousand.

Monolithic Shrine

198. ¹⁰I made for thee a mysterious shrine in one block of fine granite;^c the doors upon it were of copper in hammered work, engraved with thy divine name. ¹¹Thy great image rested in it, like Re in his horizon, established upon his throne unto eternity in thy great and august court.

Cultus Utensils

199. ¹²I made for thee a great sacrificial tablet of silver in hammered work, mounted with fine gold, the inlay-figures being of Ketem^d-gold, bearing statues of the king, L. P. H., of gold in hammered work, an offering-tablet bearing thy divine offerings, offered before thee.

Pl. 6

¹I made for thee a great vase-stand,^e for thy forecourt, mounted with fine gold, with inlay of stone; its vases were of gold, containing wine and beer, in order to present them before thee every morning.

^aThis temple is not said to have been built by him, but "*beautified*" (*smnh*, or "*established*"), which indicates embellishment. As to the name of the great Karnak temple under Ramses III, it must have contained his name, as above. The word "*built*" (in l. 8) is not finite, but a participle referring to the temple or the embellishments added. The work is also referred to (l. 8) as "*them*," showing clearly that accessory monuments of some sort are meant. Moreover, the following works are for the Karnak temple, as is shown by 6, 3. Ramses III, however, did some building, though not extensively, in the great Karnak temple.

^bA name for the east side, or a part of the east side of Thebes, probably Karnak (see II, 329).

^cCf. Inscription of Ineni, l. 1 (II, 45; *Recueil*, XII, 106).

^dThe Hebrew כֶּתֶם, "gold;" see Dümichen, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1872, 44 f.

^eThe gift of a similar stand is recorded in the Khonsu-temple, thus: "*I made a great vase-stand of gold for thy oblations*" (from a photograph by Borchardt).

Feast of the Appearance

200. ²I made for thee a storehouse for the "Feast of the Appearance,"^a with male and female slaves. I supplied them with bread, beer, oxen, fowl, wine, incense, fruit, vegetables, flowers, pure offerings before thee every day, being an increase of the daily offering which was before.

Ornaments of Cultus Statue, Etc.

201. ³I made for thee a splendid amulet^b of gold, with inlay; great collars and tassels of Ketem-gold complete, to bind them to thy body, every time thou appearest in thy great and splendid seat in Karnak. ⁴I made for thee a statue of the king, of gold, in hammered work, resting in the place which he knows,^c in thy august shrine.

Record Tablets

202. ⁵I made for thee great tablets of gold, in beaten work, engraved with the great name of thy majesty, bearing my prayers. ⁶I made for thee other tablets of silver, in beaten work, engraved with the great name of thy majesty, with the decrees of the house. ⁷I made for thee great tablets^d of silver, in beaten work, engraved with the great name of thy majesty, carved with the graver's tool, bearing the decrees and the inventories of the houses and temples which I made in Egypt, ⁸during my reign on earth; in order to administer them in thy name forever and ever. Thou art their protector, answering for them.^e ⁹I made for thee other tablets of copper in beaten work, of a mixture of six

^aA feast at which the god appeared and was carried in procession, as its name implies (*wn-hr* = lit., "opening or showing the face").

^bIn the form of the sacred eye (*wꜥꜥ*).

^cOnly the king and the High Priest were admitted to the holy of holies, and "knew" it. Such statues of the king may be seen standing beside the cultus image of the god at Medinet Habu (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 212, a).

^dThis word (*ꜥnw*) is different from the one (*ꜥwt*) used in the two preceding cases, and was larger. It was upon an *ꜥnw* that Ramses II's treaty of peace with the Hittites was engraved. The golden tablets are not mentioned in the lists later on, but the silver tablets are mentioned (13b, 13, 14), and their weights given, showing that an *ꜥwt* weighed about 19½ deben, while an *ꜥnw* was over 143½ deben.

^eThe Karnak temple was thus the place of deposit for temple archives of all Egypt, and the sanctuary of Amon the ecclesiastical capital.

(parts),^a of the color of gold, engraved and carved with the graver's tool with the great name of thy majesty, with the house-regulations of the temples; likewise ¹⁰the many praises and adorations which I made for thy name. Thy heart was glad at hearing them, O lord of gods.

Cultus Sieve

203. ¹¹I made for thee a great vase of pure silver, its rim of gold, engraved with thy name. A sieve was upon it of beaten work, of pure silver, a great sifting-vessel of silver, having a sieve and feet.^b

Golden Statues

204. ¹²I wrought upon the portable images of Mut and Khonsu, fashioned and made anew in the gold-houses, made of fine gold in thick overlay, with inlay of every costly stone which Ptah made, having collars before and behind, ¹³and tassels of Ketem-gold. They rest with heart satisfied at the mighty deeds which I did for them.

Pl. 7. Stelæ

205. ¹I made for thee great stelæ for thy portal, overlaid with fine gold, with inlay-figures of Ketem-gold; large bases were under them, overlaid with silver, bearing inlay-figures in gold, to the pavement line.

Grain

206. ²I gave to thee ten ten-thousands of measures of grain, to provision thy divine offerings of every day, to convey^c them to Thebes every year, in order to multiply thy granaries^d with barley and wheat.

Foreign Revenues

207. ³I brought to thee the captives of the Nine Bows, the gifts^e of the lands and countries for thy court. I made the road to Thebes like a foot^f to lead^f before thee, bearing much provision.

^aLit., "a mixture of a hexad," evidently referring to the proportions of the alloy; but the term is not clear. The weight of these tablets is given in the lists (142, 3) as 205½ deben; there were four of them, weighing together 822 deben.

^bThe weight of these sieve-vases, etc., is given in 13b, 6-8 (§ 231).

^cLit., "row them."

^dOn the granaries of Amon, see § 9.

^eB 3 3 3 k 3 = a Semitic כרך, with the connected idea of kneeling in homage (Bondi, *Lehnwörter*, 41, 42).

^f"Lead" lacks an object, and the whole passage is obscure.

Periodic Offerings

208. 4I founded for thee oblations at the feasts of the beginnings of the seasons, to make offering before thee at thy every appearance. They were supplied with bread, beer, oxen, fowl, wine, incense, and fruit without number. They were levied anew upon the princes and inspectors as an increase of all the benefactions which I did for thy ka.

Sacred Barge

209. 5I hewed for thee thy august ship "Userhet" of 130^a cubits (length) upon the river, of great cedars of the (royal) domain, of remarkable size, overlaid with fine gold to the water line, like the barge of the Sun, when he comes from the east, and everyone lives at 'the sight of him. A great shrine was in the midst of it, of fine gold, with inlay of every costly stone like a palace; rams' heads^b of gold from front to rear, 'fitted' with uraeus-serpents wearing etef-crowns.

Products of Punt

210. 7I led to thee Punt with myrrh, in order to encircle thy house every morning, I planted incense sycamores in thy court; they had not seen (it) before since the time of the god.

Mediterranean Fleet

211. 8I made for thee transports, galleys, and barges, with archers equipped with their arms, upon the sea. I gave to them captains of archers and captains of galleys, manned with numerous crews, without number, in order to transport the products of the land of Zahi (*D³-h*) and the countries of the ends of the earth to thy great treasuries in "Victorious Thebes."^c

Cattle and Fowl

212. 9I made for thee herds in the South and North containing large cattle, fowl,^d and small cattle by the hundred-thousand, having

^aNearly 224 feet. See II, 32, and p. 222, n. c.

^bThere is usually a ram's head at bow and stern of these barges, but here they were evidently also on the cabin shrine.

^cSee 5, 7, note.

^dThe word for "herd" (*mmn*) is more inclusive in Egyptian than English, and includes also fowl.

overseers of cattle, scribes, overseers of the horns,^a inspectors, and numerous shepherds in charge^b of them; having cattle-fodder; in order to offer them to thy ka at all thy feasts, that thy heart may be satisfied with them, O ruler of gods.

Vineyards, Trees, Etc.

213. ¹⁰I made for thee wine-gardens in the Southern Oasis, and the Northern Oasis likewise without number; others in the South with numerous lists; they were multiplied in the Northland by the hundred-thousand. I manned them with gardeners from the captives of the countries; having lakes ¹of my digging¹, ¹¹supplied with lotus flowers, and with shedeh (*šdh*)^c and wine like drawing water,^d in order to present them before thee in "Victorious Thebes." ¹²I planted thy city, Thebes, with trees, vegetations, isi-plants, and menhet flowers for thy nostrils.

Khonsu-Temple

214. ¹³I built a house^e for thy son, Khonsu in Thebes, of good sandstone, red gritstone, and black stone (granite). I overlaid its doorposts and doors with gold, (with) inlay-figures of electrum, like the

Pl. 8

horizon of heaven. ¹I worked upon thy^f statues in the gold-houses, with every splendid costly stone which my hands brought.

Sanctuary in Residence City

215. ²I made for thee an august quarter in the city of the Northland, established as thy property forever; "House (*pr*)-of-Ramses-

^aSee Piehl, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1885, 60, 61.

^bLit., "behind them."

^cAn intoxicating drink of uncertain character. See p. 101, n. e.

^dSee II, 461, l. 5. Same figure again in 8, 6.

^eThis is Ramses III's well-known temple of Khonsu at Karnak. It was not completed by him, but was continued by his successors until the accession of the high priests of Amon. The dedication in the hypostyle reads: "He made (it) as his monument for Khonsu in Neferhotep (Thebes), making for him (the hall called): 'Exaltation-of-Brightness' for the first time of fine white sandstone, making high his great seat, with electrum, adorned with every splendid costly stone" (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1310). But Brugsch does not give the name of the king, and the dedication may belong to Ramses IV, who also built in this hall.

^fDoubtless referring to Khonsu, as the papyrus marks a paragraph at the end of l. 1, as we have indicated.

Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-Great-in-Victory," it is called,^a forever. ³I conveyed to it Egypt with its^b tribute; the people of every land were gathered in its midst. It was furnished with large gardens and places for walking about, with all sorts of date groves, bearing ⁴their fruits, and a sacred^c avenue, brightened with the flowers of every land,^d isiplants, papyrus, and dedmet flowers, like sand.

Its Vineyard and Olive Garden

216. ⁵I made for it Kanekeme,^e inundated like the Two Lands, in the great olive-lands; bearing vines; surrounded by a wall around them by the iter;^f planted with great trees ⁶in all their many paths, wherein was oil more than the sand of the shore; in order to bring them to thy ka, to "Victorious Thebes;" wine like drawing water^g without measure, ⁷to present them before thee as a daily offering. ⁸I built for thee thy temple in the midst of its ground,^h established with labor, excellent in stone of Ayan (^c yn). Its door and its doorposts were of gold, mounted with copper; the inlay-figures were of every costly stone, like the double doors of heaven.

Cultus Imageⁱ

217. ⁹I fashioned thy august image, wherewith the "Appearance" is made,^j like Re when he brightens the earth with his beams; "Amon-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis" was its great and august name. I filled its house with male and female slaves, whom I carried off from the lands of the Bedwin (*Sty'w*). ¹⁰The lay priests of the temple were ¹¹— —¹² children of great men, whom I trained. Its treasury was overflowing with products of every land; its granaries approached

^aLit., "is said to it for a name."

^bText has "their," referring to Egypt as plural.

^cThe avenue leading up to the temple door.

^dCompare the flowers of Syria, brought to Egypt by Thutmose III (II, 451).

^eName of an important vineyard of Amon in the Delta; it existed in the days of Ramses II, from whose cellars at the Ramesseum many sherds from broken wine-jars have been found, bearing the name of this vineyard (Wiedemann, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1883, 33 ff.; Spiegelberg, *Ostraca*, Pls. XIX-XXXIV).

^fSee II, 965, note.

^gSee 7, 11.

^hThe ground of Kanekeme.

ⁱThis must have been the cultus image in the Tanis temple, the equipment of which he has above enumerated.

^jWith which the god appears in processions and feasts.

^k*T* = *-tkmw* (or possibly *mt* = *-tkmw*) occurs also in the inscription, year 8 (§ 65, 1.21), where it applies to charioteers.

heaven, its herds ¹¹were multiplied more than the sand;^a cattle yards, offered to his ka, (as) divine offerings daily, full and pure before him; fattening-houses containing fat geese; poultry yards containing wild fowl; ¹²gardens with wine, provided with their fruit, vegetables and all kinds of flowers.

Temple in Nubia

218. ¹³I made for thee an august house in Nubia (*T³ -pd³ t*), engraved with thy august name, the likeness of the heavens (named): "House-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-Great-in-Victory," abiding, bearing thy name forever.

Pl. 9. Temple in Zahi

219. ¹I built for thee a mysterious house in the land of Zahi (*D³ -h³*), like the horizon of heaven which is in the sky, (named): "The-House-(*h³ t*)-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in-Pekanan,"^b ²as the property of thy name. I fashioned thy great statue resting in the midst of it (named): "Amon-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H." The Asiatics of Retenu (*Rtnw*) came to it, ³bearing their tribute before it, for it was divine.

Miscellaneous

220. I brought the earth, united for thee, bearing their imposts, to convey them to Thebes, thy mysterious city. ⁴I made for thee statues in the districts of Egypt; they were for thee (*and*³) the gods who preserve this land. I built for them temples, gardens containing their groves, ⁵lands, small cattle, large cattle, many slaves; they are thine forever, thine eye is upon them, thou art their protector unto eternity. ⁶I wrought upon thy great and grand statues which are in their districts in the lands of Egypt. I restored their temples ⁷which were in ruin. I multiplied the divine offerings presented to their ka's as an increase of the daily offerings which were formerly.

Lists

221. ⁸See, I have listed^c all that I did before thee, O my august, divine father, lord of gods, that men and gods may know of my benefactions, ⁹which I did for thee in might, while I was upon earth.

^aFrom here to the end of the section the enumeration is simply a list without syntactical connection with the preceding.

^bLit., "*the Canaan.*"

^cLit., "*collected*;" the noun is the common word for list, as on the next plate (10, 1).

3. AMON'S ESTATE

Pl. 10

222. ¹List of things, cattle, gardens, lands, galleys, workshops, and towns, which Pharaoh, L. P. H., gave to the house (*pr*) of his august father, ²Amon-Re, king of gods, Mut, Khonsu, and all the gods of Thebes, as property forever and ever:^a

*People Attached to Temples, Etc.**Medinet Habu Temple*

223. ³"The-House (*h't*)-of-King-Usermare-Meriamon,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Amon,"^b in the South and North, under charge of the officials (*sr*) of the temples of this house (*pr*), equipped with all its things: heads 62,626

Small Karnak Temple

- ⁴"House (*pr*)-of-Usermare-Meriamon,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Amon," in the South and North, under charge of the officials, equipped with all its things: heads 970

Luxor Temple

- ⁵"House (*pr*)-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Amon," in the South and North, under charge of the officials, equipped with all its things: heads 2,623

Southern Karnak Temple

- ⁶"The House (*h't*)-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-Possessed-of-Joy-in-the-House-of-Amon," under charge of the High Priest; equipped with all its things: heads 49

^aThe list now follows, and the first series of items is a statement of the numbers of people ("heads") attached to the various temples, to herds, etc. This list of people runs to 11, 4.

^bThis name of the Medinet Habu temple is often found in the temple itself. Its full form there is: "*House-of-Usermare-Meriamon-Possessed-of-Eternity-in-the-House-of-Amon-on-the-West-of-Thebes*" (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 173); but "*on-the-West-of-Thebes*" is sometimes omitted (*ibid.*, 179 and 185), as well as "*Possessed-of-Eternity*" (*ibid.*, 182, 183, 184, 185).

Five Herds of the Theban Temples

224. ⁷Herd^a of "Usermare-Meriamon,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Amon," which is (called): "Usermare-Meriamon,-L.-P.-H.,-Captor-of-Rebels-is-a-Great-Nile:"^b heads^c 113
- ⁸Herd (called): "Usermare-Meriamon,-L.-P.-H.,-is-the-Conqueror-of-the-Meshwesh-at-the-Water-of-Re,"^d under charge of the steward Pay (*Py* ʿ y); Meshwesh: heads 971
- ⁹Herd (called): "Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Amon-is-a-Great-Nile:" heads 1,867
- ¹⁰Herd (called): "Usermare-Meriamon,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Amon,^e [—],"^e under charge of the Vizier of the South: heads 34
- ¹¹Herd of "Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Amon," under charge of the cattle-overseer Key (*K* ʿ y): heads 279

Royal Residence

225. ¹²"House (*pr*)-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-Great-in-Victory," the city which the Pharaoh, L. P. H., made for thee in the North, in the ownership of

^aThe following five herds, as the names show, belonged one to each of the preceding four temples, and the Khonsu-temple, as is shown by 12a, 1-4, where they follow these five temples in a group.

^bThis herd still existed under Ramses IV; see Hammamat Inscription, l. 14 (§ 466).

^cThese are not "heads" of cattle, but the people in charge of the herd.

^dThis canal on which Ramses III defeated the Meshwesh in the year 11, can only have been in the western Delta. That it was so located is shown by its occurrence in a list of Delta localities just after Busiris, "*the western river, the great river (Canopic branch), the 'Water of Re'*" (Golénischeff Papyrus, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 40, 105). It is called the "*western canal*" in § 340 (see also § 370). It was the canal passing out of the Fayûm northward as the continuation of the Bahr Yusuf. It is mentioned in Saitic times on a stela in Berlin (No. 15393), recording the gift of a building by Apries (seventeenth year), located "*on the west of the canal named 'North,' which is between the highlands and Memphis.*" In Ptolemaic times it connected Heracleopolis with Alexandria (see § 831, note).

^eThe rest of the name is uncertain; possibly: "*Made: (=called)-the-People-Are-a-Great-Nile(?)*."

the house of Amon-Re, king of gods, saying: "As thou art mighty, thou shalt cause it to abide forever and ever." heads 7,872

Khonsu-Temple

¹³House (*pr*)-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Khonsu: heads 294

Ramses III's Gifts of People

¹⁴People whom he gave to the house of "Khonsu in Thebes, Beautiful Rest," Horus, lord of joy: persons^a 247

¹⁵Syrians, and Negroes of the captivity of his majesty, L. P. H., whom he gave to the house (*pr*) of Amon-Re, king of gods, the house (*pr*) of Mut, and the house (*pr*) of Khonsu: persons^a 2,607

¹⁶Bows^b of "Usermare-Meriamon,-L.-P.-H.,-Establisher-of-His-House-in-the-House-of-Amon;" people settled, whom he gave to this house: heads 770

Pl. II. Private Statues in Great Karnak Temple

¹The processional images, statues, and figures, to which the officials, standard-bearers, inspectors, and people of the land pay impost, ²which the Pharaoh, L. P. H., gave; in the ownership of the house of Amon-Re, king of gods, to protect them and answer for them forever and ever;
³2,756 gods,^c making: heads 5,164
⁴Total heads 86,486

Miscellaneous Property

226. ⁵Large and small cattle, various 421,362
⁶Gardens and groves 433

^aLit., "times" (*sp*).

^bMeaning foreign archers settled in a temple district.

^cIt is difficult to determine the exact nature of these statues; they appear here in the god's estate; the materials of which they were made (?) appear independently following the king's gifts (21b, 11-16); and finally in the general summary (68a, 3-68b, 3) they are again included in the sacred estates. Erman suggests votive statues of the god donated by the king's subjects.

⁷ Lands, stat	864,168½
⁸ Transports and galleys	83
⁹ Workshops of cedar and acacia	46
¹⁰ Towns of Egypt	56
¹¹ Towns of Syria (<i>H</i> ² - <i>rw</i>) and Kush	9
Total	65

4. AMON'S INCOME

Pl. 12a

227. ¹Things exacted, the impost of all the people and serf-laborers of "The-House (*h' t*)-of-King-Usermare-Meriamon,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Amon" (Medinet Habu temple), ²in the South and North under charge of the officials; the "House (*pr*)-of-Usermare-Meriamon,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Amon" (small Karnak temple), in the (residence) city; the "House (*pr*)-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Amon" (Luxor temple); ³the "House (*h' t*)-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-Possessed-of-Joy-in-the-House-of-Amon-of-Opet" (southern Karnak temple); the "House-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Khonsu" (Khonsu-temple); the five herds^a ⁴made for this house,^b which King Usermare-Meriamon, L. P. H., the Great God, gave to their treasuries, storehouses and granaries ⁵as their yearly dues:

228. ⁶ Fine gold	217	deben,	5	kidet
⁷ Gold of the mountain, of Coptos	61	"	3	"
⁸ Gold of Kush	290	"	8½	"
⁹ Total, fine gold, and gold of the mountain	569	"	6½	"
¹⁰ Silver	10,964	"	9	"
¹¹ Total, gold and silver	11,546	"	8	"
¹² Copper	26,320	"		

^aThese are the five herds enumerated in 10, ll. 7-11 (§ 224).

^b"House" is here used, as frequently, in the sense of estate, and means the estate of Amon, divided among the five preceding temples, there being one herd for each of the five temples.

^cIncorrect; correct total is 11,534 deben, 5½ kidet.

¹³ Royal linen, mek-linen, fine southern linen, colored southern linen, various garments	3,722
¹⁴ Yarn, deben	3,795
¹⁵ Incense, honey, oil, various jars (ꜥꜥ)	1,047

Pl. 12b

¹ Shedeh and wine, various jars (ꜥꜥꜥ)	25,405
² Silver, being things of the impost of the people (<i>rmꜥt</i>) given for the divine offerings ^a	3,606 deben, 1 kidet
229. ³ Barley [—] of the impost of the peasants (<i>yhwtꜥy</i>), 16-fold heket	309,950
⁴ Vegetables, bundles	24,650
⁵ Flax, bales	64,000
⁶ Water-fowl from the impost of the fowlers and fishermen	289,530
⁷ Bulls, bullocks of the bulls, heifers, calves, cows, cattle of [—], cattle of [—], of the herds of Egypt	847
⁸ Bulls, bullocks of the nege-bulls, heifers, calves, cows, being impost of the lands of Syria (<i>Hꜥ -rw</i>)	19
Total	866
⁹ Live geese of the exactions	744
¹⁰ Cedar: tow-boats and ferry-boats	11
¹¹ Acacia: tow-boats, [canal]-boats, boats for the transportation of cattle, warships, ^b and kara-boats:	71
¹² Total, cedar and acacia: boats	82
¹³ Products of the Oasis ^c in many lists for the divine offerings.	

5. THE KING'S GIFTS TO AMON

Pl. 13a

230. ¹Gold, silver, real lapis lazuli, real malachite, every real costly stone, copper, garments of royal linen, mek-linen, ²fine southern linen, southern linen, colored garments, jars, fowl, all the things which King Usermare-Meriamon, L. P. H., the Great God, gave, ³as gifts of

^aSilver received from sale of articles delivered to the temples as taxes from the people.

^b*Tꜥ -ꜥꜥ -ꜥꜥ*; see Spiegelberg, *Rechnungen*, 35.

^cThe Northern Oasis (*wt*), see Karnak Inscription of Merneptah (III, 580, l. 20).

the king, L. P. H., in order to provision the house of his august fathers (sic!), Amon-Re, king of gods, Mut, and Khonsu, from the year 1 to the year 31, making 31 years.

231. ⁵ Fine Ketem-gold; 42 [—] (<i>dmd·t</i>), making	21	deben	
⁶ Fine gold in 'raised work'; ^a 22 finger rings, making	3	"	3 kidet
⁷ Fine gold in inlay; 9 finger rings, making	1	"	3½ "
⁸ Fine gold in 'raised work', ^a and in inlay of every real, costly stone; a 'ring' of the column of Amon, making	22	"	5 "
⁹ Fine gold in hammered work; a tablet, making	9	"	5½ "
¹⁰ Total, fine gold in ornaments	57	"	5 ^b "
¹¹ Gold of two times; in 'raised work', and in inlay; 42 finger rings, making	4	"	5½ "
¹² Gold of two times; 2 vases	30	"	5 "
¹³ Total, gold of two times	35	"	½ "
¹⁴ White gold: 310 finger rings, making	16	"	3½ "

Pl. 13b

¹ White gold: 264 beads, making	48	"	4 "
² White gold in beaten work: 108 finger rings for the god, making	19	"	8 "
³ White gold: 155 amulet cords, making	6	"	2 "
⁴ Total, white gold	90	"	7½ "
⁵ Total, fine gold, gold of two times and white gold	183	"	5 ^c "
⁶ Silver: a vase ^d (with) the rim of gold, in 'raised work', making	112	"	5 "
⁷ Silver: a sieve for the vase, making	12	"	3 "
⁸ Silver: a sifting-vessel for the vase, making	27	"	7 "
⁹ Silver: 4 vases, making	57	"	4½ "
¹⁰ Silver: 31 large panniers with lids, making	105	"	4 "

^aŠ c h c.

^bThere should be 7 kidet, an error of 2; but the correct total of 57 deben, 7 kidet was employed in obtaining the grand total (13b, l. 5).

^cSee preceding note.

^dThis and the following are the vases for the sieve, etc., mentioned in 6, 11.

¹¹ Silver: 31 caskets with lids, making	74 deben	4	kidet
¹² Silver: 6 measuring-vases (^c rk), making	30	"	3 "
¹³ Silver: in hammered work, a tablet (^c wf), making	19	"	3½ "
¹⁴ Silver: in hammered work, 2 tablets ^a (^c nw), making	287	"	½ "
¹⁵ Silver in scraps	100	"	
¹⁶ Total, silver in vessels and scraps	827 ^b	"	1¼ "

Pl. 14a

¹ Total, gold and silver in vessels and scraps	1,010	"	6¼ "
² Real lapis lazuli: 2 blocks, making	14	"	½ "
³ Bronze, ^c in hammered work: 4 tablets (^c nw), making	822	"	
232. ⁴ Myrrh: deben			51,140
⁵ Myrrh: heket			3
⁶ Myrrh: hin			20
⁷ Myrrh wood: logs			15
⁸ Myrrh fruit in measures (yp' t)			100
⁹ Royal linen: garments (dw)			37
¹⁰ " " upper garments (dw)			94
¹¹ " " hamen-garments			55
¹² " " mantles			11
¹³ " " wrappings of Horus			2
¹⁴ " " — ^d garments			1
¹⁵ " " garments (ydg ²)			690
¹⁶ " " tunics			489
¹⁷ " " garments for the august [statue] of Amon			4

Pl. 14b

¹ Total, royal linen, various garments	1,383
² Mek-linen: a robe	1

^aThese are mentioned in 6, 7.^bThe exact total is 826 deben, 4½ kidet.^cThese tablets are mentioned in 6, 9, showing that the material was bronze, though the designation both here and there is *hmt*, the usual word for copper.^dReading unknown.

³ Mek-linen: a mantle	1
⁴ “ “ in a ¹ cover ^{1a} : a garment for the august ¹ statue ¹ of Amon	1
⁵ Total, mek-linen: various garments	3
⁶ Fine southern linen: garments (<i>dw</i>)	2
⁷ “ “ “ — ^b garments	4
⁸ “ “ “ upper garments (<i>dw</i>)	5
⁹ “ “ “ garments (<i>ydg</i> ²)	31
¹⁰ “ “ “ tunics	29
¹¹ “ “ “ kilts	4
¹² Total, fine southern linen, various garments	75
¹³ Colored linen: mantles	876
¹⁴ “ “ tunics	6,779
¹⁵ Total, colored linen, various garments	7,125 ^c
¹⁶ Total, royal linen, mek-linen, fine southern linen, southern linen, colored linen, various garments	8,586 ^c

Pl. 15a

233. ¹ White incense: (<i>mn</i>)-jars	2,159
² White incense: (<i>mn</i>)-jars ^d	12
³ Honey: (<i>mn</i>)-jars	1,065
⁴ Oil of Egypt: (<i>mn</i>)-jars	2,743
⁵ Oil of Syria (<i>H</i> ² - <i>rw</i>): (<i>m-s</i> ² - <i>hy</i>)-jars	53
⁶ Oil of Syria (<i>H</i> ² - <i>rw</i>): (<i>mn</i>)-jars	1,757
⁷ White fat: (<i>mn</i>)-jars	911
⁸ Goose fat: (<i>mn</i>)-jars	385
⁹ Butter: (<i>mn</i>)-jars	20
¹⁰ Total, filled jars (2 ^c 9)	9,125 ^e

^a*K* 2-2-ty = 𓆎𓆏 (Bondi, *Lehnwörter*, 82, and 51).^bSame as 14a, 14.^c530 short.^dAn uncertain hieratic sign after *mn* indicates that it is different from that of l. 1.^eThe correct total is 9,105.

¹¹ Shedeh: colored (<i>mn</i>)-jars	1,377
¹² Shedeh: (<i>k</i> ² <i>-bw</i>)-jars	1,111
¹³ Wine: (<i>mn</i>)-jars	20,078
¹⁴ Total, shedeh and wine: jars (<i>mn</i> and <i>k</i> ² <i>bw</i>)	22,556 ^a
¹⁵ Hirset (<i>hrst</i>) stone: sacred eye amulets	185
¹⁶ Lapis lazuli: sacred eye amulets	217

Pl. 15b

¹ Red jasper: scarabs	62
² Malachite: scarabs	224
³ Bronze and Minu (<i>mynw</i>) stone: scarabs	224
⁴ Lapis lazuli: scarabs	62
⁵ Various costly stones: sacred eye amulets	165
⁶ Various costly stones: seals as pendants	62
⁷ Rock-crystal: seals	1,550
⁸ “ “ beads	155,000
⁹ “ “ cut: hin-jars	155
234. ¹⁰ Wrought wood: seals ^b	31
¹¹ Alabaster: a block	1
¹² Cedar: <i>bp</i> ² <i>-ny-ny</i>	6
¹³ Cedar: <i>tp</i> ² <i>t</i>	1
¹⁴ Neybu (<i>N</i> ² <i>y-bw</i>) wood: 3 logs, making (deben)	610
¹⁵ Cassia wood: 1 log, making (deben)	800
¹⁶ Reeds: bundles	17

Pl. 16a

¹ Cinnamon: measures (<i>msty</i>)	246
² Cinnamon: bundles	82
³ Grapes: measures (<i>msty</i>)	52
⁴ Rosemary ¹ (<i>nkp</i> ² <i>ty</i>): measures (<i>msty</i>)	125
⁵ Yufiti (<i>Yw-fy-ty</i>)-plant: measures (<i>msty</i>)	101
⁶ Dom-palm fruit ¹ of Mehay (<i>M-h</i> ² <i>-yw</i>): measures (<i>msty</i>)	26
⁷ Fruit: heket	46
⁸ Grapes: crates	1,809
⁹ Grapes: bunches	1,869

^aThe correct total is 22,566.^bThebes, Heliopolis and Memphis each received one a year of these objects.

¹⁰ Pomegranates ¹ : crates	375
¹¹ <i>B</i> ² - <i>k</i> ³ - <i>y</i> ⁴ -plant, in measures (<i>yp t</i>)	1,668
235. ¹² Various cattle	297
¹³ Live geese	2,940
¹⁴ Live turpu (<i>Tw-r-pw</i>)-geese	5,200
¹⁵ Live water-fowl	126,300

Pl. 16b

¹ Fat geese from the 'flocks'	20
² Natron: bricks	44,000
³ Salt: bricks	44,000
⁴ Palm-fiber: ropes	180
⁵ Palm-fiber: loads	50
⁶ Palm-fiber: '—'	77
⁷ Palm-fiber: cords	2
⁸ Sebkhet (<i>sbh t</i>)-plants	60
⁹ Flax (<i>ps t</i>): bekhen (<i>bhn</i>)	1,150
¹⁰ Ideninu (<i>Ydnyw</i>)	60
¹¹ Hezet (<i>hd t</i>)-plant: measures (<i>msty</i>)	50
¹² Pure '—', deben	750

6. GRAIN FOR THE OLD FEASTS

236. ¹³Clean grain for the divine offerings of the feasts of heaven,^a and the feasts of the first of the seasons, which King Usermare-Meriamon L. P. H., the Great God, founded for ¹⁴his father, Amon-Re, king of gods, Mut, Khonsu, and all the gods of Thebes, as an increase of the divine offerings,^b as an increase of the daily offerings,^b in order to multiply that which was before, ¹⁵from the year 1 to the year 31, making 31 years: 2,981,674^c 16-fold heket.

^aThe offerings for these and the following feasts of 6 and 7 are recorded likewise in the Great Calendar of Medinet Habu (§§ 139-45), from which the scribe could copy them, though with some changes. Thus for twenty-one years the Coronation feast was only one day long, as shown in the calendar (made in year 12), but in year 22 it was made 20 days long. Similarly in year 12 the calendar gives the Feast of Opet as 24 days long, but our papyrus treats it as 27 days long for 31 years! The scribe evidently reckoned with these changes, for his numbers are even multiples of 31, as so commonly with the other temples.

^bThese words are incorrectly repeated in the text by a dittography.

^cThis amounts to 6,360,908 bushels, or 205,190 bushels annually.

7. OFFERINGS FOR NEW FEASTS FOUNDED BY RAMSES III

Pl. 17a

237. ¹Oblations of the festivals which King Usermare-Meriamon, L. P. H., the Great God, founded for his father, ²Amon-Re, king of gods, Mut, Khonsu, and all the gods of Thebes, during the 20 days of offering, of the festival (called): ³"Usermare-Meriamon, -L.-P.-H., -Making-Festive-Thebes-for-Amon," from the first month of the third season, (ninth month), day 26,^a to the second month of the third season (tenth month), day 15; ⁴making 20 days; from the year 22 to the year 32,^b making 11 years; together with the oblations of the ⁵feast of Southern Opet (Luxor), from the second month of the first season (second month), day 19, to the third month of the first season (third month), day 15, making 27 days;^c ⁶from the year 1 to the year 31, making 31 years.

238. ⁷ Fine bread: large oblation-loaves	1,057
⁸ Fine bread: large loaves (<i>syd</i>)	1,277
⁹ " " large loaves (<i>bk</i>)	1,277
¹⁰ " " loaves (<i>ddmt-hr-t</i>)	440
¹¹ Bread: large oblation-loaves	43,620
¹² Papyrus 'rind' of the house of incense ^d	685
¹³ Beer of the beer-cellar: 4,401 (jars), making	— ^e

^aThis is the coronation day of Ramses III, the twenty-sixth of Pakhons, being so recorded in the festival calendar on the south wall of the Medinet Habu temple (Greene, *Fouilles*, Pl. IV, ll. 9 and 10, twice): "*The first month of the third season, day 26, the day of the royal coronation (h^c stny) of King Ramses III.*" (See also § 153.) This feast was at first only one day long, but in the year 22 it was made twenty days long.

^bAs this feast fell within the 40 days during which Ramses III survived in his thirty-second year, it was, therefore, celebrated in that year also; but none of the old feasts, as he did not survive to celebrate them in the thirty-second year.

^cThis feast was not 27 days long, throughout the reign, but only 24 at first (see Breasted, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 37, 126, where this passage in Harris was not yet noted). Under Thutmose III it lasted only 11 days (*ibid.*); it was an old feast, but because Ramses III lengthened it he includes it among feasts founded by himself. As he lengthened it from 24 to 27 days, it is not likely that the lengthening from 11 to 24 days was also due to him. If lengthened further in later times, it was prolonged at the end, for in the Twenty-first Dynasty it still began on the nineteenth. (*Inscriptions historiques de Pinodjem*, l. 13, below.)

^dThe numeral must refer to the separate pieces.

^eThe scribe has omitted the amount in hins.

¹⁴ Fine bread, meat, rahu ^{su} ^a (<i>r³ -hw-sw</i>)-cakes: measures ^b (<i>htp</i>) for show	165
¹⁵ Fine bread, meat, rahu ^{su} -cakes: measures ^c (<i>htp</i>) of gold	485

Pl. 17b

¹ Fine bread, meat, rahu ^{su} -cakes: measures (<i>htp</i>) for eating ^c	11,120
² Fine bread, meat, rahu ^{su} -cakes: measures (<i>t³ y</i>) for the mouth of the eater ^c	9,845
³ Fine bread, meat, rahu ^{su} -cakes: vases (<i>g³ y</i>) of the prince	3,720
⁴ Fine bread of the divine offerings: vases (<i>dyn³</i>) of gold, equipped	375
⁵ Fine bread of the divine offerings: loaves (<i>by³ t</i>)	62,540
6 " " " " " loaves (<i>pr-sn</i>)	106,992
7 " " " " " white loaves	13,020
⁸ Fine bread: large loaves (<i>c k</i>) for eating ^d	6,200
9 " " sweet loaves (<i>s^c b</i>) ^e	24,800
10 " " loaves (<i>c k</i>) of the fire	16,665
11 " " large loaves (<i>c k</i>)	992,750
12 " " loaves (<i>pws³ -c k</i>) of grain	17,340
13 " " white oblation-loaves	572,000
14 " " pyramidal loaves	46,500
15 " " kyllestis-loaves	441,800

Pl. 18a

1 " " loaves (<i>wdnw-nt</i>)	127,400
² Kunek (<i>kwnk</i>)-bread: white loaves (<i>t³</i>)	116,400
³ Fine bread: loaves (<i>p^c t</i>)	262,000
⁴ Total of fine bread: various loaves (<i>c k</i>)	2,844,357 ^f

^aConnected by Bondi (*Lehnwörter*, 62 and 86), with מרחשת, "pan."

^bOr: "baskets" or "vessels."

^cThese phrases evidently apply only to the loaves, in any case "for eating" occurs often with loaves alone; see 17b, l. 8, and the lists in Spiegelberg's "Geschäftsjournal" (*Recueil*, 17, 143 f.).

^dProbably these terms indicate that these things were eaten at the feast. Thus in l. 3, each vessel or vase of food was eaten by a noble; the more plentiful supplies that follow were then eaten by the people.

^eSee Piehl, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1886, 80 ff.

^fThe real total is 2,806,407, not counting 25,710 "measures," etc. (17a, 14-17b, 4). Even including the fine bread of 17a, ll. 7-10, which make 4,051 loaves, the scribe is still nearly 34,000 in excess of the real sum. The difference must lie in the "measures," etc. (17a, 14-17b, 4).

⁵ Rahusu-cakes: measures (<i>tm̄m</i>)	344
⁶ Cakes: measures (<i>yp̄ t</i>)	48,420
⁷ Rahusu (<i>R</i> ² - <i>hw-sw</i>): measures (<i>yp̄ t</i>)	28,200
⁸ Flour: vessels (°)	3,130
239. ⁹ Shedeh: jars (<i>mn</i>)	2,210
¹⁰ Shedeh: jars (<i>k</i> ² - <i>bw</i>)	310
¹¹ Wine: jars (<i>mn</i>)	39,510
<hr/>	
¹² Total, shedeh and wine: jars (<i>mn</i> and <i>k</i> ² - <i>bw</i>)	42,030
¹³ Beer: various jars	219,215
¹⁴ Sweet oil: jars (<i>mn</i>)	93
¹⁵ Sweet oil: hin	1,100

Pl. 18b

¹ White incense: jars (<i>mn</i>)	62
² Incense: various measures (<i>yp̄ t</i>)	304,093 ^a
³ Inflammable ¹ incense: jars (<i>mn</i>)	778
⁴ Red oil (<i>bḳ</i>): jars (<i>mn</i>)	31
⁵ Oil (<i>nḥḥ</i>): jars (<i>mn</i>)	93
⁶ Oil (<i>nḥḥ</i>): hin	110,000
⁷ Honey: jars (<i>mn</i>)	310
⁸ White fat: jars (<i>mn</i>)	93
⁹ Olives: jars (<i>mn</i>)	62
¹⁰ Southern linen: garments (<i>dḡ</i>)	155
¹¹ Southern linen: garments (<i>rdḡ</i>)	31
¹² Colored linen: garments (<i>yfd</i>)	31
¹³ Colored linen: tunics	44
<hr/>	
Total	261
240. ¹⁴ Wax: deben	3,100
¹⁵ All (kinds of) fine fruit: measures (<i>k</i> ² - <i>bw-s</i> ²)	620
¹⁶ All (kinds of) fine fruit: measures (<i>t</i> ² y)	620

Pl. 19a

¹ Fruit: measures (<i>hṯp</i>)	559,500
² Fruit: measures (<i>dn y t</i>)	78,550

^aThe scribe has written "making" after this numeral, intending to add the weight in deben, but forgot it, as in 17a, 13.

³ Figs of the impost: measures (<i>yp·t</i>)	310
⁴ “ “ “ weights (<i>mh·</i>)	1,410
⁵ “ “ “ measures (<i>mst·y</i>)	55
⁶ Figs: in measures (<i>yp·t</i>)	15,500
⁷ Figs: measures (<i>t·y</i>)	310
⁸ Mehiwet (<i>Mhywt</i>): ^a 'cakes' (<i>s·t·</i>)	3,100
⁹ Cinnamon: measures (<i>ht·p</i>)	220
¹⁰ Cinnamon: measures (<i>mst·y</i>)	155
¹¹ Semu (<i>s·mw</i>)-plant: measures (<i>ht·p</i>)	1,550
¹² Cabbage ¹ (<i>Š·wt</i>): heket	620
¹³ Khithana (<i>H·y·t·n·</i>)-fruit: heket	310
¹⁴ Khithana (<i>H·y·t·n·</i>)-fruit: 'bundles' (<i>nbw</i>)	6,200
¹⁵ Grapes: measures (<i>mst·y</i>)	117
¹⁶ Grapes: measures (<i>t·y</i>)	1,550

Pl. 19b

¹ Southern fruit: heket	8,985
² Enbu (<i>nbw</i>): measures (<i>d·mw</i>)	620
241. ³ Papyrus sandals: pairs	15,110
⁴ Salt: 16-fold heket	1,515
⁵ Salt: bricks	69,200
⁶ Natron: bricks	75,400
⁷ Thick stuff: garments (<i>d·w</i>)	150
⁸ Flax (<i>ps</i>): measures (<i>sbh·t</i>)	265
⁹ Tamarisk ¹ (<i>y·sr</i>): bundles	3,270
¹⁰ Reed-grass: bundles	4,200
¹¹ Leather sandals: pairs	3,720
¹² Dom-palm fruit ¹ (<i>Hw-kw-kw</i>): in measures (<i>yp·t</i>)	449,500
¹³ Pomegranates ¹ : in measures (<i>yp·t</i>)	15,500
¹⁴ Pomegranates ¹ : crates (<i>pdr</i>)	1,240
¹⁵ Olives: jars (<i>g·y</i>)	310
¹⁶ Jars and vessels of the mouth of the Heliopolitan canal ^b	9,610

Pl. 20a

¹ Papyrus 'rind': measures (<i>yp·t</i>)	3,782
² Nebdu (<i>nbdw</i>): measures (<i>yp·t</i>)	930

^aUnknown fruit.^bPerhaps the place of the workshop where the jars were made.

242. ³ Bulls	419
⁴ Bullocks of the bulls	290
⁵ Oxen (<i>ng</i> ²)	18
⁶ Heifers	281
⁷ Two-year-olds (cattle)	3
⁸ Calves	740
⁹ Bullocks (<i>Tpw</i>)	19
¹⁰ Cows	1,122
¹¹ Total, various cattle	2,892
¹² Male of the white oryx	1
¹³ White oryxes	54
¹⁴ Male gazelle ¹ (<i>nr</i> ² <i>w</i>)	1
¹⁵ Gazelles	81
¹⁶ Total	137
¹⁷ Total, various cattle (<i>y</i> ² <i>t</i>)	3,029

Pl. 20b

¹ Live geese (<i>r</i> ²)	6,820
² " fowl (<i>ht</i> - ^c ²)	1,410
³ " turpu (<i>twrpw</i>)-geese	1,534
⁴ Cranes	150
⁵ Live hatching-fowl	4,060
⁶ Live water-fowl	25,020
⁷ Pigeons (<i>mny</i> ² <i>t</i>)	57,810
⁸ Live pedet (<i>p</i> ^c <i>d</i> ² <i>t</i>)-birds	21,700
⁹ Live sesha (<i>s</i> ² - ^c <i>s</i> ²) birds	1,240
¹⁰ Doves	6,510
¹¹ Total, various fowl	126,250 ^a

243. ¹² Jars [of the canal] filled with fish, having wooden [lids]	440
¹³ White fish	2,200
¹⁴ Dressed shene (<i>sn</i> ^c)-fish	15,500
¹⁵ Fish cut up	15,500

Pl. 21a

¹ Fish, whole	441,000
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^aLacking four of being correct.

244. ² Blossoms ^a of the impost of flowers: sunshades ^b	124
³ Blossoms: ^a tall bouquets	3,100
⁴ Blossoms ^a of the impost of flowers: "garden fragrance" ^c	15,500
⁵ Isi-plant: measures (<i>yp' t</i>)	124,351
⁶ Flowers: garlands	60,450
⁷ Flowers: 'strings' (<i>k' -r' -hw-ty</i>)	620
⁸ Blue flowers: ropes	12,400
⁹ Flowers for the hand	46,500
¹⁰ Flowers: measures (<i>ddm' t</i>)	110
¹¹ Lotus flowers for the hand	144,720
¹² " " bouquets	3,410
¹³ " " for the hand ^d	110,000
¹⁴ Papyrus flowers: bouquets	68,200
¹⁵ Papyrus: 'stems' (^c)	349,000

Pl. 21b

¹ Large bouquets of the impost of flowers	19,150
² Dates: measures (<i>md' yw</i>)	65,480
³ Dates: 'cut branches'	3,100
⁴ Vegetables: measures (<i>ddm' t</i>)	2,170
⁵ Vegetables: bundles	770,200
⁶ Isi-plant for the hand	128,650
⁷ Corn: bouquets	11,000
⁸ Ears of grain for the hand	31,000
⁹ Blossoms: bouquets	1,975,800
¹⁰ Blossoms: measures (<i>htp</i>)	1,975,800

8. PRIVATE STATUES OF AMON^e

245. ¹¹The amount belonging to the 2,756 statues and figures which are above:^f

^a*Rnpy*; it probably means blossoms or flowers here, but in some passages it may mean vegetables; see 37a, 8, 9.

^bThe sunshades were made of green plants and flowers.

^cName of a plant or kind of bouquet?

^dL. 11 has *ssn* for lotus, while l. 13 has *ssnywy*, indicating some difference.

^eSee II, 1-3, and note.

^fSee II, 1-3. In the final summary (68a, 3-6) the proportions of gold and silver are given, viz., 7,205 deben, 1 kidet of gold, and 11,047 deben, $\frac{1}{4}$ kidet of silver, being roughly two parts gold to three parts silver, the usual proportion for electrum, of which the statues were therefore probably made.

¹² Fine gold and silver	18,252 deben, 1½ kidet
¹³ Real costly stones: various blocks	18,214 " 3 "
¹⁴ Black copper, copper, lead, 'tin'	112,132 "
¹⁵ Cedar: various logs	328
¹⁶ Mastic tree ¹ (š' -w' -bw): various logs	4,415

9.^a RAMSES' CONCLUDING PRAYER TO AMON*Pl. 22*

246. ¹How happy is he who depends upon thee! O god, Amon, Bull of his mother, ruler of Thebes. Grant thou that I may arrive in safety, landing in peace, ²and resting in Tazoser like the gods. May I mingle with the excellent souls of Manu, who see thy radiance at early morning. ³Hear my petition! O my father, my lord, I am alone among the gods who are at thy side. Crown my son as king upon the throne of Atum, establish him ⁴as mighty Bull, lord, L. P. H., of the two shores, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Setepnamon, L. P. H.: Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses (IV)-Hekma-Meriamon, L. P. H., emanation ⁵that came forth from thy limbs. Thou art the one who didst designate him to be king, while he was a youth. Appoint thou him to be ruler, L. P. H., of the Two Lands over the people. Give to him a reign of millions of years, ⁶his every limb being whole, in prosperity and health. Place thy crown upon his head, seated on thy throne; and may the serpent-goddess^b alight upon his brows. Make him divine ⁷more than any king, and great like thy reverence, as lord of the Nine Bows. Make his body to flourish and be youthful daily, while thou art a shield behind him ⁸for every day. Put his sword and his war-mace over the heads of the Bedwin (*St' tyw*); may they fall down in fear of him like Baal. Extend for him the boundaries as far as he desires; ⁹may the lands and countries fear in terror of him. Grant for him that Egypt may rejoice,

^aThis numbering does not conform with the scheme in the Heliopolitan section, where No. 8 is devoted to the offerings to the Nile-god, which were not given at Thebes. This is another evidence of the late origin of Theban power. The official offerings of the king to the Nile became a fixed custom in the days when Heliopolis was the seat of power and Thebes was an obscure village of Upper Egypt. The offerings to the Nile-god at Memphis were not old, but were founded by Ramses III in his twenty-ninth year.

^bThe uraeus serpent-crest.

ward off all evil, misfortune and destruction. ¹⁰Give to him joy abiding in his heart, jubilation, singing and dancing before his beautiful face. Put love of him in the hearts of the gods and goddesses; his kindness and his terror ¹¹in the hearts of men. Complete the good things of which thou hast told me on earth for my son, who is upon my throne. Thou art the one who didst create him, confirm his ¹²kingdom to the son of his son, thou being to them a protector, answering for them and they being to thee servants with their eyes upon thee doing benefactions

Pl. 23

for ¹thy ka, forever and ever. The things that thou ordainest, they come to pass, abiding and established; the things that thou sayest, they endure like gritstone. ²Thou didst adjudge to me a reign of 200^a years; establish them for my son who is (still) upon earth; make ³his life longer than (that of) any king, in order to repay the benefactions which I have done for thy ka. Let him be king by reason of thy command; ⁴even thine, who crownest him; let him not ⁵reverse that which thou hast done¹, O lord of gods. Give great and rich Niles in his time, in order ⁵to supply his reign with plentiful food. Give to him the princes who have not known Egypt, with loads ⁶upon their backs for his august palace, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Setepnamon, L. P. H.; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses (IV)-Hekma-Meriamon, L. P. H.

III. HELIOPOLITAN SECTION

I. INTRODUCTORY VIGNETTE

Pl. 24. Vignette

247. Ramses III stands praying before Harakhte, Atum, Saosis, and Hathor. The accompanying notes are:

Over Harakhte

Harakhte, great god, lord of heaven.

Over Atum

Atum, lord of the Two Lands of Heliopolis.

^aThis must refer to some priestly oracle, attributed to Amon, in which he had promised Ramses III a reign of 200 years. The deceased king prays for the fulfilment of this promise to his son.

Over Saosis

Saosis, mistress of Heliopolis.

Over Hathor

Hathor, mistress of Hetep (*Htp*).

Before the King

I tell the prayers, praises, adorations, and laudations, mighty deeds, benefactions, which I did for thee, in thy presence, O great prince.

2. PRAYER TO RE AND RECITAL OF THE KING'S BENEFACCTIONS

Pl. 25. Introduction

248. ¹The prayers, praises, laudations, mighty deeds, and benefactions which King Usermare-Meriamon, L. P. H., the Great God, did ²for his father, Atum, lord of the Two Lands of Heliopolis, Re-Harakhte, Saosis, the mistress of Hetep (Hathor), and all the gods of Heliopolis.

Prayer

249. Said the King Usermare-Meriamon, L. P. H., the Great God, ³in praising his father, this august god, Atum, lord of the Two Lands of Heliopolis, Re-Harakhte:

Praise to thee, Re-Atum, All-lord, creator of that which is, rising ⁴in heaven, illuminating this land with his rays. The hidden ones, dwelling in the West,^a turn their faces to thee; they rejoice to behold thy beauty. All people jubilate at ⁵the sight of thee. Thou it is who madest heaven and earth; and thou didst appoint me to be king over the Two Lands, and Ruler, L. P. H., on thy great throne. Thou didst assign to me all the lands as far ⁶as the circuit of the sun. They feared, and fell down to my name, as they do to thy name. I was diligent in pursuit of benefactions and numerous great deeds ⁷for thy house

Buildings and Temple Gifts

250. I extended thy wall in the house of Re, I filled his treasury with the products of the lands of Egypt; I loaded his granaries with barley and spelt, ⁸which had begun to stand (empty) since the (former)

^aThe dead.

kings. I made great designs for thy [—],^a I caused them to rest in the shrines of thy temple; I made the regulations for ⁹the priests (*w^c b*) in the house of Re. I made him more divine than formerly, ¹⁰I cleansed Heliopolis for his divine ennead. I built his temples, which were gone to ruin, I fashioned their gods in their mysterious forms of gold, silver, and every costly stone, as everlasting works.

Sanctuary in the Heliopolis Temple

251. ¹²I made for thee an august house in the midst of thy temple, like the heavens, abiding and bearing the sun, before thee, founded

Pl. 26

with gritstone, laid with limestone, established ¹with good work, enduring in thy name. It is the great and mysterious horizon of Harakhte, the "Great Seat" is of gold, the double doors of Ketem-gold, while thy mother rests ²in the midst of it, rejoicing and satisfied at seeing it. I equipped it with the classes^b which I trained, personal property, lands, and herds without number.

Colossi in the Heliopolis Temple

252. ³I made for thee great monuments in the house of Re, of gritstone, which Atum shaped into great images, sculptured with toil, dragged up, and ⁴resting in their places forever and ever, in thy great, august and lovely forecourt, carved with thy divine name like the heavens.

Amulets for the Statue of Re

253. ⁵I made for thee august amulets of fine gold, with inlay of real lapis lazuli and real malachite. I attached them to thy body in the great house of thy protection and thy magnificence, ⁶in thy splendid seat, that they might protect the august limbs as ⁷perennial¹ amulets for thy great, grand and lovely form.

^aThe word (*rh'nf*) is plural, as shown by the possessive article; it must indicate divine statues, and literally translated means "that which he knows," perhaps an esoteric priestly term for statue. Compare a similar expression in 29, 4.

^b"Classes" (*d'm*), a word later meaning "generations," and here referring to the successive "classes" into which the youth were divided as they became of age liable to conscription for enforced service. See 76, 5, note, § 402.

Granite Shrine

254. ⁷I made for thee a mysterious shrine of granite, wherein Atum and Tafnut rest. The double doors upon it were of copper, mounted ⁸with gold, engraved with the great name of thy majesty, forever and ever.

Stelæ with Temple Regulations

255. ⁹I made for thee great decrees for the administration of thy temple, recorded in the hall of writings of Egypt; stelæ were made, with outlined figures,^a carved with the graver's tool, ¹⁰abiding for thee forever, nor is there destruction for them.

Temple Balances

256. ¹¹I made for thee splendid balances of electrum,^b the like of which had not been made since the time of the god. Thoth sat upon it as guardian of the balances, ¹²being a great and august ape^c of gold in beaten work. Thou weighest therein before thee, O my father, Re, when thou 'measur¹ of gold and silver by the hundred-thousands,

Pl. 27

brought as tribute ¹before thee from their coffers, and given to thy august treasury in the house of Atum. I founded for it^d daily divine offerings, in order to supply its altar at early morning.

Storehouses for Feasts

257. ²I made for thee a storehouse for the "Feast of the Appearance," being built upon pure ground, on the land of Heliopolis, divine in workmanship. I filled it with beautiful slaves of the choicest, and clean grain by the ten-thousand, in order to supply them.

Storehouse for Temple Income

258. ³I made for thee a pure storehouse containing divine offerings more than were before me, since (former) kings. I equipped it with

^aThe decrees were drawn with the pen upon stone stelæ, and then cut into the stone.

^bThe amount of gold and silver which went into these balances will be found in § 285.

^cThe ape was the sacred animal of Thoth, and a figure of this ape was regularly mounted upon the balances, of which Thoth was the presiding god.

^dNamely, for the balances; evidently offerings were made to it.

everything, it suffered no lack; in order to supply thy offerings at early morning.

Special Oblation-Storehouse

259. ⁴I made an oblation-storehouse for thy forecourt, filled with divine offerings, and plentiful food, and containing great oblations of gold and silver, in order to offer them to thy ka, O lord of gods. I equipped them, ⁵I completed them with barley and wheat, filled with the spoil which I carried away from the Nine Bows. They were for thy ka, O sole lord, maker of heaven and earth, that the feasts of the first of the seasons might be doubled before thee.

Cattle and Poultry Yards

260. ⁶I made thee cattle yards, equipped, containing bulls, and bullocks; fattening-houses anew, containing fat geese.

Cleansing of Sacred Lakes

261. ⁷I cleansed the sacred^a lakes of thy house, I removed all the filth that was in them, which had been the fashion of them formerly since the earth began. Thy divine ennead was satisfied in heart and rejoiced over them.

Vineyards and Shedeh Gardens

262. ⁸I gave shedeh and wine as daily offerings, in order to present the land of Heliopolis in thy splendid and mysterious seat; groves, and verdure, with their plants anew. The lords of the land of life are satisfied therewith. ⁹I made for thee great gardens, equipped, containing their groves, bearing shedeh and wine in the great house of Atum; and the divine ennead of Heliopolis rejoice in feasts to satisfy thy beauty daily.

Olive-Lands

263. ¹⁰I made for thee olive-lands in thy city of Heliopolis, I equipped them with gardeners and numerous people, to make pure oil, the best of Egypt, in order to light^b the flame in thy august house.

^aText has "goddesses" (*ntry't*), which would read "lakes of the goddesses of thy house," which is probably an error for (*ntry*) "sacred, divine."

^bLit., "send up."

Groves and Flower Gardens

264. ¹¹I made for thee groves and arbors,^a containing date trees; lakes supplied with lotus flowers, papyrus flowers, isi flowers, the flowers of every land, dedmet flowers, myrrh, and sweet and fragrant woods for thy beautiful face.

New Temple Domains

265. ¹²I made for thee domains anew, with pure barley; I doubled their lands which had been waste, in order to double the divine offerings

Pl. 28

in numerous lists, for thy great, august and lovely name. ¹³I made for thee numerous lands in the New Isles, in the southern and northern districts, by the ten-thousand. There were made for them stelæ^b engraved with thy name, abiding for thee, bearing decrees forever.

¹⁴I made for thee a poultry yard^c containing wild fowl; I conducted^d the pools to thy city, Heliopolis, in order to present them to thy ka, O my father, conducted to thee and to thy divine ennead which follows thee.

Officials, Servants, and Slaves

266. ³I appointed for thee archers and collectors of honey, bearing incense to deliver^e their yearly impost into thy august treasury. ⁴I appointed for thee hunting archers to capture white oryxes, in order to offer them to thy ka at all thy feasts. ⁵I made for thee boatmen and tax-officials (*m-š' -k' -bwy*)^f of the people, whom I created to collect the impost of the Two Lands, the taxes and the exactions, in order to transport them to thy treasury in the house of Re, in order to double thy divine offerings more than a million times. ⁶I appointed slaves as watchmen of thy harbor, in order to watch the harbor of the Heliopolitan canal in thy splendid place.^g ⁷I made door-keepers of the slaves,

^aSee § 1021 for the same phrase (*'i nt ht*); also § 194.

^bBoundary stelæ, demarking the lands.

^cSee Spiegelberg, *Rechnungen*, 34, 35.

^dLit., "I caused that the pools should be drawn to thy city," not referring to water-supply, but meaning that the fowl of the pools were thus brought.

^e*F* > *y*. See Spiegelberg, *Rechnungen*, 53.

^fSee Spiegelberg, *Recueil*, XV, 143 f.

^gThis is the temple, so that the canal probably passed close by the temple inclosure.

manned with people, in order to watch and 'protect' thy court. ⁸I made slaves as watchmen of the canal-administration, and the watchmen of the pure barley, for thee likewise.

Granaries Restored

267. ⁹I made for thee granaries filled with grain, which had begun to fall to waste, and they became millions.

Golden Statues

268. ¹⁰I made for thee statues of gold in beaten work, kneeling upon the ground^a before thee, bearing divine offerings. I made others likewise, of pure silver, in order to satisfy thy two serpent-goddesses at every time.

Vessels of the Temple Cult

269. ¹¹I made a great vase-stand in thy forecourt, bearing vases of gold and silver, containing shedeh, supplied with divine offerings in numerous lists, in order to offer to thy ka, O great prince. ¹²I made for thee table-vessels without number, of silver and gold with inlay, engraved with thy name; a censer, nemset (*nms't*)-vases, great denya (*dny*³)-vases, enkhya (*ḥ nhy*)-vases, hesy (*hsywt*)-vases, and numerous bowls (*ḥ wy*), in order to convey them into ¹³thy presence with libations of wine; thy divine ennead was satisfied in heart and rejoiced over them.

Pl. 29. Temple-Ships

270. ¹I made for thee transports, and galleys manned with people, in order to transport the products of God's-Land to thy treasury and thy storehouse.

Restoration of Horus-Chapel and its Grove

271. ²I restored the "House-of-Horus-Presider-over-Temples;" I built his walls, which were in ruins. ³I made to grow the august grove, which was in its midst; I planted it with papyrus in the midst of the Delta marshes, (though) it had begun to decay^b formerly.

^aSuch a statue is depicted in the Medinet Habu treasury (Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 30), and described in § 26, note.

^bLit., "to rest."

Temple Grove

272. ⁴I made to grow the pure grove of thy temple, I put it in its accustomed condition when it had gone to waste; I equipped it with gardeners to cultivate it, to make libations of shedeh in the "Place-Which-He-Knows."^a

⁵I made for thee great festival oblations for thy court, as an increase of that which was done formerly since (former) kings, supplied with bulls, bullocks, mountain cattle,^b oil, incense, honey, ⁶shedeh, wine, gold, silver, royal linen, numerous garments, plants, and all flowers for thy beautiful face.

Offerings in Hapi Temple

273. ⁷I made for thee great festival oblations in the house of Hapi, and all the gods of Khherha (*Hr^c h²*) were in festivity.

Temple of Re North of Heliopolis

274. ⁸I made for thee an august house north of Heliopolis, established as an everlasting work, engraved with thy name, viz.: "The-House-(*h't*)-of-Millions-of-Years-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis-L.-P.-H.-in-the-House-of-Re-on-the-North-of-Heliopolis."^c I equipped it with people and property, in order to convey into thy house gardens, containing flowers for thy forecourt.

Temple Herds

275. ⁹I made for thee a herd (called): "Doer-of-Benefactions," supplied with plentiful cattle without number, in order to present them to thy ka at all thy feasts. I doubled those who belonged to them in classes,^d belonging to thy name. ¹⁰I made for thee another herd for thy august house, in order to supply thy temple with plentiful provisions (called): "Herd-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis-L.-P.-H.-Doubling-Offerings-in-the-House-of-Re." I filled it with cattle, and herdmen likewise. They shall not pass away, forever, belonging to thy ka.

^aA name for the place of the cultus. See also p. 143, n. a.

^bSmall cattle, goats, and the like.

^cThis is probably the beautiful incrustated temple at Tell-el-Yehudiyeh.

^dSee 26, 2, note.

Restorations

276. ¹¹I made thee works, with workmen, builders, and stonecutters, in order to fashion thy house, in order to restore thy house.

Temple of Re^a

277. ¹²I made for thee the "House (*pr*)-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Re," equipped with people and property, like the sand.

Pl. 30. New Saosis Temple

278. ¹I made for thee an august house, west of the Heliopolitan canal, for thy mother, Saosis (*Yws-^cs*), mistress of Heliopolis.

Settlement of Foreign Captives

²I made for thee a pure settlement of numerous classes;^b whose sons I brought into thy house (called): "Taking-of-the-Foreigners."

Sacred Bulls

³I raised the black cattle^c and great bulls, purified from every evil in their fields.

Barge of Saosis

⁴I hewed a large barge for thy great daughter, Saosis, mistress of Hetep (called^d): "Sep-in-Heliopolis;"^d of cedars of ¹—1, the best of the royal domain, which were covered with gold like the barge of millions of years.

Lists

279. ⁶Behold, the list of them^e is before thee, O my father, my lord, in order to inform thy divine ennead of my benefactions.

^aThis is evidently the chief temple at Heliopolis, to which Ramses III could have done no more than make some additions or restorations. It is probably the second in the list, 31, 4; as the first (31, 3) is called a *H't*, and this temple is a *Pr*.

^bSee 26, 2, note.

^cSee Spiegelberg, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1891, 81, 82.

^dOr the barge may also have been for the god Sep, as a second object of the proposition.

^eRamses III's pious deeds.

3. RE'S ESTATE

Pl. 31

280. ¹List of things, cattle, gardens, groves, lands, galleys, workshops, and towns which King Usermare-Meriamon, L. P. H., the Great God, gave to ²his august father, Atum, lord of the Two Lands of Heliopolis, Re-Harakhte, as property, forever and ever.

People Attached to Temples, Etc.

281. ³ "The-House (<i>h t</i>)-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Re," under charge of the "Great Seer" ^b and the officials, with all possessions:	heads	1,485
⁴ People whom he gave to the house of Atum, lord of the Two Lands of Heliopolis, Re-Harakhte, who were in the ownership of the house, under his charge: (heads)		4,583
⁵ Those belonging to "The-House-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Re-North-of-Heliopolis," under charge of the scribe, and chief inspector, Perehotep (<i>P³ -R^c -htp</i>), equipped with its possessions:	heads	2,177
⁶ The 'château' of Pharaoh, L. P. H., which is in this place ^c under charge of the chief scribe, Thutmose and the officials:	heads	1,779
⁷ "The [<i>—</i>] ^d -of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-Sustaining-Alive-the-Two-Lands," under charge of the scribe, and chief inspector, Hori:	heads	247
⁸ Orderlies, children of chiefs, nobles, epru (<i>c -pw-r²</i>), ^e and people of the settlement, ^f which is in this place:	heads	2,093
⁹ Total	heads	^g 12,963

^aA list of people like that in 10, 3-11, 4, q. v.

^bTitle of the High Priest of Heliopolis.

^c"*This place*" can only mean the temple just mentioned on the north of Heliopolis; on the château, see III, 588, l. 49. It must here have been attached to the Re-temple, as was the palace at Medinet Habu with the temple there; otherwise, the personnel would not have belonged to the god.

^d*M³ wt*, with the determinative of land, is perhaps some temple estate.

^eThese are the people supposed by Chabas to have been Hebrews, a theory long since exploded.

^fSee 30, 2.

^gThe correct total is 12,364.

Pl. 32a. Miscellaneous Property

282. ¹ Various cattle	45,544
² Gardens and groves	64
³ Lands: stat	160,084½ ½
⁴ Workshops of cedar and acacia	5½ ^a
⁵ Transports and galleys	3
⁶ Towns of Egypt	103

4. RE'S INCOME

283. ⁷Things exacted, impost of the people of "The-House (*h' t*)-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Re;" ⁸those of "The House (*h' t*)-of-Ramses Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Re-on-the-North-of-Heliopolis," the temples (*r' -pr*) and herds of this house (*pr*), ⁹under charge of the officials, as their yearly dues:

¹⁰Silver 586 deben, 3½ ½ kidet

Pl. 32b

¹ Copper	1,260 deben
² Royal linen, mek-linen, double-fine southern linen, fine southern linen, southern linen, colored linen: various garments	1,019
³ Incense, honey, oil: various jars (^c)	482
⁴ Shedeh, wine: various jars (^c)	2,385
⁵ Silver ^b from the things of the impost of the people for the divine offerings:	456 deben, 3½ kidet
⁶ Clean grain of the impost of the peasants: 16-fold heket	77,100
⁷ Vegetables: bundles	4,800
⁸ Flax: bales	4,000
⁹ Water-fowl from the impost of the fowlers and fishermen	37,465
¹⁰ Bulls, bullocks of the bulls, heifers, calves, cows, cattle of I—1, cattle ^c of I—1 of the herds	98
¹¹ Live geese of the exactions	540½ (sic!)
¹² Cedar: a ferry-boat	1
¹³ Acacia: transports and kara (<i>k' -r'</i>)-boats	7
¹⁴ Products of the oasis in numerous lists for the divine offerings.	

^aThe fraction applied to such an object is quite inexplicable, unless the noun be read as singular and 5½ be measures of timber.

^bSee 12b, 2.

^cCorrected from 12b, 7.

5. THE KING'S GIFTS TO RE

Pl. 33a

284. ¹Gold, silver, real lapis lazuli, real malachite, every splendid, costly stone, black copper, garments, ²of royal linen, mek-linen, fine southern linen, southern linen, colored garments, jars of everything, ³which King Usermare-Meriamon, L. P. H., the Great God, gave, as gifts of the king, L. P. H., [in order to provision the house of his august father], ^a Atum, lord of the Two Lands of Heliopolis, Re-Harakhte, ⁴from the year 1 to the year 31, making 31 years:

285. ⁵ Fine mountain gold and gold for the balances ^b	1,278	deben,	9 $\frac{3}{4}$	kidet
⁶ Fine gold, gold of two times, and white gold in vessels and ornaments:	198	"	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	"
⁷ Total, gold	1,479	"	3 ^c	"
⁸ Crude silver for the balances and silver in vessels	1,891 ^d	"	$\frac{1}{2}$	"
⁹ Silver in beaten work: 1 tablet, making	394	"		
¹⁰ Total, silver	2,255 ^e	"	$\frac{1}{2}$	"
¹¹ Total, gold and silver	3,734	"	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	"
¹² Real lapis lazuli: 1 block, making	1	"	1	"
¹³ Lapis lazuli and malachite: a great scarab			36	"
¹⁴ Black copper for the balances	67	"	3	"
¹⁵ Copper in beaten work: 2 tablets, making	400	"	3	"

Pl. 33b

¹ Copper in vessels	1,416	deben,	1	kidet
² Total copper	1,819	deben, --(sic!) ^f		kidet
286. ³ Royal linen, mek-linen, fine southern linen, southern linen, colored linen; various garments			18,793	
⁴ Myrrh: deben			1,787	

^aSomething has fallen out here, by error of the scribe; the restoration is from the parallel passage 13a, 3.

^bMeaning the balances above mentioned in 26, 11-27, 1 (§ 256). The gold amounts to some 311 $\frac{3}{4}$ pounds, troy.

^cThe fraction ($\frac{1}{2}$) is ignored.

^dNearly 461 pounds, troy.

^eThirty short.

^fThe scribe has omitted the number; the real total is 1,883 deben, 7 kidet.

⁵ Myrrh: heket	2
⁶ Myrrh wood: logs	20
⁷ Myrrh fruit in measures (<i>yp't</i>)	100
⁸ Incense, oil, honey, fat: various jars (^c)	3,740
⁹ Shedeh and wine: various jars (^c)	103,550
¹⁰ Incense: kararuti (<i>k' -r' -rw-ty</i>) ^a	530
¹¹ Incense: large measures (<i>yp't</i>)	62
¹² Good manna of Punt: deben	300
287. ¹³ Ubat (<i>wb' t</i>) stone: seals mounted in gold	11
¹⁴ Hirset (<i>hrs</i>) stone: deben	50

Pl. 34a

¹ Green feldspar ^b : deben	50
² Red jasper: deben	200
³ Marvelous ^c stone: offering-table	1
⁴ Ubat (<i>wb' t</i>) stone: seals	200
⁵ Rock-crystal, and costly stones: various pendants	2,195
⁶ “ cut: hin	10
⁷ “ beads	22,450
⁸ Sticks ^d of cinnamon: measures (<i>msty</i>)	17
⁹ Reeds: ^e deben	2,000
¹⁰ Syrian barley: heket	5
¹¹ Cumin: heket	5
288. ¹² Wrought wood: seals	31
¹³ Meru (<i>mry</i>) wood, with ebony: a 'staff'	1
¹⁴ Hewn wood: a block (for) the balances	1
¹⁵ Carob wood: a log of 4 cubits (length) ^f	1

Pl. 34b

¹ Persca tree cut: (a log) of 2 cubits	1
² Mera (<i>mr'</i>) wood: a post for the balances of 3 cubits, 4 palms	1

^aProbably a weight.^b*Nšm't*, see *Catalogue Alnwick Castle*, 230.^c*N-by' y't*, apparently not gritstone (*by' y't*).^dLit., “reeds,” meaning the reedlike pieces of curled bark.^eThis is perhaps also some similar aromatic bark in curled sticks or reeds; otherwise it would not be weighed by the deben.^fProbably for the beam of the balances, as we have the post in 34b, 2.

³ Wood and 'bark: handle' of a '—'	1
⁴ Olive land, equipped, one (grove), making	54½ stat
⁵ Gardens of all (kinds of) trees, equipped	2

6. GRAIN FOR THE OLD FEASTS

The Old Feasts

289. ⁶Clean grain of the divine offerings, of the feasts of heaven and the feasts of the beginnings of the seasons, which ⁷King Usermare-Meriamon, L. P. H., the Great God, founded for his august father, Atum, lord of the Two Lands of Heliopolis, Re-Harakhte, ⁸being an increase of the divine offerings, and an increase of the daily offerings, in order to double that which was before me, L. P. H., ⁹from the year 1 to the year 31, making 31 years: 16-fold heket, 1,097,624.

7. OFFERINGS FOR NEW FEASTS FOUNDED BY RAMSES III

290. ¹⁰Oblations of the festival offerings which King Usermare-Meriamon, L. P. H., the Great God, founded for this house, ¹¹as an increase of the festival offerings of former time, year by year, from the year 9 to the year 31, making 23^a years:

291. ¹² Fine bread: large oblation-loaves of gold	460
¹³ Fine bread: loaves (<i>bh</i>)	4,600

Pl. 35a

¹ Fine bread: large oblation-loaves	23,000
² “ “ oblation-measures (<i>hup</i>)	80,500
³ “ “ loaves (^c <i>k</i>) of the fire	920
⁴ “ “ large loaves (^c <i>k</i>)	460,000
⁵ “ “ tall white loaves	80,500
⁶ “ “ white oblation-loaves	920,000
⁷ “ “ white pyramidal loaves	103,500
⁸ “ “ kyllestis-loaves	34,500
⁹ “ “ loaves (<i>wdnw-nt</i>)	80,500
¹⁰ Kunek (<i>kwnk</i>)-bread: white loaves	80,500
¹¹ Total, fine bread: various loaves (^c <i>k</i>)	2,760,420 ^b

^aHence the following quantities are all evenly divisible by 23. This division, carried through the entire list, furnishes a complete list of the annual offerings presented at this feast.

^bReal total is 1,868,980.

¹² Cakes: ʾ—ʾ	69,000
¹³ Cakes: loaves (<i>by t</i>):	11,500

Pl. 35b

¹ Rahusu (<i>r</i> > <i>-hw-sw</i>)-cakes: round loaves	2,875
² Rahusu (<i>r</i> > <i>-hw-sw</i>)-cakes: measures (<i>tm̄m</i>)	46
292. ³ Beer: measures (<i>tr̄f</i>)	198,260
⁴ Shedeh: colored jars (<i>mn</i>)	1,380
⁵ Shedeh: jars (<i>k</i> > <i>bw</i>)	2,990
⁶ Wine: jars (<i>mn</i>)	16,100
<hr/>	
⁷ Total, shedeh and wine: jars (<i>mn</i> and <i>k</i> > <i>bw</i>)	20,470
293. ⁸ Bulls	966
⁹ Bullocks of the bulls	1,886
¹⁰ Oxen (<i>ng</i> >)	703
¹¹ Heifers	1,242
¹² Calves	1,242
¹³ Cows	5,911
<hr/>	
¹⁴ Total, various cattle	11,960
¹⁵ Males of the white oryx	230

Pl. 36a

¹ Live geese	1,150
² Live hatching-fowl	2,300
³ Live water-fowl	13,800
<hr/>	
⁴ Total, live water-fowl	17,250
294. ⁵ Honey: jars (<i>g</i> > <i>y</i>)	92
⁶ Incense: jars (<i>k</i> > <i>-hr-k</i> >)	9,200
⁷ “ food-jars (<i>tbw</i>)	4,600
⁸ “ white loaves	1,150
⁹ “ measures (<i>ht̄p</i>)	34,500
¹⁰ “ measures (<i>dn̄y t</i>)	126,500
¹¹ “ jars (> < < <i>bw</i>)	26,500
¹² Papyrus ʾrindʾ, worked into incense: various measures (<i>yp t</i>)	34,500
¹³ Fruit: measures (<i>ddmt</i>)	690
¹⁴ “ “ (<i>t</i> > <i>y</i>)	23,000
¹⁵ “ “ (<i>ht̄p hr ʾnmttʾ</i>)	34,500

Pl. 36b

¹ Fruit: various measures (<i>htp</i>)	1,150,000
² “ measures (<i>d³ -w³ -r³</i>)	4,600
³ “ measures (<i>dn</i> y)	23,000
⁴ Papyrus 'rind': various measures (<i>yp' t</i>)	23,000
⁵ Dom-palm fruit': measures (<i>htp</i>)	4,600
⁶ Figs: 'pyramids' (<i>sd' t</i>)	4,600
⁷ Katha ^a fruit and katha flowers: heket	23,000
295. ⁸ Lotus flowers for the hand	46,000
⁹ Isi-plant: various measures (<i>yp' t</i>)	483,000
¹⁰ Isi-plant: for the hand	231,500
¹¹ Flowers: garlands	46,000
¹² Papyrus (flowers): bouquets	483,000

Pl. 37a

¹ Papyrus: large pools ^b	6,900
² Flax': measures (<i>d ydy</i>)	92,000
³ Isi-plant: 'measures' (<i>d ydy</i>)	69,000
⁴ Menhet (<i>mnh</i>)-plant in measures (<i>yp' t</i>)	26,500
⁵ Dates: measures (<i>md³</i>)	241,500
⁶ Milk: measures (<i>gs-r³</i>)	8,600
⁷ Clusters of 'berries' for the hand	92,000
⁸ Blossoms: ^c bouquets	1,150,000
⁹ Blossoms: ^c measures (<i>htp</i>)	1,150,000
¹⁰ Herbs: bundles (<i>htp' t</i>)	4,600
¹¹ Sehetep (<i>shp</i>) of carob-pods	92,000
¹² Fire wood: ('logs') ^d	11,500
¹³ Charcoal: measures (<i>gs-r³</i>)	2,300

8. OFFERINGS FOR THE NILE-GOD

Pl. 37b. Old Offerings

296. ¹Oblations for the "Books of the Nile-God,"^e which he founded anew in the house of the Nile-god, father of gods; ²together with the "Books of the Nile-God" which are presented in the Pool of

^aK³ *d' t³*.^bPerhaps papyrus-producing pools?^cSee 21a, 2-4.^dOr some measure implied as a matter of course; cf. Maspero, *Recueil*, I, 59.^eThe "Books of the Nile-God" were lists of the offerings presented to him twice a year. The first record of such offerings is under Ramses II, who established a

Kebeh (*Kbh*) in the house of Re-Harakhte; ³the "Books of the Nile-God," which are presented in the house of Anubis, lord of designs in Neru (*Nr³ w*), being an increase of their (offerings) that were formerly, ⁴year by year, from the year 1 to the year 31, making 31 years.

Offerings Founded by Ramses III

297. ⁵"Books of the Nile-God," which King Usermare-Meriamon, L. P. H., the Great God, founded 48 years, making 31 years:^a ⁶272 "Books of the Nile-God," making:

⁷ Fine bread of the divine offerings: various loaves (<i>by³ t</i>)	470,000
⁸ Fine bread of the divine offerings: persen (<i>pr-sn</i>)-loaves, white loaves, and seshu (<i>sšw</i>)-loaves	879,224
⁹ Cakes: various measures (<i>yp³ t</i>)	106,910
¹⁰ Kunek (<i>kwnk</i>)-bread: loaves (<i>wdnw-nt</i>)	46,568
¹¹ Beer: various jars	49,432
Making	<hr/>
¹² Clean grain: 16-fold heket	61,172½
298. ¹³ Bulls	291
¹⁴ Bullocks of the bulls	17

Pl. 38a

¹ Calves	51
² Cows	2,564
Total	<hr/> 2,923

semiannual feast of the Nile-god at Silsileh and recorded the fact, together with a fine hymn to the god, on the rocks at Silsileh (Stern, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1873, 129-35). These were renewed by Merneptah, and again by Ramses III, both of whom had duplicates of Ramses II's stela carved beside it. The "Books" were thrown into the stream, and doubtless also the offerings themselves, of which the "Books" contained the lists. Ramses III's stela is dated in Phamenoth of the sixth year, and, like Ramses II, he celebrated the two feasts on the fifteenth of Thoth and the fifteenth of Epiphi (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 218, d, l. 15).

^aI am unable to explain this addition: "making 31 years," unless it is a dittography from the end of the l. 4. Evidently the 48 years is a total of annual offerings obtained by adding 31 years of old offerings and 17 years of Ramses' newly founded offerings, for the 272 books of l. 6 are exactly divisible by 17 (sixteen times). Hence the list beginning l. 6 refers to the 17 years of Ramses' new foundation, as all such lists in this papyrus refer to his new foundations, e. g., 34b, 10 ff. The items of the list following (37b, 7, to 41b, 6) are almost all even multiples of 17.

^bThe scribe has omitted the number of hins which these jars make.

³ Goats	1,089
⁴ Fat geese	192
⁵ Live geese and fowl (<i>ht-ꜥꜥ</i>)	3,938
⁶ Hatching-fowl	364
⁷ Water-fowl	2,653
⁸ Pigeons	68
⁹ Sesha (<i>ꜥꜥ - ꜥꜥꜥ</i>)-birds	19,928
¹⁰ Total, various fowl	27,143
299. ¹¹ Shedeh: jars (<i>kꜥ-bw</i>)	209
¹² Wine: jars (<i>mn</i>)	7,154
¹³ White fat: 3,513 jars (ꜥ), each one $\frac{1}{4}$ hin, making: hins	627 $\frac{1}{2}$ ^a
¹⁴ Onions: measures (ꜥ)	12,712

Pl. 38b

¹ Salt (<i>spr</i>): jars (ꜥ)	12,712
² Natron: jars (ꜥ)	12,712
³ Dried dates: jars (ꜥ)	11,872
⁴ Dried myrrh: jars (ꜥ)	11,872
⁵ Uz (<i>wꜥ</i>)-mineral: jars (ꜥ)	11,872
⁶ Eye-paint: jars (ꜥ)	11,872
⁷ Incense: censerfuls	848
⁸ “ measures (<i>spr</i>)	424
⁹ “ 87,344 jars (ꜥ), making incense: deben	23,008
¹⁰ “ measures (<i>dynꜥt</i>)	6,420
¹¹ “ jars (ꜥ)	2,568
¹² “ jars (<i>ꜥꜥꜥ bw</i>)	1,304
¹³ White incense: hin	85
¹⁴ Oil: hin	85
300. ¹⁵ Fruit: measures (<i>mhꜥtt</i>)	254,240

Pl. 39

¹ Fruit: measures (<i>dynꜥt</i>)	2,672
² Fruit: jars (ꜥ)	154,672
³ Berries: jars (ꜥ)	11,872
⁴ Raisins: ^b jars (ꜥ)	11,872

^aThe scribe has made a bad miscalculation, 3,513 quarter-hin jars = 878 $\frac{1}{2}$ hin.

^bLit., “*raisin-berries*,” meaning the individual grapes, plucked from the stem.

⁵ Best fruit: jars (<i>g³ y</i>)	9,600
⁶ Honey: 20,800 jars (<i>pw-g³</i>), each one $\frac{1}{4}$ hin, making: hin	5,200
⁷ Honey: 1,040 jars (<i>mh³ t</i>), each one 1 hin, making: hin	1,040
⁸ Honey for cakes: hin	7,050, halves 25
⁹ White fat for cakes: hin	1,419, halves 25
¹⁰ Cinnamon: logs	3,036
¹¹ Best oil: 848 jars (<i>bp³</i>), each one $\frac{1}{2}$ hin, making: hin	424
¹² Best oil: 3,036 jars (<i>3</i>), each one $\frac{1}{4}$ hin, making: hin	758
301. ¹³ Shelled beans: jars (<i>3</i>)	11,998

Pl. 40a

¹ Raisins: jars (<i>3</i>)	11,872
² Raisins in measures (<i>yp³ t</i>)	106,000
³ Carob-pods in measures (<i>yp³ t</i>)	106,000
⁴ Herbs: ^a bundles (<i>hr³</i>)	159,000
⁵ Herbs: ^a bundles (<i>htp³ t</i>)	11,872
⁶ Cyperus of the shore, for the hand	71,200
⁷ Palm-fiber: measures (<i>msty</i>)	43,900
⁸ White fruit: jars (<i>g³ y</i>)	4,240
⁹ Live "garden fragrance" ^b	106,000
¹⁰ Seneb (<i>snb</i>)-berries: jars (<i>3</i>)	11,872
¹¹ Butter: jars (<i>nms³ t</i>)	12,040
¹² Milk: jars (<i>nms³ t</i>)	12,040
¹³ Milk: jars (<i>mhn</i>)	198
¹⁴ Pomegranates ¹ in measures (<i>yp³ t</i>)	96,000
¹⁵ Apples (<i>dph³ t</i>): baskets (<i>k³ -r³ -hw-t y</i>)	848

Pl. 40b

¹ Isi-plant: measures (<i>ddmt</i>)	848
² Isi-plant: for the hand	8,480
³ Flowers: garlands	43,640
⁴ Clusters of grapes for the hand	74,000
⁵ Blossoms: ^c bouquets	114,804
⁶ Blossoms: ^c clusters (<i>htp³ t</i>)	114,804
302. ⁷ Gold: a statue of the Nile-god, nusa (<i>nws³</i>)	6,784
⁸ Silver: a statue of the Nile-god, nusa (<i>nws³</i>)	6,784
⁹ Real lapis lazuli: a statue of the Nile-god, nusa (<i>nws³</i>)	6,784

^aOr vegetables.^bSee 21a, 4.^cSee 21a, 2-4.

¹⁰ Real malachite: a statue of the Nile-god, nusa (<i>nws</i> ²)	6,784
¹¹ Iron ¹ : a statue of the Nile-god, nusa (<i>nws</i> ²)	6,784
¹² Raised ¹ copper: a statue of the Nile-god, nusa (<i>nws</i> ²)	6,784
¹³ Lead: a statue of the Nile-god, nusa (<i>nws</i> ²)	6,784
¹⁴ Tin ¹ : ^a a statue of the Nile-god, nusa (<i>nws</i> ²)	6,784
¹⁵ Menit-uz (<i>mny' t-wd</i>): ^b a statue of the Nile-god, nusa (<i>nws</i> ²)	6,784

Pl. 41a

¹ Minu (<i>mynw</i>) stone: a statue of the Nile-god, nusa	6,784
² Shesmet (<i>šsm' t</i>) stone: a statue of the Nile-god, nusa	6,784
³ Green feldspar (<i>nšm' t</i>): a statue of the Nile-god, nusa	6,784
⁴ Alabaster: a statue of the Nile-god, nusa	6,784
⁵ Red jasper: a statue of the Nile-god, nusa	6,784
⁶ Hirset (<i>hrs' t</i>) stone: a statue of the Nile-god, nusa	6,784
⁷ Kenmet (<i>knm' t</i>) stone: a statue of the Nile-god, nusa	6,784
⁸ Mesdemet (<i>msdm' t</i>) stone: a statue of the Nile-god, nusa	6,784
⁹ Seher (<i>shr</i>): a statue of the Nile-god, nusa	6,784
¹⁰ Tur (<i>twr</i>): a statue of the Nile-god, nusa	6,784
¹¹ Bronze: a statue of the Nile-god, nusa	6,784
303. ¹² Various costly stones: a statue of the Nile-god, nusa	13,568
¹³ Rock-crystal: seals	10,196
¹⁴ “ “ bracelets	10,196
¹⁵ “ “ armlets ¹	10,196

Pl. 41b

¹ Sycamore wood: statues of the Nile-god	5,096
² Sycamore wood: statues of the Nile-goddess	5,098
³ Southern linen: kilts	10,196
⁴ Stone: ubas (<i>wb</i> ²)	31,650
⁵ Fire wood: (flogs!) ^c	510
⁶ Charcoal: measures (<i>gs-r</i> ²)	17

9. RAMSES' CONCLUDING PRAYER TO RE

Pl. 42. Ramses III's Prayer for His Son

304. ¹Complete thou for me the mighty deeds, which I did for thee, O father. I have reached the West^d like Osiris; grant that I may

^aSee Brugsch, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1892, 110 ff.

^bSome unknown metal.

^cSee 37a, 12, note.

^dThe place of the dead (*ymy wr' t*).

receive offerings,^a which come forth before thee; that I may smell² incense and myrrh like thy divine ennead. Grant that thy radiance may bathe^b my head daily; that my soul may live, that he may behold thee at early morning. Do thou the³ desire of my heart, O august father, for I was a benefactor of thy ka, while I was upon earth. Hear my petition, do that which I say, which gods as well as⁴ men announce to thee. Establish my son to be king, as lord of the Two Regions, that he may rule the Two Lands, like thee, as sovereign, L. P. H., in Egypt: ⁵Usermare-Setepnamon, L. P. H., whom thou hast chosen for thyself, to be heir, to magnify thy name. Set the white crown and the divine double crown upon his head, like as thou wert crowned⁶ upon earth, as Horus, wearer of the double diadem. Make sound his every limb, make to flourish his bones and his eyes, flourishing in beholding the love of millions.^c Make his duration⁷ upon earth like the Pole Star; ready, like a mighty Bull, seizing the Two Lands. Give to him the Nine Bows, united under his two feet, saluting^d ⁸his name, while his sword is over them. Thou art the one who createdst him, when he was a child; thou didst appoint him to be hereditary prince upon the double throne of Keb; thou didst say: "Let him become king⁹ upon the throne of him who begat him." The things which thou ordainest, they come to pass, abiding, and established. Give to him a great and prolonged reign, and jubilees great and mighty, like Tatenen; ¹⁰King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Setepnamon, L. P. H.; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses (IV)-Hekma-Meriamon, L. P. H.

IV. MEMPHITE SECTION

I. INTRODUCTORY VIGNETTE

Pl. 43. Vignette

305. Ramses III stands praying before Ptah, Sekhmet, and Nefertem. The accompanying notes are these:

^aThe word (*hṯp*) is determined with a flower like the word *hṯp't*, "*bouquet, cluster*," but *hṯp*, "*offering*," is meant. The same error is found in 44, 9.

^bLit., "*anoint*."

^cLit., "*millions of love*."

^dLit., "*in the posture of salām to his name*."

Over Ptah

Ptah the great, "South-of-His-Wall," lord of "Life-of-the-Two-Lands."

Over Sekhmet

Sekhmet the great, beloved of Ptah.

Over Nefertem

Nefertem, protector of the Two Lands.

Before the King

I tell the prayers, praises, adorations, laudations, mighty deeds, and benefactions, which I did for thee in thy presence, O Resi-inebef.^a

2. PRAYER TO PTAH AND RECITAL OF THE KING'S BENEFACCTIONS

Pl. 44. Introduction

306. ¹The prayers, praises, adorations, laudations, mighty deeds and benefactions, which King Usermare-Meriamon, L. P. H., the Great God, did for ²his father, Ptah, the great, "South-of-His-Wall," lord of "Life-of-the-Two-Lands;" Sekhmet, the great, beloved of Ptah; Nefertem, protector of the Two Lands; and all the gods of Memphis.

Prayer of Ramses III

307. Said King Usermare-Meriamon, the Great God, ³to his father, this august god, Ptah, the great, "South-of-His-Wall," lord of "Life-of-the-Two-Lands," Tatenen, father of the gods, lofty-plumed, ready-horned, beautiful-faced, upon the great throne:

Praise of Ptah

308. "Hail to thee! Great art thou, revered art thou, ⁴O Tatenen, father of the gods, great god of the first time, former of men, maker of gods, beginning that became the first primeval being, after whom happened all that came to pass, who made heaven after^b the conception of his mind, ⁵who suspended it by the elevation of the atmosphere,^c

^aThe epithet of Ptah; "*South-of-His-Wall*."

^bOr: "*by*."

^c*Šwt*. It has the determinative of "heaven" (Piehl gives "*ciel*"), but the context demands "air or atmosphere," and I render it so, by connecting it with *Šw*, the air-god, who according to the myth crept between heaven and earth, separated them, and lifted the heavens.

who founded the earth by that which he himself did, who surrounded it with Nun,^a and the sea; who made the nether world, who satisfied the dead, and caused the sun to come to prosper them, ⁶as ruler of eternity, lord of everlastingness; lord of life, who fills the throat and gives breath to every nostril; who preserves alive all men by his sustenance. Lifetime, destiny and bringing up are under his authority, men live by that which comes out of his mouth; maker of ⁷offerings for all the gods, in his form as Nun, the great; lord of eternity, everlastingness is under his authority; breath of life for all people; leading the king to his great throne in his name: King of the Two Lands. I am thy son whom thou hast installed as king ⁸in the place of my father in peace. I ¹follow thee, thy plans are before me.

The King's Decease

309. Thou didst multiply good things for me, while I was upon earth, thou hast led me to rest by thy side in the western heavens like all the mysterious gods of the Nether World, and I am associated ⁹with thy divine ennead in thy mysterious seat, like Apis, thy august son, who is by thy side. Grant that I may eat food^b of thy divine offerings, of

Pl. 45

bread, incense, beer, shēdeh, and wine. Grant that ¹I may live again in Tazoser, seeing thee every day like thy divine cnnead.

The King's Benefactions

310. While I was ruler, L. P. H., upon earth as lord of Egypt, did I not incline my heart mightily to thee, ²in order to seek all benefactions for thy august house, in order to present them before thee in thy city of Memphis?

New Ptah-Temple

311. ³I made for thee a house^c anew in thy court, the place of thy heart's rest at thy every appearance (called): "The-House (*h' t*)-of-

^aThe primeval ocean.

^bSee 42, 1.

^cSo little of Memphis has survived that this temple of Ramses III has disappeared. See a fragment in Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, I, Pl. IV, 2, 4; and another in *Annales*, III, 26, 27. A mortuary temple of Ramses III at Memphis called: "*House-of-Ramses, Ruler-of-Heliopolis, of-the-Temple-of-Memphis*," in Ptolemaic times (British Museum Stela, Young, *Hieroglyphics*, 77, 78; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 908; the same temple on Berlin sarcophagus, No. 18, *ibid.*, 910). On our passage, see Naville, *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, VII, 134 f.

Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Ptah," in the ⁴great and mysterious court of "Him-Who-is-South-of-His-Wall,"^a founded in granite, laid in limestone. Its great doorposts bore lintels of Elephantine granite; the doors upon it^b were of copper in a mixture of six (parts).^c The great doorways were of gold, with inlay of stone; the bolts^d of black copper, overlaid with gold, bearing figures of Ketem-gold, with gold in inlay. Its monuments were sculptured and established with labor. Its towers were of stone, approaching ⁷heaven. Its "Great Seat" was enlarged like a "Great House," having a door of gold like the double doors of heaven.

Divine Image

312. I wrought upon thy image, ⁸resting in its shrine, in gold, silver, and real, costly stone, established with labor.

Endowment

313. I equipped it with serf-laborers in numerous lists, having lands and herds in South and North.

Pl. 46

¹Its storehouses were overflowing with numerous possessions, naval archers, collectors of honey, delivering incense and delivering silver, ²merchants without number, deliveries of clean grain by the ten-thousand; numerous gardens, plentiful in shedeh and wine; cattle yards, bulls, bullocks, and ³fattening-houses; the products of Egypt, God's-Land, Syria and Kush. I made them more numerous than the sand, in its august storehouse, the magazine containing divine offerings, supplied ⁴with food, without lack in any of its places. They were for thy ka, O sole lord, maker of what is, Ptah, "South-of-His-Wall," ruler of eternity. ⁵I gave to thee 20,000 16-fold heket of grain, to convey them to thy house each year, in order to provision thy temple with divine offerings, in addition to the daily offerings which were before me.

^aSee § 305 (last word).

^bMasculine, referring to the lintel, not to the temple, which is here feminine. The doors were mounted in lintel and threshold, and not from the doorposts.

^cSee 6, 9. note.

^dOr possibly all the mountings, including hinges.

Older Ptah-Temple

314. ⁶I restored the house of Ptah, thy great seat, I caused it to be like the horizon, wherein Re is. I filled its storehouses with numerous possessions. I loaded its granaries with barley and spelt.

Cultus Image and its Portable Shrine

315. ⁷I made a design for thy processional image, in the gold-house anew, of thy temple, wrought^a of gold, native silver, real lapis lazuli, malachite, and every splendid costly stone. ⁸I made its august shrine like the horizon of heaven, in^b thy barque in the midst of it, resting upon it. I set up its great [—]. ⁹The shrine was with a [roof], two columns, and an upper [cornice] of the [roof]; they were of gold in [raised work], in real, costly stone. I wrought upon its great carrying-

Pl. 47

poles, overlaid with fine gold, engraved with thy name. When thou appearest with glad heart in Ineb-Sebek (*Ynb-Sbk*)^c in thy great and mysterious form of "Him-Who-is-South-of-His-Wall (Ptah)," thou fillest thy city of Memphis with the radiance of thy limbs, and the people rejoice to see thy beauty.

Restoration of Hatkeptah

316. ²I cleansed Hatkeptah,^d thy splendid seat; I built its temples, which had gone to ruin; I fashioned its gods in their august forms, of gold, silver, every costly stone in the gold-houses.

Silver Tablets

317. ³I made for thee great tablets of silver in hammered work, engraved and carved with the graver's tool, in the great name of thy majesty, with the adorations and prayers which I offered before thee, and bearing the decrees for the administration of thy house forever.

^aAdjective, referring to the image.

^bThe shrine stood in the center of the model of a Nile boat, and the whole was borne on poles, supported on the shoulders of the priests.

^cLit., "*Wall-of-Sebek*," a sanctuary in Memphis, whence the god is carried in the shrine, amid rejoicing multitudes.

^dLit., "*House-of-the-Ka-of-Ptah*," an ancient name of the Ptah-temple of Memphis, frequently also applied to the city itself.

Bronze Tablets

318. ⁴I made for thee two tablets of a mixture of six ('parts'),^a being of the color of fine mountain gold, engraved and adorned with thy name, carved 'with the graver's tool, with the excellent praises which I offered to thy ka.

Amulets

319. ⁵I made for thee august amulets for thy body, of fine Ketem-gold, and of silver, in beaten work, in 'raised work' with inlay of real lapis lazuli, in order to put them upon thy limbs in thy "Great Seat," and all the gods of the house of Ptah were contented therewith.

Monolithic Shrine

320. I made for thee a mysterious shrine of Elephantine granite, established with work forever, of a single block, having double doors of bronze, of a mixture of six ('parts'),^a engraved with thy august name, forever. ⁷Ptah, Sekhmet, and Nefertem rest in it, while statues^b of the king are by their side, to present offerings before them. I founded for them divine offerings presented before them, enduring for thee forever, before thy beautiful face.

Temple Regulations

321. ⁸I made for thee great decrees with secret words, recorded in the hall of writings of Egypt, made into stelæ of stone engraved with the graver's tool, for the administration of thy august house, forever; and the administration of thy pure settlement of women. I brought their children who were forsaken, being people of the serf-laborers, ('in') the hands of others. I put them for thee into the offices in the house of Ptah, and there were made for them decrees forever.

Storehouses for the Feasts

322. ¹⁰I made for thee storehouses for the "Feasts of the Appearance" in thy divine house. They were built upon the (temple) soil, and established with labor. I filled them with slaves whom I had carried off as captives, to serve for thy divine offerings, full and pure, in order

^aAlloy of bronze, see 6, 9.

^bSuch statues are shown in the reliefs at Medinet Habu (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 212, a).

¹¹to provision the house of Ptah with food and provisions, in order to double that which was before thee, O Resi-inbef (Ptah); and thy divine ennead was glad of heart, and rejoiced over them.

Pl. 48. Cattle and Poultry Yards

323. ¹I made for thee cattle yards, filled with bulls and bullocks; fattening-houses likewise, containing fat geese; poultry yards ¹of the exactions¹ containing wild fowl, in order to offer to thy ka every day.

Collectors

324. ²I made for thee archers and collectors of honey, delivering incense; I established for them tax-officials (*mš³ k³ bwy*) to conduct them and to collect their annual impost for thy august storehouse, in order to fill the magazines of thy house with numerous possessions, in order to double thy divine offerings, for presentation to thy ka.

Granaries

325. ³I made for thee granaries filled with barley and spelt, containing many grain-heaps, towering to heaven, in order to provision thy temple every day, before thy lovely face, O maker of heaven and earth.

Statues of the King

326. ⁴I made for thee statues of the king, L. P. H., of gold in beaten work; others of pure silver in beaten work likewise, kneeling upon the ground before thee,^a bearing a vase and an offering-tablet, containing divine offerings of bread and beer, in order to offer them before thee every day.

Cultus Implements

327. ⁵I made for thee a great vase-stand for thy court, overlaid with fine gold, with labor; its vases were of gold and silver, carved with thy name, supplied with divine offerings and with every good thing, in order to offer (them) before thee at early morning.

Red Sea and Mediterranean Ships

328. ⁶I made for thee transports and galleys^b in the midst of the sea, manned with galley-crews in numerous lists, in order to transport the

^aSee 28, 10, note.

^bAccording to 51a, 13, there were but two ships: evidently one on the Mediterranean and one on the Red Sea.

products of God's-Land, and the impost of the land of Zahi (*D³-h³*) to thy great storehouses in thy city of Memphis.

Festival Oblations

329. ⁷I made for thee great festival oblations as new foundations, in order to offer (them) to thy ka at each of thy appearances. They were supplied with bread, beer, oxen, fowl, incense, fruit, vegetables, shedeh, wine, royal linen, plentiful mek-linen, fine southern linen, ⁸oil, incense, honey, dried myrrh, every good aromatic wood, sweet in fragrance, before thy lovely face, O lord of gods.

Feast of the "First-of-the-Flood"

330. ⁹I made for thee a great festival oblation of the "First-of-the-Flood"^a for thy great, august and lovely name, Ptah-Nun, the great, father of the gods. They were supplied with food like water in thy great and august court of Ineb-Sebek,^b ¹⁰for all thy images, and the gods of the deeps. They ¹¹were paid¹ dues and ¹²from the storehouses, magazines, granaries, cattle yards, and poultry yards each year, in order to satisfy the great council of Nun, so that they are satisfied and rejoicing in the feast at the sight of them.

Sacred Barge

331. ¹¹I hewed thy august barge, O lord of eternity, of ¹³⁰c cubits length upon the river; of great new^d cedars, of the best of the royal domain. Its "Great House" was of gold, and of real costly stones, as far as the water; and of gold on each side of it. Its bow

Pl. 49

¹bore a pair of hawks of fine gold, with inlay of every costly stone, more beautiful in work than the evening-barque. The stern was of fine gold, its two steering-oars ¹wrought¹ in fine gold. Ptah, the beautiful of face, South-of-His-Wall, appeared, ²in order to rest in its "Great House," like the horizon-god, while his heart was satisfied and glad at

^aA feast (*tp-nwy*) on the canal of Memphis. Compare the feast of the "First-of-the-River" (*tp-ytr*) at Thebes, e. g., on the Lateran obelisk (II, 838).

^bSee 47, 1.

^cAbout 217 feet.

^dText has "real" (*m³c w*), which must be an error for the usual adjective, "new" (*m³ w*).

the sight of it, making his beautiful voyage upon the flood, to his daughter, the mistress of the sycamore (Hathor), ³on the south of Memphis. The people^a rejoice at the sight of him, and there is jubilee before him to^b his august house.

Sacred Cattle

332. ⁴I protected the sacred cattle of Apis, male and female, which had been neglected in the herds of every house. I made them all more divine than their^c sacred cattle. ⁵I extended their boundaries to their accustomed places, which others had taken from them for fields. Their landmarks were set up, engraved with thy name; and there were made for them decrees for administering them on earth.

Supplies of Incense

333. ⁶I brought to thee plentiful tribute of myrrh, in order to go around thy temple with the fragrance of Punt for thy august nostrils at early morning. ⁷I planted incense and myrrh-sycamores in thy great and august court in Ineb-Sebek,^d being those which my hands brought from the country of God's-Land, in order to satisfy thy two serpent-goddesses every morning.

Cultus Vessels

334. ⁸I made for thee table-vessels for thy "Great Seat," being censers, vases (*nms' t*), altar-vessels bearing gen (*gn*)-vases, heset (*hsyw' t*)-vases, ekhu (*hw*)-vessels, enkhi (*nh'y'w'*)-vases, and great altar-vessels for oblations, ⁹bearing divine offerings. They were of fine gold and silver, in beaten work, with inlay of every costly stone without number, in order to present them to thy ka every day, O Ptah, father of gods, former of men.

First Jubilee

335. ¹⁰I celebrated for thee the first jubilee (*hb-s[d]*) of my reign,^e as a very great feast of Tatenen. I doubled for thee that which was done in the midst of the court, and there was offered to thee ¹¹a festival offering, consisting of numerous oblations of bread, wine, beer, shedeh, vegetables, bulls, bullocks, calves by the hundred-thousand, cows by

^aOriginal has two words for "people," *rh'y' t* and *hnm'm' t*.

^bTill he reaches his house.

^dSee 47, 1.

^cTo whom "their" refers is not evident.

^eSee §§ 413-15.

the ten-thousand, without number: the products of ¹²the lands of Egypt like the sand of the shore. The gods of South and North were gathered in the midst of it.^a I restored thy temple, the jubilee-houses

Pl. 50

¹which were before in ruins, since the (former) kings. I wrought upon^b thy divine ennead, the lords of the jubilee (*hb-st*), in gold, silver, and costly stones, as formerly. ²I made for them clothing of royal linen and mek-linen; I mixed for them ointment for their serpent-crests. I founded divine offerings, ³offered to their ka's, abiding as daily offerings for their ka's forever.

Lists

336. ⁴Behold, I have, listed^c the benefactions which I did before thee, O Ptah-South-of-His-Wall, lord of the White Wall (Memphis), that the gods of the house of Ptah may know of my benefactions.

3. PTAH'S ESTATE

Pl. 51a

337. ¹List of the things, cattle, gardens, lands, galleys, workshops, and towns, which ²King Usermare-Meriamon, L. P. H., the Great God, gave to his august father, Ptah, the great, "South-of-His-Wall," lord of "Life-of-the-Two-Lands," as property forever and ever.

People Attached to Temples, Etc.

338. ³"The-House (*h-t*)-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Ptah," under charge of the officials:

09

⁴"Herd-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House, of-Ptah," under charge of the overseer of herds, Huy:

heads 1,361

⁵"House (*pr*)-of-Usermare-Meriamon,-L.-P.-H.," the town^e upon the western road and western canal, under charge of the steward, Penithtowe (*Pn-ytt-t² wy*):

heads 40

^aThis exactly accords with the record of the vizier Ta's visit to the South, "to take the gods of the South" (§§ 413, 414).

^bUpon their images.

^cSee 9, 8.

^dSee 10, 2, note.

^eThis is the town mentioned as the limit of the pursuit of the Libyans (§ 102). The "western canal" is probably the "Water of Re" (10, 8). It is mentioned again in § 340.

"House (<i>pr</i>)-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Ptah," under charge of Huy, who is chief of the house			heads	16
7People whom he gave to the house of Ptah, the great, "South-of-His-Wall," lord of "Life-of-the-Two-Lands," who were on account of the house, under charge of the High Priest and the officials:			heads	841
8"Ptah - of - Ramses - Ruler - of - Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-Finding-Place-in-the-House-of-Ptah," ^a under charge of the deputy, Ptahmose:			heads	7
9Syrians and Negroes of the captivity of his majesty, L. P. H., whom he gave to the house of Ptah:			persons ^b	205
10Total, heads				3,079

Miscellaneous Property

339. 11Various cattle	10,047
12Gardens and groves	5
13Transports and galleys ^c	2

Pl. 51b

1Lands: stat	10,154
2Town	1

4. PTAH'S INCOME

340. 3Things exacted, impost of the people of "The-House (*h' t*)-of - Ramses - Ruler - of - Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in - the - House - of - Ptah;" 4"Herd-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Ptah;" "House (*pr*)-of-Usermare-Meriamon,-L.-P.-H.,-the-Town-5on-the-Western-Canal;" "House (*pr*)-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis-in-the-House-of-Ptah;" and the temples (*r²-pr*) of this house; which^d was delivered into 6their treasuries as their dues:

341. 7Silver	98 deben, 3½ ¼ kidet
8Fine southern linen, southern linen, colored linen: various garments	133½
9Wine: jars (<i>mn</i>)	390

^aThe name of some particular statue of Ptah.

^bSee 10, 14 and 15.

^cSee 48, 6.

^dThe antecedent of this pronoun is "*impost*," in l. 3.

¹⁰ Silver, in things of the impost of the people, for the divine offerings:	141 deben, 3 $\frac{1}{10}$ kidet
¹¹ Clean grain of the impost of the peasants: 16-fold heket	37,400
¹² Vegetables: bundles	600
¹³ Bulls, bullocks, calves, cows, cattle of [—], and cattle of [—] of the herds	15 $\frac{1}{2}$

Pl. 52a

¹ Live geese of the exactions	135
² Products of Egypt, products of God's-Land, products of Syria, products of Kush ³ and of the oasis, ^a for the divine offerings in numerous lists.	

5. THE KING'S GIFTS TO PTAH

342. ⁴Gold, silver, real lapis lazuli, real malachite, every splendid, costly stone, copper, black copper, ⁵garments of royal linen, mek-linen, fine southern linen, southern linen, colored garments, jars,^b cattle, fowl, and everything, ⁶which King Usermare-Meriamon, L. P. H., the Great God, gave as gifts of the king, L. P. H., to ⁷the house of Ptah, the great, "South-of-His-Wall," lord of "Life-of-the-Two-Lands," and (to) the temples in his ownership, from the year 1 to the year 31, making 31 years:

343. ⁸ Fine gold, gold of two times, white gold in vessels and ornaments	263 deben, 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ kidet
⁹ Gold: ornaments of the prince	2 "
¹⁰ Silver in vessels and scraps	342 " 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ "
¹¹ Silver in beaten work: a great tablet of 1 cubit, 6 palms' length, 1 cubit, 1 palm, 3 fingers' width: 1, making	173 " 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ "
¹² Total, silver in vessels and ornaments	516 " 6 "

Pl. 52b

¹ Total, gold and silver in vessels, ornaments and scraps	780 deben, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ kidet
² Real lapis lazuli, mounted in gold and [fastened] with 2 strings of [beads]: 1, making	3 "

^aSee 12b, 13.^bJars of oil, wine, shedeh, honey, etc.

³ Real lapis lazuli	3 deben, 2 kidet
⁴ Real malachite	2 "
⁵ Green feldspar (<i>nšm' t</i>)	10 "
⁶ Lapis lazuli, and real malachite: scarabs mounted and pivoted in gold	36
⁷ Lapis lazuli: large scarabs	46
⁸ Malachite: large scarabs	46
⁹ Bronze in hammered work, of a mixture of 6 (¹ parts ³): a great tablet, making	245 deben
¹⁰ Bronze in beaten work, of a mixture of 6 (¹ parts ³): a great tablet, making	65 "
¹¹ Bronze in vessels and scraps	1,708 "
¹² Total, bronze in vessels and scraps	2,018 "
344. ¹³ Royal linen, mek-linen, double-fine south- ern linen, fine southern linen, southern linen, and colored linen, various garments	7,026
¹⁴ Myrrh: deben	1,034
¹⁵ White incense, honey, oil, fat, butter: various jars (² cc)	1,046
¹⁶ Shedeh, and wine: various jars (² cc)	25,978

Pl. 53a

¹ Total, various jars (² cc)	27,024
² Ivory: tusks	1
³ Nenybu (<i>N-n-y-bw</i>) wood: deben	725
⁴ Cassia: deben	894
⁵ Cinnamon wood: bundles	45
⁶ Sticks ^a of cinnamon: measures (<i>msty</i>)	28
⁷ Syrian barley: heket	40
⁸ Rosemary ¹ : measures (<i>msty</i>)	40
⁹ Yufiti (<i>Yw-fy-ty</i>)-plant: measures (<i>msty</i>)	80
¹⁰ Semu (<i>s^cmw</i>)-plant: measures (<i>msty</i>)	11
¹¹ Fruit: heket	14
345. ¹² Cedar: planks	8
¹³ Mesdemet (<i>msdm' t</i>) stone: deben	50
¹⁴ Dedmet (<i>ddm' t</i>) flowers: measures (<i>dm² w</i>)	50
¹⁵ Natron: deben	14,400

^aSee 34a, 8.

Pl. 53b

¹ Rock-crystal: beads	31,000
² “ “ cut: hin	441
³ “ “ seals	3,200
⁴ Wrought wood: seals	31
⁵ Bulls, bullocks, heifers, calves, and various cattle	979
⁶ Live geese	269
⁷ Live turpu (<i>twrp</i>)-geese	150
⁸ Live urdu (<i>wrdw</i>)-birds with golden beaks	1,035
⁹ Live urdu (<i>wrdw</i>)-birds	41,980
¹⁰ Live water-fowl	576
¹¹ Total, various fowl	44,010

6. GRAIN FOR THE OLD FEASTS

346. ¹²Clean grain of the divine offerings of the feasts of heaven and the feasts of the beginnings of the seasons, which ¹³King Usermare-Meriamon, L. P. H., the Great God, founded for his father, Ptah, the great, “South-of-His-Wall,” lord of “Life-of-the-Two-Lands,” ¹⁴as increase of the divine offerings, and as increase of the daily offerings, doubling that which was before me, L. P. H.

Pl. 54a

¹from the year 1 to the year 31, making 31 years: 16-fold heket: 947,688

7. OFFERINGS TO THE NILE-GOD

347. ²“Books of the Nile-God,” which King Usermare-Meriamon, L. P. H., the Great God, founded for his august father, ³Ptah, the great, “South-of-His-Wall,” lord of “Life-of-the-Two-Lands,” from the year 29 to the year 31, making 3 years:

⁴ Fine bread of the divine offerings: loaves (<i>by³ t</i>)	73,800
⁵ “ “ “ “ “ loaves (<i>pr-sn</i>)	191,142
⁶ “ “ “ “ “ pyramidal loaves	6,150
⁷ Cakes: pyramidal loaves	14,760
⁸ Beer: jars (<i>ds</i>)	1,396
⁹ Dried dates: jars (<i>‘</i>)	2,396
¹⁰ Dates: measures (<i>md³</i>) 2,396, making	— ^a

^aOmitted by the scribe.

¹¹ Clean grain [—]: 16-fold heket	3,633½ 1/8
¹² Bulls	41
¹³ Cows	164
Total	205

Pl. 54b

¹ Various goats	205
² Live geese	574
³ Live fowl (<i>ht</i> ^c)	84
⁴ Live hatching-fowl	164
⁵ Live water-fowl	287
⁶ Sesha (<i>s</i> ³ - <i>c</i> ³) - birds	3,025
⁷ Total, various fowl	4,339 ^a

348. ⁸ Wine: jars (<i>mn</i>)	820
⁹ Wine: jars (^c)	2,366
¹⁰ Onions: measures (^c)	2,366
¹¹ Salt (<i>spr</i>): measures (^c)	2,366
¹² Incense: censerfuls	164
¹³ “ measures (<i>spr</i>)	82
¹⁴ “ jars (^c)	19,892
¹⁵ “ deben	4,469

Pl. 55a

¹ Best oil: jars (<i>fbp</i> ³)	164
² Best oil: jars (^c)	574
³ Cinnamon: logs	574
⁴ Myrrh: jars (^c)	2,396
⁵ Eye-paint: jars (^c)	2,396
⁶ Uz (<i>wḏ</i>)-mineral: jars (^c)	2,396
349. ⁷ Gold: statues of the Nile-god	656
⁸ Gold: nusa	656
⁹ Gold: nusa ^b	656
¹⁰ Silver: statues of the Nile-god	656

^aThe correct total is 4,134.

^bThis is evidently a dittography; for the silver statues are followed only by the same number of nusa of silver (l. 11), so that the repetition of the gold (l. 9) is superfluous.

¹¹ Silver: nusa	656
¹² Every real, costly stone: statues of the Nile-god	15,744
¹³ Every real, costly stone: nusa	15,744
¹⁴ Sycamore wood: statues of the Nile-god	984
¹⁵ Sycamore wood: statues of the Nile-goddess	984
¹⁶ Rock-crystal: bracelets	2,968
¹⁷ Rock-crystal: seals	2,968

Pl. 55b

350. ¹ Southern linen: kilts	2,968
² Honey for cakes: hin	66
³ " jars (<i>mḥtt</i>)	164
⁴ " jars (<i>prw-g</i>)	3,280
⁵ White fat for cakes: hin	250
⁶ White fat: jars (°)	574
⁷ Shelled beans: jars (°)	2,396
⁸ Natron: jars (°)	2,396
⁹ Seneb (<i>snb</i>)-berries: jars (°)	2,396
¹⁰ Every fine fruit: jars (°)	22,960
¹¹ Milk: jars (<i>nms·t</i>)	2,396
¹² Butter: jars (<i>nms·t</i>)	2,396
¹³ Best fruit: jars (<i>g</i> ° <i>y</i>)	2,396
¹⁴ Fruit: jars (<i>g</i> ° <i>y</i>)	2,396
¹⁵ Fruit: jars (<i>mḥtt</i>)	45,100

Pl. 56a

¹ Raisins in measures (<i>yp·t</i>)	21,000
² Carob-pods in measures (<i>yp·t</i>)	21,000
³ Herbs: bundles (<i>htp</i>)	2,396
⁴ Cyperus of the shore, for the hand	14,350
⁵ Pomegranates ¹ in measures (<i>yp·t</i>)	21,000
⁶ Live "garden fragrance" ^a	21,000
⁷ Isi-plant, for the hand	1,640
⁸ Flowers: garlands	2,970
⁹ Blossoms: ^b bouquets	21,000
¹⁰ Blossoms: ^b clusters (<i>htp·t</i>)	21,000
¹¹ Stone: uba (<i>wbp</i>)	15,150
¹² Palm-fiber: measures (<i>msty</i>)	15,150

^aSee 21a, 4.^bSee 21a, 2.

8. CONCLUDING PRAYER OF RAMSES III

Pl. 56b

351. ¹Give to me thy eyes and thy ears, O lord, Ptah, father of fathers, former of the gods; and hear ²my plea, which I make before thee. I am thy beloved son, great in benefactions. Install ³my son to be king, establish him upon thy throne as ruler of every land over the people, Usermare-Setepnamon, L. P. H., the child ⁴who came forth from thy limbs. Grant that he may be crowned upon earth like the son of Isis (Horus), when he took the etef-crown, bearing the ⁵—⁷. Grant ⁵that he may rest upon thy throne as king of the Two Lands, as Horus, the mighty Bull, beloved of Mat. Give to him my kingdom ⁶according as thou makest his life happy upon earth, possessed of joy. Make his sword victorious, while the lands and countries fall ⁷beneath his feet forever. Let him take possession of Egypt as ruler, L. P. H., of the Two Lands; let him be divine ⁸before thee, possessed of thy favor. Extend for him the boundaries of the Nine Bows; let them come because of his might, that they may do obeisance to him. ⁹Give satisfying life, united with his limbs, and health for his members at every season, ¹⁰King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands; Usermare-Setepnamon, L. P. H., Son of Re, Lord of Diadems; Ramses (IV)-Hekma-Meriamon, L. P. H.

V. GENERAL SECTION

(SMALL TEMPLES)

I. PRAYER TO THE GODS AND RECITAL OF THE KING'S BENEFLECTIONS

Pl. 57. Introduction

352. ¹The praises, prayers, adorations, laudations, mighty deeds, and numerous benefactions, which King Usermare-Meriamon, L. P. H., the Great God, did for his fathers (sic!), all the gods and goddesses of South and North.

Prayer of Ramses III

353. ²Said King Usermare-Meriamon, L. P. H., the Great God, in praising and magnifying all the gods of South and North:

Praise of the Gods

³Hail to you, gods and goddesses, lords of heaven, earth, and the Nether World, great of foot in the barque of millions of years, by the

side of your^a father, Re. His heart is satisfied when he sees their beauty, in order to make prosperous the land of Egypt, bringing a Nile that overflows from their mouth, ⁴leading it from their mouth, that the lords of eternity and everlastingness may eat. Under their charge is the breath of life, and the term of life is (under) their seal, which their father made, on coming forth from their mouth. He rejoices, and flourishes at the sight of them, the great in heaven, the mighty ⁵in earth, giving breath to nostrils that were stopped up. I am your son whom your hands created, whom ye crowned as ruler, L. P. H., of every land. Ye wrought for me good things upon earth, that I might assume my office in peace.

Benefactions to the Gods

354. Was not my heart constant in seeking out mighty benefactions, ⁶for your temples? I equipped them with great decrees, recorded in every hall of writings; with their people, their lands, their herds; with their galleys and ships upon the Nile. I restored their ⁷temples which formerly were in ruin. I founded for you divine offerings, as an increase of that which was before you. I wrought for you in the gold-houses, in gold, silver, lapis lazuli, and malachite. I made plans for your storehouses. I completed them with numerous possessions. ⁸I filled your granaries with barley and spelt, in heaps. I built for you houses and temples, carved with your name forever. I provided their serf-laborers, I filled them with numerous people. I did not take people as a tithe, ⁹from the temples of any gods, since those kings;^b doing it in order to appoint them to the infantry and chariotry. I made edicts for administering them upon earth, for the kings who shall be after me. I presented to you oblations before you, ¹⁰supplied with every good thing. I made for you storehouses for the "Feast of the Appearance;" I filled them with plentiful food. I made for you table-vessels of gold, silver, and copper by the hundred-thousand. I hewed your barges upon the Nile, ¹¹bearing a "Great House,"^c overlaid with gold.

^aOriginal has "*their*," as usual in such constructions in Egyptian.

^bHe means that he did not levy upon the people presented to the temples by former kings, in order to secure troops.

^cShrine.

Temple of Onouris at Thinis

355. I made an august [house]^a of stone of Ayan (^cyn²) in the house of my father, Onouris-Shu, son of Re (called): "The-House (^ht)-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-the-Judge-in-the-House-of-Onouris." I filled it with people and slaves of the choicest. ¹²Its storehouse contained plentiful possessions; the granaries contained grain. I founded for it daily divine offerings, in order to offer them to thy ka, O Shu, son of Re. I surrounded the house (^{pr}) of Onouris with a wall, built with 20 'courses' in the ground foundation, and a height of 30 cubits; having ¹³ramps, 'towers'^{1b} and battlements on its every side. Its doorposts and lintels were of stone of Ayan (^cyn²), bearing doors of cedar mounted with copper, excluding^c the Asiatics and Tehenu who transgressed their limits of old.

Pl. 58. Temple of Thoth at Hermopolis

356. ¹I did numerous benefactions in Hesret (^Hsr²) for my father Thoth, dwelling in Hermopolis. I built for him a house anew in his court; it was ²a mysterious chapel for the All-Lord. I made for him another house as a dwelling-house; it was the horizon of heaven before him. When he appeared, he was contented in heart, to rest in them; ³he rejoiced and was glad to see them. I supplied them with food and provisions, containing the products of every land; numerous slaves whom I brought into the offices over them. I doubled the divine offerings presented before him from the storehouse of the "Feast of the Appearance," containing provisions. I made for him festal offerings, and oblations of the feasts of the first of the seasons, in order to satisfy his two serpent-goddesses ⁵at every season. I surrounded the house of Thoth with a wall, built with twenty 'courses' in the ground foundation, and a height of 30 cubits, having ramps, 'towers'^{1b} and battlements on its every side. ⁶Its doorposts and lintels were of stone of Ayan (^cyn²), bearing doors of cedar, mounted with copper, in order to exclude the Asiatics and Tehenu, who trod their limits from of old.

^aSome similar word has been omitted by the scribe.

^bSee 4, 2.

^cSee 58, 6.

Temple of Osiris at Abydos^a

357. ⁷I restored Abydos, the district of Osiris, by benefactions^b in Towêr. I built my house^c of stone in the midst of his temple, like Atum's great house⁸ of heaven. I settled it with people bearing numerous offices, rich and ¹poor¹ of all that exist. I made for it divine offerings, the gifts of its altar, O my father, ⁹Osiris, lord of Tazoser. I made for him a statue of the king, L. P. H., presenting monuments and table vessels likewise, of gold and silver.^d I surrounded the house (*pr*) of Osiris ¹⁰and Harsiese with a great wall, towering like a mountain of gritstone, with ¹ramps¹ and ¹towers¹;^e bearing battlements, and having doorposts of stone and doors of cedar. ¹¹I hewed a great barge for Osiris, like the evening-barque which bears the sun.

Temple of Upwawet at Siut

358. ¹²I restored the walls in the house of my father, Upwawet, of the South, lord of Siut (*S² yw' t*). I built my house therein, of stone of Ayan (*c ym²*), inscribed and engraved with the graver's tool in his

Pl. 59

august name. ¹I completed it with the good things of every land. I assigned to it serf-laborers in numerous lists. I made for it a store-house anew containing divine offerings, in order to present them to his ka daily. I hewed for him ²a great barge of the "First-of-the-River," like the morning-barque of Re which is in heaven. I walled about his house with a wall, established with labor, with twenty ¹courses¹ in the ground foundation, and with a height of 30 cubits; having ramps, ³towers³ and battlements in its whole circumference; great doorposts of stone, and doors of cedar, fitted with mountings (of bronze) of a mixture of six (¹parts¹),^f engraved with the great name of thy majesty, forever.

Temple of Sutekh at Ombos

359. ⁴I restored the house of Sutekh, lord of Ombos; I built its walls which were in ruin, I equipped the house in its midst in his divine

^aSee Mariette, *Abydos*, I, 4, 5, 10, for the name of this temple, of which only fragments have survived.

^bLit., "*examples of benefaction.*"

^cHis palace, as at Medinet Habu.

^dThe statue bore sacrificial vessels, etc.

^eSee 4, 2.

^fSee 6, 9.

name, built with excellent work, ⁵forever. "House-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Sutekh-of-Ombos," was its great name. I equipped it with slaves, the captives and people, whom I created. I made for him herds in the North, in order ⁶to present them to his ka as a daily offering. I made for him divine offerings anew, being an increase of the daily offerings which were before him. I gave to him lands, high and low, and islands, in the South ⁷and North, bearing barley and spelt. His treasury was supplied with the things which my hands brought, in order to double the feasts before him every day.

Temple of Horus at Athribis^a

360. ⁸I did numerous benefactions among the great sacred cattle before my father, Harkhentikhet. I restored the walls of his temple, built and made anew, smoothed and polished. The divine offerings were doubled for him as daily offerings before his lovely face every morning. I brought for him tribute of male and female slaves, silver, gold, royal linen, fine southern linen, oil, ¹⁰incense, honey, bulls, and bullocks. I made for him a herd^b anew with numerous cattle, in order to present (them) to his ka, the great prince. I arranged the administration of his august house on water and land; it was made ¹¹into great great decrees^c in his name, forever. I set the prophets and inspectors of his house over them, to administer its serf-laborers, and to offer to his house.

Deposition of the Rebellious Vizier in Athribis

361. I cast out the vizier who had entered ¹²into their midst, I took away all his people who were with him. I made it like the great temples in this land, protected and defended, forever and ever.^d I brought

Pl. 60

(back again) all its people ¹who had been cast out, with every man and every inspector, appointed to carry on their administration in his august house.

^aSee the rare titles of the priests of Athribis, Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1,414.

^bSee 62a, 4.

^cThe adjective would indicate that the stelæ containing the decrees are meant.

^dRead *hn* *ḡt*; so Piehl and others.

Temple^a of Sutekh in the Residence City

362. ¹I made a great temple, enlarged with labor, in the house of "Sutekh - of - Ramses (II) - Meriamon, - L. - P. - H.," built, laid, smoothed, and inscribed with designs; having doorposts of ³stone, and doors of cedar. "House-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis, - L. - P. - H., - in-the-House-of-Sutekh," its name was called forever. I assigned to it serf-laborers of the people whom I created, male and female slaves whom I carried off as captives of ⁴my sword. I made for him divine offerings, full and pure, in order to offer them to his ka every day. I filled his treasury with possessions without number, with granaries of grain by the ten-thousand, herds with cattle ⁵like the sand, in order to offer them to thy ka, O thou great in might.

Good Works for All Gods and Goddesses

363. ⁶I did mighty deeds and benefactions, a numerous multitude, for the gods and goddesses of South and North. I wrought upon their images in the gold-houses, I built that which ⁷had fallen to ruin in their temples. I made houses and temples in their courts; I planted for them groves; I dug for them lakes; I founded for them divine offerings of barley ⁸and wheat, wine, incense, fruit, cattle, and fowl. I built the "Shadows of Re" ^bfor their districts, abiding, with divine offerings for every day. I made great decrees for the administration of their temples, ⁹recorded in the hall of writings forever. ¹⁰Behold, the list is before you, O gods and goddesses, that ye may know of the benefactions which I did for your ka's.

2. THE GODS' ESTATES

Pl. 61a

364. ¹List of things, cattle, gardens, lands, galleys, workshops, towns, and everything, ²which King Usermare-Meriamon, L. P. H., the Great God, gave^c to his fathers (sic!), the gods and goddesses, the lords of South and North:

^aThis temple was in the residence city of Ramses II (as is shown by 62a, 3).

^bSee II, 1017, and my remarks in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 40, 111.

^cThe designation "*as property, etc.*," which is found in the other headings (§§ 280, 337, etc.), is omitted here.

People Attached to the Temples, Etc.

365.	3“The-House (<i>h' t</i>)-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-the-Judge-in-the-House-of-Onouris:”	heads	457
4	People whom he gave to the house of Onouris of the tall plumes, residing in Thinis:	heads	160
5	“The-House (<i>h' t</i>)-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Osiris,” lord of Abydos:	heads	682
6	People whom he gave to the house of his august father, Osiris, lord of Abydos:	heads	162
7	“House (<i>p' r</i>)-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Sutekh-of-Ombos:”	heads	106
8	People whom he gave to the house of Min-Horus, Isis, and all the gods of Coptos:	heads	39
366.	9People whom he gave to the house of Hathor, mistress of Aphroditopolis:	heads	12
10	People whom he gave to the house of Sebek, lord of Neshit-Crocodilopolis:	heads	22
11	People whom he gave to the house of Min, Horus, Isis, and the gods of Panopolis: ^a	heads	38
12	“The - House (<i>h' t</i>) - of - Ramses - Ruler-of-Heliopolis-in-the-House-of-Min,” lord of Panopolis, under charge of Inu-shefenu (<i>Ymw-šfnw</i>), who is a commander of the army:	heads	203
13	People whom he gave to the house of ʾZebui ^b , lord of Aphroditopolis:	heads	38
14	People whom he gave to the house of Khnum, lord of Sheshotep (<i>Š' s-htp</i>):	heads	17
15	People whom he gave to the house of Upwawet, leader of the Two Lands:	heads	4

Pl. 61b

367.	1“The-House (<i>h' t</i>)-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-Appearing-at-the-Jubilee-in-the-House-of-Upwawet,” under charge of Thutemhab, who is a commander of the army:	heads	157
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^a *Ypw*.

^b God of the Antæopolite nome. The reading (*db c wy*) is uncertain (see Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique*, 880-91).

24	The-House (<i>h' t</i>)-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,- in-This-House," under charge of Inushefenu (<i>Ynw-šjnw</i>), who is a commander of the army:	heads	122
34	The-House (<i>h' t</i>)-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,- in-the-House-of-Thoth," lord of Hermopolis:	heads	89
44	House (<i>pr</i>)-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in- This-House:"		66
5	People whom he gave to this house:	persons ^a	484
6	People whom he gave to the house of Khnum Hatweret (<i>H' t-wr' t</i>):	heads	34
368.	7People whom he gave to the house of Amon-Re, lord of Yered (<i>Y' -rd</i>):	heads	44
8	People whom he gave to the house of Thoth of Pauzy (<i>P' - wdy</i>):	heads	65
9	People whom he gave to the house of Amon of Mewetkhent (<i>M' wt-hnty</i>):	heads	44
10	People whom he gave to the house of Sebek, lord of Mesha (<i>Mš'</i>):	heads	38
11	People whom he gave to the house of Anubis, lord of Sep:	heads	78
12	People whom he gave to the house of Set, lord of Oxyrhyncus:	heads	99
13	People whom he gave to the house of Hrishefyt (<i>Hry-šjyw</i>), King of the Two Lands:	heads	103
369.	14People whom he gave to the house of Sebek of Shedet, Horus, dwelling in the Fayûm:	heads	146
15	People whom he gave to the house of Set of 'Sesu' (<i>Sssw</i>):	heads	35
16	People whom he gave to the house of Amon-Re, lord of "Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands," of the back-lands (Fayûm):	heads	62
17	People whom he gave to the house of Hathor, mistress of Aphroditopolis:	heads	124

Pl. 62a

14	The-Herd-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-Doer-of- Benefactions-for-his-Mother-Bast:"	heads	1,533
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^aSee 10, 14 and 15.

² People whom he gave to the house of Bast, mistress of Berset, on "The-Water-of-Re: "a	heads	169
³ "House (<i>pr</i>)-of-Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the- House-of-Sutekh," in the "House ^b (<i>pr</i>)-of-Ramses (II)- Meriamon,-L.-P.-H.:"	heads	106
⁴ "The- Herd -of- Ramses- Ruler-of- Heliopolis,-L.-P.-H.,-the- Benefactor-of-His-Father-Harkhentikhet (<i>Hr-hnt-hy</i>)-of- Athribis:"	heads	124
⁵ People whom he gave to the house of Mut-Khent-ebui-enteru (<i>Hnt-c bwy-ntrw</i>):	heads	24
⁶ Total	heads	5,811 ^c

Miscellaneous Property

370. ⁷ Various cattle	13,433
⁸ Lands: stat	36,012
⁹ Gardens	11
¹⁰ Workshops	2

3. THE GODS' INCOMES

371. ^{11d} Clean grain [—]: 16-fold heket	73,250
¹² Vegetables: bundles	3,300
¹³ Flax: bales (<i>n c h</i>)	3,000

4. THE KING'S GIFTS TO THE GODS

Pl. 62b

372. ¹Gold, silver, real lapis lazuli, real malachite, every real, costly stone, ²copper, garments of royal linen, fine southern linen, southern linen, and colored linen; myrrh, cattle, fowl, and everything ³which

^aCf. 10, 8. Berset (*Bp > r > -ys t*) has nothing to do with Belbeis.

^bThis means the city of Ramses (II).

^cReal total is 5,686.

^dThat the following three items belong to the income will be seen by comparing the other lists, e. g., 32b, 7-9. Furthermore, they are in the proper place between the estate and the royal gifts; but the scribe has given them neither title nor rubric; and he has recorded no gold, silver, etc., which we find in the other sections (e. g., 32a, 7-32b). Erman (*op. cit.*, 465) is certainly correct in inferring that the scribe's memoranda were too incomplete for him to insert here the usual rubric, as, e. g., 32a, 7.

King Usermare-Meriamon, L. P. H., the Great God, gave to them,^a as gifts of the king, L. P. H., ⁴from the year 1 to the year 31:

373. ⁵ Gold in vessels, ornaments and scraps	1,719 deben, 8½ kideṯ
⁶ Silver in vessels and scraps	2,428 " 5½ "
⁷ Total, gold and silver	4,148 deben, 3½ kideṯ
⁸ Gold combined with rock-crystal: collars	4
⁹ Gold combined with rock-crystal: tassels ^b	4
¹⁰ Gold garlands for the head	1
¹¹ Silver overlaid with gold: a sacred eye amulet ^c for Thoth	1
¹² Real lapis lazuli	10 deben, 6 kideṯ
¹³ Real malachite	— ^d " ½ ½ "
¹⁴ Timhy (<i>Tymhy</i>) stone of Wawat	3 "
¹⁵ Black copper overlaid with gold: 'corselets'	2
¹⁶ Black copper	260 deben, 6 kideṯ

Pl. 63a

¹ Copper in vessels and scraps	14,130 deben, 3 kideṯ
² Lead	2,130 "
³ Incense	782 "
374. ⁴ Royal linen: garments (<i>dw</i>)	17
⁵ Royal linen: upper garments (<i>dw</i>)	25
⁶ " " wrappings of Horus	3
⁷ " " mantles	5
⁸ " " — ^e garments	30
⁹ " " garments (<i>hny</i>)	2
¹⁰ " " garments (<i>yd[gʹ]</i>)	179
¹¹ " " tunics	168
¹² " " various garments	10
¹³ Total, royal linen: various garments	439
¹⁴ Fine southern linen: upper garments (<i>dw</i>)	2
¹⁵ " " " large tunics	2
¹⁶ " " " garments (<i>dw</i>)	234
¹⁷ " " " — ^e garments	29

^aThe gods.

^bHung down the back as counterpoises for the four collars.

^cSee 68b, 10.

^dNumber omitted by the scribe.

^eSee 14a, 14.

Pl. 63b

¹ Fine southern linen: garments (<i>yd[g ʔ]</i>)	428
² “ “ “ garments (<i>h ʔ w-mn</i>)	I
³ “ “ “ tunics	399
⁴ “ “ “ kilts	37
⁵ “ “ “ various garments	44
<hr/>	
⁶ Total, fine southern linen, various garments	1,216 ^a
375. ⁷ Southern linen: mantles	23
⁸ Southern linen: — ^b garments	I
⁹ “ “ “ garments (<i>dw</i>)	218
¹⁰ “ “ “ garments (<i>yd[g ʔ]</i>)	181
¹¹ “ “ “ tunics	43
¹² “ “ “ garments (<i>k ʔ -d ʔ -m-r ʔ</i>)	49
¹³ “ “ “ kilts	23
¹⁴ “ “ “ garments (<i>y/d</i>)	40
<hr/>	
¹⁵ Total, southern linen, various garments	556 ^c
¹⁶ Colored linen: mantles	60
¹⁷ Colored linen: — ^a garments	12

Pl. 63c

¹ Colored linen: garments (<i>dw</i>)	I
² “ “ “ garments (<i>y/d</i>)	4
³ “ “ “ tunics	567
⁴ “ “ “ various garments	92
<hr/>	
⁵ Total, colored linen: various garments	736
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⁶ Total, royal linen, fine southern linen, southern linen, colored linen: various garments	3,047 ^d
⁷ Yarn: deben	900
⁸ Yarn: various hanks	19
376. ⁹ White incense: jars (<i>mn</i>)	601
¹⁰ Honey: jars (<i>mn</i>)	567
¹¹ Oil (<i>nḥḥ</i>) of Egypt: jars (<i>mn</i>)	513

^aReal total, 1,176.^cReal total, 578.^bSee 14a, 14.^dOne hundred and eighteen too much.

¹² Oil (<i>nḥḥ</i>) of Syria: jars (<i>mn</i>)	542
¹³ Oil (<i>bḥ</i>): jars (<i>mn</i>)	1
¹⁴ Red oil (<i>bḥ</i>): jars (<i>mn</i>)	1
¹⁵ White fat: jars (<i>mn</i>)	273
¹⁶ Goose fat: jars (<i>mn</i>)	44
¹⁷ Butter: jars (<i>mn</i>)	31

Pl. 64a

¹ Oil (<i>sft</i>): jars (<i>mn</i>)	1
² Total, filled jars	2,688 ^a
³ Shedeh: jars (<i>mn</i>)	134
⁴ Shedeh: jars (<i>k</i> ³ - <i>bw</i>)	287
⁵ Wine: jars (<i>m</i> ³ <i>dydy</i>)	2
⁶ Wine: jars (¹ <i>mrsw</i> ¹ and <i>mn</i>)	2,864
⁷ Total, shedeh and wine: various jars (³ <i>c</i>)	3,247 ^b
⁸ Total, various jars	4,975
377. ⁹ Babay (<i>b</i> ³ - <i>b</i> ³ - <i>y</i> ³): ¹ rings ¹ mounted in gold	124
¹⁰ Various costly stones: sacred eye amulets	5,673
¹¹ “ “ “ scarabs	1,562
¹² “ “ “ seals as pendants	1,643
¹³ “ “ “ images of the king, L. P. H.	557
¹⁴ “ “ “ ¹ naophors ^{1c}	62
¹⁵ Malachite: finger rings	331
¹⁶ Ubat (<i>wb</i> ³ - <i>t</i>) stone: seals	6,278

Pl. 64b

¹ Rock-crystal: bracelets	62
² “ “ seals	4,185
³ “ “ scarabs	930
⁴ “ “ sacred eye amulets	6,583
⁵ “ “ beads	825,840
⁶ “ “ beads: clusters	31
⁷ “ “ finger rings	4,247

^aReal total, 2,574.^bReal total, 3,287.^cLit., “bearers of the house of the arm.”

^{8a} Sparkling ¹ lapis lazuli	73	deben,	3	kidet
⁹ Sparkling ¹ malachite	34	"	3	"
¹⁰ Red jasper: finger rings				31
¹¹ " " scarabs				93
¹² " " deben				19
¹³ Uz (<i>wḏ</i>)-mineral: deben				17
¹⁴ Irer (<i>Yrr</i>) stone: semdets (<i>smd' t</i>)				35
¹⁵ Rock-crystal: semdets				136
¹⁶ Hirset (<i>hrs' t</i>) stone: semdets				28
¹⁷ Red jasper: semdets				7

Pl. 64c

¹ Hukamu (<i>hw-k' -m' -mw</i>) stone: semdets	160
² All costly stones: semdets	160
378. ³ Meru (<i>mry</i>) wood: baskets and measures (<i>t' y</i>)	496
⁴ Reeds: measures (<i>msty</i>)	3
⁵ Cinnamon: measures (<i>msty</i>)	30
⁶ Cinnamon: bundles	37
⁷ Yufiti (<i>ywfyty</i>)-plant: measures (<i>msty</i>)	2
⁸ Rosemary ¹ : measures (<i>msty</i>)	2
⁹ Semu (<i>s' mw</i>)-plant: measures (<i>msty</i>)	4
¹⁰ Incense: measures (<i>k' -t' -rw-ty</i>)	100
¹¹ Mehiwet ^b (<i>mhywt</i>): 'cakes' (<i>s' -t'</i>)	100
¹² Manna: measures (<i>msty</i>)	10
¹³ Grapes: measures (<i>msty</i>)	22
¹⁴ Various fruit: heket	212
¹⁵ Ibenu (<i>ybnw</i>): measures (<i>msty</i>)	3

Pl. 65a

¹ Gums: heket	2
² Minium ¹ : jars (<i>mn</i>)	3
³ Khenti (<i>hnty</i>): jars (<i>sny</i>)	380
⁴ Shesa (<i>šs'</i>): measures (<i>msty</i>)	72
⁵ Shesa (<i>šs'</i>): deben	32,500
⁶ Dom-palm ¹ fruit: 'clusters'	2,548
⁷ Palm leaves: bundles	46,040
⁸ Palm leaves: measures (<i>ps'</i>)	320

^aSee Annals, year 31, l. 15 (II, 473).^bSee 19a, 8.

⁹ Banu (<i>b³ mw</i>): 'in ¹ cubes (<i>s³ s</i>)	351
¹⁰ Clean grain '—': 16-fold heket	2,231
¹¹ Fruit of the South: 16-fold heket	95
379. ¹² Various cattle	1,142
¹³ Cow-hides	37
¹⁴ Cedar wood: various logs	336
¹⁵ Mera (<i>mr³</i>) wood: poles	2
¹⁶ Cassia wood: deben	100

Pl. 65b

¹ Natron: bricks	3,842
² Natron: 16-fold heket	62
³ Salt: bricks	4,242
⁴ Salt: 16-fold heket	166
⁵ Olive: heket	1,352
⁶ Dedmet (<i>ddm³ t</i>) flowers: measures (<i>dm³ mw</i>)	97
⁷ Enbu (<i>c nbw</i>)-plant: measures (<i>dm³ mw</i>)	99
⁸ Grapes: crates	253
⁹ Grapes: garlands	80
¹⁰ Pomegranates ¹ : crates	66
¹¹ Fruit: heket	87½
¹² Flax (<i>pš</i>): measures (<i>sbk³ t</i>)	93
¹³ Ideninu (<i>ydnynw</i>)-plants	118
¹⁴ Flax (<i>pš</i>): bekhen	198
¹⁵ Tamarisk: bundles	390

Pl. 65c

¹ Southern flax: measures (<i>hṭp</i>)	46
² Palm-fiber: ropes	37
380. ³ Fat geese from the 'flocks'	4
⁴ Live geese	190
⁵ Live water-fowl	153
⁶ Water-fowl, cut up	1,920
⁷ Fish, cut up	6,500
⁸ Fish, whole	13,100
⁹ Beni (<i>b^c ny</i>)-plant in measures (<i>yp³ t</i>)	2,300
¹⁰ Date-palm fiber ^a	2,300

^aUnit of measure?

¹¹ Fire wood: (logs)	200
¹² Charcoal: measures (<i>gsr</i> ²)	50
¹³ Vine gardens	2
¹⁴ Sycamore gardens	2
¹⁵ House, equipped with timbers (<i>hty</i>) ^a	1
¹⁶ Lands: stat	1,361

Pl. 66a

381. ¹Clean grain, [¹—] for the divine offerings of the feasts of heaven ²and the feasts of the first of the seasons, which he gave to them^b as increase of ³the divine offerings, and as increase of the daily offerings, in order to double that which was before, ⁴from the year 1 to the year 31, making 31 years: 16-fold heket: 250,326.

5. CONCLUDING PRAYER OF RAMSES III

Pl. 66b

382. ¹Hear ye, O great divine ennead, ye gods and goddesses! Put in your hearts the benefactions which I did, while I was king upon earth ²as ruler of the living; grant that I may be divine like one of the divine ennead, that I may go in and out among you in Tazoser, ³that I may proceed, while I am with you, before Re, that I may behold the radiance of his disk every morning. Grant that I may breathe the ⁴air like you, that I may receive bread upon the offerings before Osiris. Let my heart be glad, hear that which I say, ⁵establish my son as king on the throne of Horus, he being ruler, L. P. H., on the earth as Lord of the Two Lands, set the diadem upon his head like the All-Lord, ⁶join to him the uraeus like Atum. Let him celebrate jubilees like Tatenen, having a reign as long as the Beautiful-Faced (Ptah). ⁷May his sword be victorious against all lands, may they come for fear of him, bearing their tribute. Put the love of him ⁸in the hearts of the people, may the whole land acclaim over him at the sight of him, may Egypt rejoice over him ⁹with jubilation, united under his feet, forever; (even) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands; Usermare-Setepnamon, L. P. H., ¹⁰Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, like Amon: Ramses (IV)-Hekma-Meriamon, L. P. H.

^aCompare *hty* in the building inscription of the High Priest, Amenhotep (§ 489, l. 8).

^bThe gods and goddesses in general.

VI. SUMMARY⁷

I. TOTAL OF THE GODS' ESTATES

Pl. 67

383. ¹List of the things of the gods and men:^a gold, silver, real lapis lazuli, real malachite, all real, costly stones, ²cattle, gardens, lands, galleys, workshops, towns, festal offerings,^b oblations, "Books of the Nile-God," and all the things, which ³King Usermare-Meriamon, L. P. H., the Great God, did for his august father, Amon-Re, king of gods; Atum, lord of the Two Lands of Heliopolis, Re-Harakhte; ⁴Ptah, the great, "South-of-His-Wall," lord of "Life-of-the-Two-Lands," and all the gods and goddesses of South and North; while he was king upon earth:

384. ⁵The processional images, statues, and figures of Amon-

Re, king of gods: being 2,756 gods: ^c	⁶ heads	113,433 ^d
⁷ Various cattle		490,386
⁸ Lands: stat		1,071,780
⁹ Gardens and groves		514
¹⁰ Transports and galleys		88

Pl. 68a

¹ Towns of Egypt	160
² Towns of Syria ^e	9
Total	169

385. ³The amount belonging to the 2,756 statues^f and figures:

⁴ Fine gold	7,205 deben, 1 kidet
⁵ Silver	11,047 " $\frac{1}{4}$ "
⁶ Total, gold and silver	18,252 " $1\frac{1}{4}$ "

^aThe portion referring to men is the narrative in Pls. 75-79, *q. v.*

^bThe scribe has here incorrectly inserted some of the income in this heading, but he has properly not included any of such items in the list following.

^cThe scribe has here inserted one of the minor items from the Amon-temple, where he should have given a general head, as the number following is the total of all people held by all the temples recorded in the papyrus. His total should be 108,338, not correcting earlier errors.

^dFor the correct numbers in the summary, see the table on p. 97.

^eThese all belonged to Amon, and are given (11, 11), as also in Kush.

^fSee 21b, 11, note, and 11, 1-3.

⁷ Real lapis lazuli	47 deben, 6 kidet
⁸ Black copper	10,001 " 8 "
⁹ Copper in vessels and scraps	97,148 " 3 "
¹⁰ Lead	4,896 "
¹¹ Tin ¹	95 "

Pl. 68b

¹ Various costly stones ^{1a}	18,168 [deben], ^b 1 kidet
² Cedar: various logs	328
³ Persea: various logs	4,415

2. TOTAL OF THE GODS' INCOMES

386. ⁴Things exacted, impost of the people and all the serf-laborers of the houses, temples, and estates, ⁵which he gave to them as their yearly dues:

⁶ Fine mountain gold and gold of two times in vessels, ornaments, and scraps	2,289 deben, 4½ kidet ^c
⁷ Silver [in] vessels and scraps	14,050 " ½ "
⁸ Total, silver and gold in vessels, ornaments, and scraps	16,339 " 6½ "
⁹ Gold combined with costly stones: collars, tassels, and cords	9
¹⁰ Silver overlaid with gold: sacred eye amulet of Thoth	1
¹¹ Copper: deben	27,580
387. ¹² Royal linen, mek-linen, fine southern linen, southern linen, colored linen: various garments	4,575

^a *Yp³t*.

^b Omitted by the scribe, or else he has incorrectly inserted *yp³t* for *dbn*.

^c The only temple with gold in the income was Thebes, which received yearly 569 deben, 6½ kidet. Hence this total is incorrect by over 1,700 deben. As a mistake in addition is impossible where only one item is concerned, the scribe has added items which do not belong here in the income. Adding the 1,719 deben, 8½ kidet, from the king's gifts to the small temples (62b, 5), we obtain the scribe's total of gold here. Hence he has incorrectly inserted here in the income the gold and silver of the king's gifts to small temples. So also ll. 9 and 10, which are taken from 62b, 9-11. The copper is correct.

Pl. 69

¹ Yarn: deben	3,795
² Incense, honey, oil: full jars (ꜥꜥꜥ)	1,529
³ Shedeh and wine: various jars (ꜥꜥꜥ)	28,080
⁴ Silver in things of the impost of the people 4,208 deben, 7½ 1/10 kidet	
⁵ Clean grain of the impost of the peasants: 16-fold heket	460,900
⁶ Vegetables: bundles	32,750
⁷ Flax: bales	71,000
⁸ Water-fowl of the impost of the fowlers and fishermen	426,995
⁹ Bulls, bullocks of the bulls, heifers, calves, cows, cattle of [—] cattle of [—] of the herd: (cattle) of Egypt	961
¹⁰ Bulls, bullocks of the bulls, oxen, heifers, calves, and cows of the impost of the lands of Syria	19
Total	980
¹¹ Live geese of the exactions	1,920
¹² Cedar: tow-boats and ferry-boats	12
¹³ Acacia: tow-boats, [canal]-boats, boats for the transportation of cattle, warships, ^a and kara (<i>kꜥ-rꜥ</i>)-boats	78

Pl. 70a

¹ Total, cedar and acacia: boats	90
² Products of Egypt, products of God's-Land, products of Syria, Kush and the Oasis, for the divine offerings in numerous lists.	

3. TOTAL OF THE KING'S GIFTS TO ALL GODS^b

388. ³Gold, silver, real lapis lazuli, real malachite, all real, costly stones, copper, garments of ⁴royal linen, mek-linen, fine southern linen, southern linen, garments of colored linen, jars,^c fowl, and everything which he gave to them, ⁵as gifts of the king, L. P. H.; festal offerings, oblations, and "Books of the Nile-God," while he was king upon earth:

^aSee 12b, 11.

^bThis section includes also the offerings, as the scribe was unable to separate them. The totals contain the most incredible errors in addition, which can be controlled for the most important items by comparing with table of the king's gifts, § 172.

^cThis means the wine, oil, incense, etc., which were put into jars.

389. ⁶ Fine gold, gold of two times, and white gold in vessels, ornaments, and scraps	1,663	deben		
⁷ Silver in vessels and scraps	3,598	“	8	kidet
⁸ Total, gold and silver in vessels and scraps	5,261	“	8	“
⁹ Real lapis lazuli, real malachite, real green feldspar (<i>nšm·t</i>) stone	30	“	9½	“
¹⁰ Real lapis lazuli, real malachite: scarabs				72
¹¹ Timhy (<i>Tymhy</i>) stone of Wawat				3 kidet

Pl. 70b

¹ Black copper	327	deben, 9	kidet	
² Black copper overlaid with gold: corselets				2
³ Copper in vessels and scraps	18,786	deben, 7	kidet	
⁴ Lead: deben				2,130
390. ⁵ Myrrh: deben				7,709
⁶ Myrrh: heket				5½
⁷ Wood of the myrrh tree: (logs)				1,059
⁸ Fruit of the myrrh in measures				200
⁹ Royal linen, mek-linen, fine southern linen, southern linen, colored linen: various garments				50,877
¹⁰ Incense, honey, oil (<i>nḥḥ</i>), oil (<i>bḳ·ḳ</i>); various jars (<i>ḳ·ḳ</i>) and measures (<i>yp·t</i>)				331,702
¹¹ Incense: [—] in measures (<i>yp·t</i>)				35,130
¹² Incense: large measures (<i>yp·t</i>)				62
¹³ Shedeh and wine: jars (<i>mn</i> and <i>k·ḳ bw</i>)				228,380
¹⁴ Fine manna of Punt: deben				300
¹⁵ Manna: measures (<i>mst·y</i>)				10
¹⁶ All costly stones: sacred eye amulets, scarabs, and seals of various measures				1,075,635

Pl. 71a

¹ Alabaster: a block				1
² Yarn: deben				700
³ Yarn: hanks				19
391. ⁴ Wrought wood: cases and seals				92
⁵ Meru (<i>mry</i>) wood and ebony: [staves]				497
⁶ Wrought wood: block for the scales				1
⁷ Carob wood: a log				1

⁸ Persea, a log of 2 cubits	1
⁹ Mera (<i>mr</i> ²) wood: post for the scales	1
¹⁰ Mera (<i>mr</i> ²) wood: poles	2
¹¹ Cedar: various logs	351
¹² Nenybu (<i>N-n-y-bw</i>) and cassia: deben	3,129
¹³ Reeds: bundles and measures (<i>msty</i>)	37
¹⁴ Cinnamon: 843 measures (<i>msty</i>) and bundles: deben	2,000

Pl. 71b

¹ Barley of Syria: heket	45
² Ivory: a tusk	1
³ Eye-paint: deben	50
392. ⁴ ‘Rosemary’ ¹ : measures (<i>msty</i>)	167
⁵ Yufiti (<i>Ywfyty</i>)-plant: measures (<i>msty</i>)	183
⁶ Mehiwet (<i>Mhywt</i>): ^a ‘cakes’ (<i>s</i> ² - <i>t</i> ²)	3,100
⁷ Semu (<i>s</i> ^c <i>mw</i>)-plant: measures (<i>htp</i>)	1,664
⁸ Dom-palm ¹ fruit, grapes, figs, ‘pomegranates’ and various fruit: crates of various measure (<i>yp</i> ¹ <i>t</i>)	2,382,650
⁹ Bulls, bullocks of the bulls, oxen, heifers, calves, cows, goats,	20,602
¹⁰ White oryxes, ‘male gazelles’, gazelles	367
¹¹ Fat geese, live geese, various water-fowl	353,919
¹² Salt and natron: 16-fold heket	1,843
¹³ Salt and natron: bricks	355,084
¹⁴ Palm-fiber: various ropes	345
¹⁵ Sebkhet (<i>sbh</i> ¹ <i>t</i>)-plant, flax (<i>ps</i>) and ideninu (<i>ydnyw</i>): 16-fold heket	1,944

Pl. 72

¹ Tamarisk and reed-grass: bundles	7,860
² Southern flax: measures (<i>htp</i>)	46
393. ³ Fine bread: large oblation-loaves, <i>syd</i> -loaves, and <i>bh</i> -loaves of various measures	161,287
⁴ Fine bread, meat, rahu (<i>r</i> ² - <i>hw-sw</i>)-cakes: large measures (<i>htp</i>) of the ‘court’ (<i>m</i> ²), measures (<i>htp</i>) of gold, measures (<i>htp</i>) for eating, and measures (<i>t</i> ² <i>y</i>) for the mouth of the eater ^b	25,335

^aSee 19a, 8.^bSee 17b, 1 and 2, note.

⁵ Fine bread: large loaves (^c <i>k</i>) for eating, 'sweet' loaves (^c <i>k</i>), and loaves of every size	6,272,421
⁶ Rahusu-cakes of every baking, measures (<i>yp' t</i>)	285,385
⁷ Beer: various vessels (<i>hnw</i>)	468,303
⁸ Olives: jars (<i>mn</i> and <i>g' y</i>)	1,726
⁹ Wax: deben	3,100
¹⁰ Cabbage ¹ , khithana-fruit, southern fruit, measures (<i>yp' t</i>), and 'bundles' (² <i>nbw</i>)	390,215
¹¹ Dedmet flowers and enbu (^c <i>nbw</i>): measures (<i>d' c mw</i>)	866
¹² Papyrus sandals: pairs	15,110
¹³ Papyrus rind: measures (<i>yp' t</i>)	26,782
¹⁴ Storea: measures (<i>yp' t</i>)	930
394. ¹⁵ Thick stuff: garments (<i>dw</i>)	150

Pl. 73

¹ Leather sandals: pairs	3,720
² Jars and vessels of the mouth of the Heliopolitan canal ^a	9,610
³ Various fish	494,800
⁴ Jars 'of the canal' filled with fish, having wooden 'lids' ^b	440
⁵ Blossoms, flowers, isi-plant, papyrus, and herbs: measures (<i>ddm' t</i>), bouquets, and for the hand	10,130,032
⁶ Olive-lands equipped: 1, making, stat	53½
⁷ Gardens of all (kinds of) trees, equipped	6
⁸ House equipped with timbers ^c	1
⁹ Fire wood: ('logs')	3,260
¹⁰ Charcoal: measures (<i>gsr' 2</i>)	3,367
¹¹ Incense, honey, oil (<i>nhh</i>), best oil, fat, fruit, every costly stone, cinnamon, vegetables, and milk: measures (^c) of various capacity	2,933,766
395. ¹² Gold, silver, every real costly stone: statues of the Nile-god: nusa	48,236
¹³ Real lapis lazuli, real malachite, every costly stone, copper, lead, 'sparkling' costly stone: statues of the Nile-god	193,370
¹⁴ Sycamore wood: statues of the Nile-god, and statues of the Nile-goddess	12,158
¹⁵ Stone: uba (<i>wb' 2</i>)	31,650
¹⁶ Ibenu (<i>ybnw</i>): measures (<i>msty</i>)	60

^aSee 19b, 16, and note.^bFrom 20b, 12.^cSee 65c, 15.

Pl. 74

¹ Minium ¹ : jars (<i>mn' t</i>)	3
² Khenti (<i>Hnty</i>): jars (<i>sn y</i>)	380
³ Shesa (<i>šs ʔ</i>): measures (<i>mst y</i>)	72
⁴ Shesa (<i>šs ʔ</i>): deben	32,500
⁵ Palm leaves: bundles	46,040
⁶ Palm leaves: pesa (<i>ps ʔ</i>)	310
⁷ Banu (<i>b ʔ nw</i>): cubes (<i>s ʔ s</i>)	351
⁸ Cow-hides	37
⁹ Beni (<i>b ʔ ny</i>)-plant	23,000
¹⁰ Date-palm fiber	23,000

396. ¹¹Clean grain, [—] for the divine offerings of the feasts of heaven and the feasts of the first of the seasons, which he gave to these gods, ¹²as an increase of the divine offerings, and as an increase of the daily offerings, in order to double that which was before me:

16-fold heket 5,279,552

VII. HISTORICAL SECTION

Pl. 75. Introduction

397. ¹Said King Usermare-Meriamon (Ramses III), L. P. H., the Great God, to the princes, and leaders of the land, the infantry and chariotry, the Sherden (*š ʔ -r ʔ -d ʔ -n ʔ*), the numerous archers, ²and all the citizens^a of the land of Egypt:

Former Anarchy

398. Hear ye,^b that I may inform you of my benefactions which I did while I was king of the people (*rhy' t*). The land of ³Egypt was ⁴overthrown^c from without¹, and every man was (⁵thrown¹ out) of his right; they had no chief mouth (*r ʔ -hr*) for many years formerly until other times. The land of Egypt was ⁶in the hands of chiefs^d and of

^a(*ʔ nh' w*). These are the same as the "*ʔ nh' w of the army*," e. g., already in the Middle Kingdom (I, 681), and in the Eighteenth Dynasty, especially in the Decree of Harmhab (III, 45-67).

^bText has "*we!*" which is, of course, an error.

^c*H' ʔ*; on the meaning "*banish*," see Brugsch, *Oase*, 85; same usage in *Recueil*, XVII, 147, ll. 13, 14?

^dThe hieratic sign is that for "*chief*" (*wr*), not "*prince*" (*sr*), which occurs quite differently written in l. 1 of this same plate.

rulers of towns; one slew his neighbor, great and small. Other times having come after it, with empty years, Yarsu,^a a certain Syrian (*H* ³ -*rw*)⁵ was with them as chief.^b He set the whole land tributary before him together; he united his companions and plundered their^c possessions. They made the gods like men, and no offerings were presented in the temples.

Rule of Setnakht

399. ⁶But when the gods inclined themselves to peace, to set the land (*in*)^d its right according to its accustomed manner, ⁷they established their son, who came forth from their limbs, to be Ruler, L. P. H., of every land, upon their great throne, (even) Userkhare-Setepnere-Meriamon, L. P. H., Son of Re, Setnakht-Mererre-Meriamon, L. P. H. ⁸He was Khepri-Set, when he is enraged; he set in order the entire land, which had been rebellious; he slew the rebels who were in the land of Egypt; he cleansed ⁹the great throne of Egypt; he was Ruler, L. P. H., of the Two Lands, on the throne of Atum. He gave ¹ready faces, which had been turned away¹.^e Every man knew his brother who had been walled in.^f ¹⁰He established the temples in possession of divine offerings, to offer to the gods (*psd*·*t*) according to their customary stipulations.

Rise of Ramses III and Death of Setnakht

400. He appointed me to be hereditary prince in the place of Keb, I was the great chief mouth (*r* ³ -*hr*)^g of the lands of Egypt, and com-

^aThe words (*3 yr-sw*), read as a proper name, of which Arisu or Arsu have become current forms, means "*made himself*." Hence Spiegelberg has proposed to render them so, explaining the foreign determinative which follows them by supposing that the name of the Syrian, to whom the determinative belongs, has fallen out. We should then render: "*X, a certain Syrian with them, made himself chief*." The preposition before "*chief*" fits this rendering well (see Spiegelberg, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, II, 263-65).

^bNot "*prince*," but "*chief*," as in l. 4; see above, note a.

^cThe Egyptians.

^dThe preposition (*hr* in *rdy hr c k*) seems to have fallen out.

^eOr: "*turned back*," perhaps meaning that those who had formerly been in hiding now came forth, and accepted service with him, that is, were "*ready of face*," see inscription of Amenemhet (Ameni) l. 10 (I, p. 251, n. d).

^fStaying within fortified walls during the previous hostilities, when each town was against its neighbor.

^gThe same office as that also claimed by Ramses II as crown prince, in the Kubbân Stela, l. 17 (III, 288).

Pl. 76

mander (*shn*) of 'the whole land united in one. He went to rest in his horizon,^a like the gods; there was done for him that which was done for Osiris; he was rowed in his king's-barge upon the river,^b and rested in his eternal house west of Thebes.^c

Accession of Ramses III

401. Then my father, Amon-Re, lord of gods, Re-Atum, and Ptah, beautiful of face,^d crowned me as Lord of the Two Lands on the throne of him who begat me; I received the office of my father ³with joy; the land rested and rejoiced in possession of peace, being joyful at seeing me as ruler, L. P. H., of the Two Lands, like Horus when he was called to rule the Two Lands on the throne of Osiris. I was crowned ⁴with the etef-crown bearing the uraeus; I assumed the double-plumed diadem, like Tatenen. I sat upon the throne (*int' t*) of Harakhte. I was clad in the regalia, like Atum.

Internal Organization

402. ⁵I made^e Egypt into many classes,^f consisting of: butlers of the palace, great princes, numerous infantry, and chariotry, by the hundred-thousand; Sherden (*š' - r' - d' - n*), ⁶and Kehek (*Khk*), without number; attendants by the ten-thousand; and serf-laborers of Egypt.

^aPoetic for the death of the king; cf. similar phrases for the death of Thutmose I and of Thutmose II in the inscription of Ineni (II, 108, and 118, l. 16), and of Thutmose III in the inscription of Amenemhab (II, 592, ll. 35-37).

^bThe funeral procession crosses the river.

^cHis tomb in the Valley of the Kings' Tombs, No. 14 (Baedeker's *Egypt*, 270). He appropriated it from Queen Tewosret, wife of King Siptah. It had already been appropriated by Seti II, who finally had not used it. Setnakht took it, and enlarged it for his purpose (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 209-14; *Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, III, 137 ff.). He had been unable to finish his own tomb (No. 11, Baedeker's *Egypt*, 268), which was then taken over and completed by his son, Ramses III.

^dThe three great gods and the three great priesthoods, viz., of Thebes, Heliopolis, and Memphis, are here introduced. "*Father*" ought to be in the plural.

^eOr: "*I trained*" (*šhpr*).

^fNot classes in the sense of castes of society, but classes for successive service in the army or civil offices, or state works or royal estates; with which meaning this word (*g' m' w*, Coptic, "*generations*") is common in the historical texts. See also 26, 2, note.

War with Northern Asiatics

403. I extended all the boundaries of Egypt; I overthrew those who invaded them from^a their 'lands. I slew the Denyen (*D³-yn-yw-n³*) in^b their isles, the Thekel (*T³-k-r³*) and the Peleset (*Pw-r³-s³-ty*) were made ashes. The Sherden and the Weshesh (*W³-š-š*) of the sea, ⁸they were made as those that exist not, taken captive at one time, brought as captives to Egypt, like the sand of the shore. I settled them in strongholds, bound in my name. Numerous ⁹were their classes like hundred-thousands. I taxed them all, in clothing and grain from the storehouses and granaries each year.

Edomite War

404. I destroyed the people of Seir (*S³-^{c3}-r³*), of the tribes of ¹⁰the Shasu (*Š³-sw*);^c I plundered their tents of their people, their possessions, their cattle likewise, without number. They were pinioned and brought as captive, as tribute of Egypt. ¹¹I gave them to the gods, as slaves into their house[s].

Libyan Wars^d

405. Behold, I will inform you of other things, done in Egypt since my reign. The Libyans ¹and the Meshwesh (*M-š³-w³-š³*)

Pl. 77

were dwelling^e in Egypt, having plundered the cities of the western shore,^f from Memphis to Kerben (*K³-r³-b³-n³*).^g They had reached

^aOr: "in."

^bMeaning "who are in;" not that the victory took place in their isles.

^cSee the Bedwi chief as prisoner on the front of the pavilion (§ 129) with the chiefs of Asia Minor.

^dThe Libyan aggressions are here naturally treated as one subject, and the long continuance of the struggle to expel them, extending through two wars, must be drawn from the other sources.

^eLit., "sitting" (*snḏm*).

^fMerneptah also makes use of the same rare word (*rwd*), "shore," in his Libyan campaign (Karnak Inscription, l. 30, III, 583).

^gIdentified by Brugsch, with some probability, as the place near Abukir, called by the Greeks, Heracleum (Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique*, 854 ff.). It is the place called Karbaniti in the annals of Ashurbanipal, to which Tirhaka marched from Memphis.

the great river^a on both its banks.^b ²They it was who plundered the cities of Egwowe (*G-wt-wt*)^c during very many years, while they were in Egypt. Behold, I destroyed them, slain at one time. I laid low ³the Meshwesh, the Libyans, the Esbet (²-s²-b²-t²),^d the Keykesh (*K²-y-k²-š²*), the Shai (*Š²-y*),^e the Hes (*H²-s²*) and the Beken (*B²-k²-n²*); they were overthrown in their blood and made heaps. I turned them back ⁴from trampling the border of Egypt. I carried away those whom my sword spared, as numerous captives, pinioned like birds before my horses,^f their wives and their children by the ten-thousand, ⁵their cattle in number like hundred-thousands. I settled their leaders in strongholds in my name. I gave to them captains (*hry w*) of archers, and chief men of the tribes, branded and made into ⁶slaves, impressed with my name; their wives and their children were made likewise.^g I led their cattle into the house (*pr*) of Amon; they were made for him into herds^h forever.

Well in Ayan

406. I made a very great well ⁷in the country of Ayan (*c yn²*). It was surrounded by a wall like a mountain of gritstone, with 20

^aThe *μέγας ποταμός* of Ptolemy, called by Strabo the Canopic branch of the Nile (Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique*, 856). See occurrence in exactly same connection in Merneptah's Libyan war (III, 580, l. 19).

^bLit., "on its every side" (*rwyt*); this word is used by Ramses II for the bank or side of the Orontes (III, 311, l. 21).

^cThis is possibly Canopus (*Pr-g-w²-ty*), as Brugsch thinks (*Dictionnaire géographique*, 820 ff.).

^dPossibly to be read *M-s²-b²-t²*; this and the following are Libyan tribes of uncertain location. Petrie has attempted to find these names among the place-names still surviving in north Africa (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXVI, 40, 41).

^eOr: *Š²-y-tp*?

^fCompare the reliefs of the return from the Libyan wars (§§ 56 and 112).

^gA further indication of the occupation and employment of these captives is contained in an inscription behind Medinet Habu, referring to various negroes, Peleset(?), and Shekelesh (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 218, c): "He causes that they cross the river, brought to Egypt, they are placed in strongholds of the king. When they reach the district of the king they are made chariot-drivers, charioteers, attendants, sunshade-bearers, attending the king."

^hIt is doubtless one of these herds which is mentioned in 10, 8, and given a name commemorating the victory over the Meshwesh.

'courses' in the ground foundation, and a height of 30 cubits, having battlements. Its doorposts and doors ⁸were hewn of cedar, their bolts were of copper, with mountings.

Punt Expedition

407. I hewed great galleys with barges before them, manned with numerous crews, and attendants in great number; their ⁹captains of marines^a were with them, with inspectors and petty officers, to command them. They were laden with the products of Egypt without number, being in every number^b like ten-thousands. They were sent forth into the great sea of ¹⁰the inverted water,^c they arrived at the countries of Punt, no mishap overtook them, safe and bearing terror.^d The galleys and the barges were laden with the products of God's-Land, ¹¹consisting of all the strange marvels of their country: plentiful myrrh of Punt,^e laden by ten-thousands, without number. Their chief's children of God's-Land went before their tribute ¹²advancing to Egypt. They arrived in safety at the highland of Coptos;^f they landed in safety, bearing the things which they brought. They were loaded, on the land-journey, upon asses and upon men; and loaded into ¹³vessels upon the Nile, (at) the haven of Coptos. They were sent forward down-stream^g and arrived amid festivity, and brought (some) of the tribute into the (royal) presence like marvels. Their chief's

^aLit., "galley-archers."

^bProbably meaning that "every number" in the lists was a large one.

^c"The inverted water" is the Euphrates (see Tombos Stela, l. 13, II, 73); hence "the great sea of the inverted water" is the Indian Ocean, of which the Persian Gulf (into which the Euphrates flows) is a part. The Egyptians doubtless counted the Red Sea as a part of this "great sea of the inverted water," for the antique maps even far down into Arab times show the vaguest knowledge of the proper relations of these waters. It is possible to infer from this passage that Punt extended beyond the straits of Bab el-Mendebeh.

^dFor all who might oppose them; it is a military expression, meaning that they were in efficient condition.

^eSee the trees of Punt in the Medinet Habu treasury, § 29.

^fThe "highland or desert of Coptos" here refers to the Red Sea end of the Coptos route, where the cargoes are unloaded from the vessels, and the land transport to the Nile begins.

^gShowing that Ramses III did not live at Thebes (which is up-stream from Coptos), but in the north, in the Delta.

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children were in adoration before me, ¹kissing the earth, prostrate before me. I gave them to all the gods of this land, to satisfy the two serpent-goddesses every morning.

Expedition to Atika

408. I sent forth my messengers ²to the country of the Atika (^c² -*ty-ka*), ^a to the great copper mines which are in this place. Their galleys carried them; ^b others on the land-journey were upon their ³asses. It has not been heard before, since kings reign. ^c Their mines were found abounding in copper; it was loaded by ten-thousands into their galleys. ⁴They ^dwere sent forward to Egypt, and arrived safely. It was carried and made into a heap under the balcony, ^e in many bars ^f of copper, like hundred-thousands, being of the color of ⁵gold of three times. I allowed all the people to see them, like wonders.

Sinai Expedition

409. I sent forth butlers and officials to the malachite-country, to my mother, Hathor, mistress of the malachite. There were brought for her silver, gold, royal linen, mek-linen, and many things ⁷into her presence, like the sand. There were brought for me wonders of real malachite in numerous sacks, brought forward into my presence. They had not been seen before, ⁸since kings reign.

Ramses III's Good Works at Home

410. I planted the whole land with trees and verdure, and I made the people dwell in their shade. I made ⁹the woman of Egypt to go [— —] ¹⁰to the place she desired, (for) no stranger nor any one upon the

^aUncertain region, accessible both by sea and land from Egypt, hence probably in the Sinaitic Peninsula, where so much copper was obtained. See Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 133 and 393.

^bLit., "were laden with them;" meaning, of course, the messengers.

^cLit., "since the reign;" viz., "since the reign of kings began."

^dOr: "it," the copper.

^eThe copper is piled up under the palace balcony.

^fLit., "bricks."

^gThe two words literally mean: "her ears being extended;" but the significance of this statement is obscure. It may refer to the fact that her head and ears were uncovered; compare the similar statement in the inscription of the year 5, l. 73 (§ 47).

road molested her. I made the infantry and chariotry to dwell (at home) ¹⁰in my time; the Sherden (*Šḏ-rḏ-d-n*) and Kehek (*Ḳḥḳ*) were in their towns, lying the ¹¹length^a of their backs; they had no fear, (for) there was no enemy ¹²from Kush, (nor) foe from Syria. Their bows and their weapons reposed in their magazines, while they were satisfied and drunk with joy. ¹³Their wives were with them, their children at their side; they looked not behind them,^b (but) their hearts were confident, (for) I was with them as the defense and protection of their limbs. ¹⁴I sustained alive the whole land, whether foreigners, (¹⁵common¹) folk, citizens, or people, male or female.^c I took a man

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out of his misfortune and I gave to him breath; ¹I rescued him from the oppressor, who was of more account than he.^d I set each man in his security, in their towns; I sustained alive others in the hall of petition.^e ²I equipped the land in the place where it was laid waste. The land was well satisfied in my reign. I did good to the gods, as well as the men, ³and I had nothing at all belonging to any (⁴other¹) people. I exercised my sovereignty over the land as ruler of the Two Lands, while ye were my servants under my feet, without ⁵—I. Ye were ⁶well pleasing to my heart, for ye did excellently, and ye were zealous for my commands^f and my commissions.

Ramses III's Death

411. Behold, I have gone to rest in the Nether World, like (my) father Re, ⁵I have mingled with the great gods in heaven, earth and, the Nether World. Amon-Re has established my son on my throne; he has taken my office in peace, as ruler of the Two Lands, sitting on the throne ⁶of Horus as lord of the two shores. He has assumed the

^aLit., "*the height of their backs.*"

^bIn fear.

^cAn enumeration which seems to begin at the bottom; *kwy, rhy't, p'c't, hnmmt*; but see Pl. I, 6, note.

^dLit., "*the mighty who was weightier (or heavier) than he;*" compare the Hebrew, *קל* and *כבד*.

^eOr, "*the hall of the Nether World*" (*dwt't*); referring to his mortuary oblations?

^fLit., "*Ye were filled with my commands, etc.*"

etef-crown, like Tatenen, as: Usermare-Setepnamon, L. P. H., first-born son of Re, the self-begetter: Ramses (IV)-Hekma-Meriamon; the child, son of Amon, who came forth from his limbs, shining as Lord of the Two Lands; he is like a true son, praised for his father's sake.

Faithfulness to Ramses IV Urged

412. Be ye attached to his sandals, ⁸kiss the earth in his presence, bow down to him, follow him at all times, adore him, praise him, magnify his beauty as ye do ⁹to Re every morning. Present to him your tribute (in) his august palace, bring to him the gifts^a of the lands and countries. Be ye zealous for his commissions, ¹⁰the commands which are spoken among you. 'Obey' his behests, that ye may prosper under him. Labor for him as one man in every work; drag for him monuments, dig for him ¹¹canals, do ye for him the work of your hands, that ye may enjoy his favor, in possession of his provision every day. Amon has decreed to him his reign upon earth; he has doubled to him his lifetime ¹²more than (to) any king; (even) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands; Usermare-Setepnamon, L. P. H.; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses (IV)-Hekma-Meriamon, L. P. H., given life forever:

RECORD OF THE ROYAL JUBILEE

413. Ramses III commissioned his vizier, Ta, to take charge of the jubilee in the year 29, and it perhaps took place in that year. In that case he was made crown prince a year^b before his father Setnakht's death.^c Accepting this, it could not have been long before the celebration that the vizier left the capital (Tanis?) and went south to make preparations for it, as the following paragraph^d shows:

Year 29, month [one] of the third season, day 28. The vizier Ta sailed north, after he had come to take the gods of the South for the Sed Jubilee.

^aSee § 207.

^bSee § 400 on Ramses III's relations with his father.

^cThis accords with the only date of Setnakht's reign, "year 1" (Papyrus Sallier, I, 6).

^dSpiegelberg, *Recueil*, 68, 69; from Papyrus Turin 44, 18 f.

414. At El Kab the High Priest of Nekhbet, Setau, recorded in his tomb, as one of the great events of his life, the visit of the vizier on the occasion of the latter's southern voyage (as above) and his visit there, as follows:^a

[Year 29¹ under the majesty] of King Ramses III; first occurrence of the Sed Jubilee. His majesty commanded to commission the governor of the (residence) city, the vizier, Ta, to carry out the customary regulations^b in the houses of the Sed Jubilee, to go to the "House-of-Ramses-Meriamon (Ramses II), the-[Good-God]." Reception of the bow of the barque of the Divine^c Hand by the king himself, when [he] was [in] the Southern City.^d

415. This same Setau, in whose tomb the above occurs, was still High Priest of Nekhbet at El Kab in the year 4 of Ramses IX, when his tomb was decorated;^e so that one man's tenure of a high office (attained, at the earliest, in middle life) includes the period from year 29 of Ramses III to year 4 of Ramses IX. Accepting thirty years for Setau's tenure of the office we have left, after deduction of the known dates of other kings, some fifteen years for the three Ramses, VI, VII, and VIII.^f

^aBrugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, II, Pl. 72, No. 2 (attributed to Ramses II); Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1129 (properly attributed); Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 271; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, IV, 49.

^bThere is a feminine singular possessive with this word, "*her regulations*," but the Sed Jubilee is masculine.

^cSame as Divine Votress, a kind of high priestess of Amon.

^dThis disconnected conclusion is preserved only by Champollion, and it reads as if it surmounted a scene depicting the king receiving the barque.

^eLepsius, *Denkmäler*, IV, Text, 50; Spiegelberg, *Recueil*, 24, 185; Maspero's date for the construction of this tomb, as under Ramses III (*Momies royales*, 667), must be modified in accord with this new datum.

^f Remainder of Ramses III's reign	2 years.
Ramses IV	6 years.
Ramses V	4 + x years.
Ramses IX (last date in Setau's term)	4 years.

Total	16 years.
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Leaving some fifteen years to insert between Ramses IV and Ramses IX.

RECORDS OF THE HAREM CONSPIRACY^a

416. Fragmentary and brief as these documents are, they afford a glimpse into the court intrigues and conspiracies of the Orient three thousand and two hundred years ago, which is as picturesque and interesting as it is important. Here are all the materials for a novel or a drama, with the full *dramatis personae* all present. The first question which arises is: Against whom was the conspiracy, here unfolded, directed? The king who empowers the prosecuting court to try the conspirators is called "*ruler of Heliopolis*" (§ 423), a term applied to several kings, but especially to Ramses III. One of the conspirators, in the course of their machinations, secured a "*magic roll of Ramses III . . . his lord.*" It is clear, then, that the conspiracy was directed against this king, and, as we shall see, toward the close of his reign. One of his queens,^b named Tiy, plots to make way with the old king and to place her son Pentewere^c upon the throne.

^aThese records are contained in two documents: (a) the Judicial Papyrus of Turin; and (b) Papyrus Lee and Papyrus Rollin, both parts of one document. The Judicial Papyrus of Turin is a magnificent document, containing six columns, the first being but a mere fragment of the ends of all the lines. The papyrus roll is about twenty inches high, the letters about an inch to an inch and a quarter high, and the horizontal lines are two inches apart. It was published, and for that time well treated, by Devéria in the *Journal asiatique*, in 1865-68, (but see Chabas' valuable corrections, *Mélanges d'archéologie égyptienne*, 3^{me} sér., Tome I, 5-47), and again revised by the author, as a "*tirage à part*" in 1868. The last was republished in the author's collected works (*Bibliothèque égyptologique*, V). Papyrus Lee contains the lower part of two columns, published by Sharpe (*Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, 47, 48) in 1855; shortly after by Lee (Hartwell House Catalogue, Pl. II); by Chabas, *Papyrus Magique*, Harris, 169-74; and *Mélanges d'archéologie égyptienne*, I, 9, 10; by Devéria, *op. cit.*; and by Newberry (*Amherst Papyri*, Pl. II and III, and pp. 19-22); Papyrus Rollin (No. 1888) in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* at Paris contains one short but complete column, published by Chabas, *op. cit.*, by Devéria, *op. cit.*, and by Pleyte, *Les Papyrus Rollin*, Pl. XVI.

^bShe may have been the mother or stepmother of Ramses III; see Erman, *Aegypten*, 87 (Mariette, *Catalogue général d'Abydos*, 1170).

^cThis was not his name, but a name given him in the court records, which call him "*Pentewere, who bore that other name.*" The chief conspirators are given assumed names by the records, as we shall see.

The "*chief of the chamber*," Pebekkamen, and a royal butler, named Mesedsure, were her chief coadjutors. The former procured from the overseer of the royal herds, Penhuibin, a number of magic wax figures of gods and men, which were able, in the belief of the owner, to disable or enfeeble the limbs of people. Two other men furnished similar materials, which were smuggled into the harem, and by such agencies the conspirators were empowered, as they thought, to disable or evade the people of the guard, who might otherwise have discovered and betrayed the plot.

417. Pebekkamen and Mesedsure secured the co-operation of ten harem officials of various ranks, four royal butlers, an overseer of the treasury named Pere, a captain of archers in Nubia named Binemwese, who was inveigled by the influence of a sister of his in the harem; Peyes, a commander of the army, three royal scribes in various offices, Pebekkamen's assistant, and several subordinate officials. As most of these people were in the personal service of the Pharaoh, the dangerous character of the complot is evident. Six wives of the officers of the harem-gate were used in securing the transmission of messages, and outside relatives of the inmates, not mentioned by name, are clearly implicated. Binemwese's sister sent him a letter urging him to incite the people to hostility against the king, and such was the purport of all the messages which left the harem. Evidently a revolution outside of the palace was intended to accompany their own coup within it. That the latter involved the assassination of the king is nowhere stated, but is self-evident.

418. Before their plans could be carried out, the conspirators were, in some way, betrayed, and ample evidence of their guilt was obtainable. The king ordered their prosecution,

but before they came to trial he died.^a It would almost appear that he knew his days were numbered when he gave instructions for the prosecution of the conspirators, for at the close of the commission constituting the special court therefor, he uses the remarkable words: (Go on with the prosecution, etc.), "*while I am protected and defended forever, while I am [among] the just kings who are before Amon-Re . . . and before Osiris, ruler of eternity;*" that is, while I am among my deceased fathers. That the plot went so far that the king was injured, and survived his injuries only long enough to direct the prosecution of his assassins, is improbable, in view of a remark in the records, that Re did not permit the hostile plans to succeed;^b but we may easily believe that it hastened the old king's end, even if he escaped unscathed.

419. The court commissioned to try the conspirators received its instructions directly from the king, and was given not only full discretion as to the verdict, but also final power to execute punishment, which was otherwise usually fixed by the Pharaoh after trial (§ 541). At the same time Ramses cautioned the judges to be certain of guilt, by the usual procedure in every case, and to punish none but the guilty. The court, thus constituted with such unusual powers, consisted of fourteen officials, viz., two overseers of the treasury, two standard-bearers of the army, seven royal butlers, a royal herald, and two scribes. Among them were a Libyan, a Lycian, a Syrian named Maharbaal ("*Baal hastens*"), and another foreigner, Kedendenna by name, of uncertain nationality. The unhealthy character of the conditions at the court of Ramses III are thus patent. Foreign

^aHe is called "*the Great God*" in the records of the trial, a term applied at this time only to deceased kings. See Papyrus Lee, col. 1, l. 3 (§ 455).

^bRollin, l. 3, § 454; but see note.

stewards and butlers, whose fidelity is purchased, are now the reliance of the Pharaoh. Their flaccid character and the dangerous persistence of the conspirators are shown by the fact that two of the judges, the butler Pebes and the scribe Mai, after their^a appointment, together with two officers having the prisoners in charge, received in their dwelling some of the women conspirators and the general Peyes, with whom they caroused. These two judges, together with the two officers and another judge, Hori, the standard-bearer, were immediately put on trial for their indiscretion, and the first four were condemned to lose their noses and ears. On the execution of the sentence, Pebes committed suicide; Hori was found to be innocent.

420. The fate of the queen, Tiy, is unknown, as the records preserved do not contain her trial. The records of four different prosecutions are preserved. The judges were not all present at these four prosecutions. Six of them carried on the first, and condemned twenty-two persons, including the arch-conspirators Pebekkamen and Mesedsure, Binemwese, the captain of archers in Nubia, and Pere, overseer of the treasury; besides the six wives of the officers of the harem-gate. The penalty is not defined, but it was certainly death. The second prosecution, the judges for which are not mentioned, resulted in the condemnation of six persons, including Peyes, the army commander. All were permitted to commit suicide without leaving the court. Three butlers alone conducted the prosecution of the third group of four conspirators, among whom was the guilty young prince Pentewere. All four were found guilty, and were allowed to take their own lives. These three prosecutions disposed of

^aThat their indiscretion occurred only after their appointment is, of course, evident. They never would have been appointed had their intimacy with the conspirators occurred before. The object of Peyes and the women could only have been the corruption of the judges in their own interest.

the capital cases.^a The fourth prosecution was that of the indiscreet judges and their two companions.

421. In the documents containing the above facts, the chief conspirators are given fictitious names, indicative of the abhorrence in which they were held. Thus Mesedsure means "*Re hates him*," and Binemwese is "*Wicked in Thebes*." Pentewere, the name applied to the guilty prince, who was in all probability only an unfortunate tool, is not a term of opprobrium, but is not his real name (Col. V, l. 7, § 447).

422. As to the character of the following records, the first document (Turin) omits the evidence, and is, therefore, not a full record of the trials, but forms merely an abstract of the proceedings, evidently for filing in the royal archives. The second document (Lee and Rollin), far less imposing in appearance, is fuller, and may have been part of the original scribal record of the prosecution.

I. APPOINTMENT OF THE COURT.

Col. 1. Introduction

423. ¹_____ Ruler of Heliopolis _____^b ²_____ t[he]
wh[ole] land _____ ³_____ the whole land _____ ⁴_____
their cattle _____ ⁵_____ to bring them _____ ⁶_____ all
— before them _____ ⁷_____ for them; the — are _____

Col. 2.

⁸_____ people saying _____ ⁹_____ they are ¹the abhorred
of the land.

Commission of the Court

I commission:

The overseer of the White House, Mentemtowe (*Mntw-m-t³ wy*);

^aFor the three people tried and executed for practicing magic, whose names are lost in the full account of their trial (§§ 454-56), are probably included in the list of capital prosecutions without designation of their crime as magic. "*Collusion*" is a quite sufficient definition of their guilt in the abstract (Turin).

^bThe loss at the ends of the lines is of uncertain length; the last line joins Col. 2 without break, but it is perhaps a short line.

The overseer of the White House, Pefroi ($P^{\circ} yf-r^{\circ} wy$);

²The standard-bearer, Kara ($K^{\circ} -r^{\circ}$);

The butler, Pebes ($P^{\circ} y-B^{\circ} -s^{\circ}$);

The butler, Kedendenna ($Kdndnn^{\circ}$);

The butler, Maharbaal^a ($M-h^{\circ} -r^{\circ} -b-^{\circ} -r^{\circ}$);

³The butler, Payernu ($P^{\circ} -yr-nw$);

The butler, Thutrehknefer ($Dhwt y-rh-[n]r$);

The king's-herald, Penrenut ($Pn-rnw$);

The scribe, Mai (My);

⁴The scribe of the archives, Peremhab ($P^{\circ} -R^{\circ} -m-hb$);

The standard-bearer of the infantry, Hori; ⁵saying:

Instructions to the Court

424. "As for the words which the people have spoken, I know them not. Go ye and examine them. ⁶When they^b go out, and they^b examine them, they^b shall cause to die by their own hand, those who should die, ⁷without [my] knowing it. They shall execute the punishment [upon] the others, likewise without my knowing it. When [ye] ¹go ²[see to] it that ye give heed, and have a care lest ye execute punishment ⁹upon — — — unjustly^c — — —. Now, I say to you^d in

Col. 3

very truth, ¹as for all that has been done, and those who have done it, let all that they have done fall upon their (own) heads; ³while I am protected and defended^e forever, ⁴while I am ¹among^{1f} the just kings, who are before ⁵Amon-Re, king of gods, and before Osiris, ruler of eternity."

II. THE CONDEMNED OF THE FIRST PROSECUTION

Col. 4. First Prosecution

425. ¹Persons brought in because of the great crimes which they had committed, and placed in the court^g of examination before the great nobles of the court of examination, that they might be examined by:

^aמֵהָר בַּעֲלָא

^bWe should expect "ye."

^cGwš, "to bend, crook, break;" it has also been thought to refer to torture.

^dText has "them."

^eSee same phrase, I, 768, and IV, 528, l. 7.

^fHr, "under," local.

^gLit., "seat or place of examination."

Composition of the Court

426. The overseer of the White House, Mentemtowe;
 The overseer of the White House, Pefroi;
 The standard-bearer, Kara;
 The butler, Pebes;
 The scribe of the archives, Mai;
 The standard-bearer, Hori.

They examined them; they found them guilty; they brought their punishment upon them; their crimes seized them.

The Condemned and Their Crimes

427. ²The great criminal,^a Pebekkamen (*P³ y-b³ ky-k³ mn*), formerly chief of the chamber.

He was brought in because of his collusion with Tiy and the women of the harem. He made common cause with them, and began bringing out their words to their mothers and their brothers who were there, saying: "Stir up the people! Incite enemies to hostility against their lord." He was placed before the great nobles of the court of examination; they examined his crimes; they found that he had committed them. His crimes seized him; the nobles who examined him brought his punishment upon him.

428. ³The great criminal, Mesedsure (*Msd-sw-R* ^c),^b formerly butler.

He was brought in because of his collusion [with] Pebekkamen, formerly chief of the chamber, and with the women, to stir up enemies to hostility against their lord. He was placed before the great nobles of the court of examination; they examined his crimes; they found him guilty; they brought his punishment upon him.

429. ⁴The great criminal, Peynok (*P³ -ynyw³k*),^c formerly overseer of the king's [—] of the harem, [in the suite].^d

He was brought in because of his making common cause with Pebekkamen and Mesedsure, to commit hostility against their lord.

^aThis word (*ḥrw*) literally means "*fallen, miserable*," and is the term regularly applied to rebels, foreign foes, and criminals. Chabas' objections (*Mélanges d'archéologie égyptienne*, 3^{me} sér., I, 14) to translating "*criminal*" seem to me rather pedantic and unfair to Devéria.

^bMeaning "*Re hates him*;" see introduction, § 421.

^c"*The serpent*."

^dLit., "*while following*" (the king?).

He was placed before the great nobles of the court of examination; they examined his crimes; they found him guilty; they brought his punishment upon him.

430. ⁵The great criminal, Pendua (*P-n-dw³ w*), formerly scribe of the king's [—] of the harem, [in the suite]^{1.a}

He was brought in because of his making common cause with Pebekkamen and Mesedsure, the other criminal, formerly overseer of the king's [—], and the women of the harem, to make a conspiracy with them, to commit hostility against their lord. He was placed before the nobles of the court of examination; they examined his crimes; they found him guilty; they brought his punishment upon him.

431. ⁶The great criminal, Petewnteamon (*P³ -t³ w-mdy-Ymn*), formerly inspector of the harem, [in the suite]^{1.a}

He was brought in because of his hearing the words which the people discussed with the women of the harem, without reporting them. He was placed before the great nobles of the court of examination; they examined his crimes; they found him guilty; they brought his punishment upon him.

432. ⁷The great criminal, Kerpes (*K³ -r³ -pw-s³*), formerly inspector of the harem, [in the suite]^{1.a}

He was brought in because of the words which he had heard and had concealed. He was placed before the nobles of the court of examination. They found him guilty; they brought his punishment upon him.

433. ⁸The great criminal, Khamopet (*H^c -m-yp³ t*), formerly inspector of the harem, [in the suite]^{1.a}

He was brought in because of the words which he had heard and had concealed. He was placed before the nobles of the court of examination. They found him guilty; they brought his punishment upon him.

434. ⁹The great criminal, Khammale (*H^c -m-m³ -n-r³*), formerly inspector of the harem, [in the suite]^{1.a}

He was brought in because of the words which he had heard and had concealed. He was placed before the nobles of the court of examination; they found him guilty; they brought his punishment upon him.

435. ¹⁰The great criminal, Setimperthoth (*Sty-m-pr-Dhwt^y*), formerly inspector of the harem, [in the suite]^{1.a}

^aLit., "while following" (the king?).

He was brought in because of the words which he had heard and had concealed. He was placed before the nobles of the court of examination; they found him guilty; they brought his punishment upon him.

436. ¹¹The great criminal, Setimperamon (*Sety-m-pr-Ymn*), formerly inspector of the harem, 'in the suite'.

He was brought in because of the words which he had heard and had concealed. He was placed before the nobles of the court of examination; they found him guilty; they brought his punishment upon him.

437. ¹²The great criminal, Weren (*W²-r²-n²*), who was butler.

He was brought in because of his hearing the words from the chief of the chamber, and when he had 'withdrawn from' him, he concealed them and did not report them. He was placed before the nobles of the court of examination; they found him guilty; they brought his punishment upon him.

438. ¹³The great criminal, Eshehebsed (*ḥ³-ḥb-šd*), formerly assistant of Pebekkamen.

He was brought in because of his hearing the words from Pebekkamen; and when he had left him, he did not report them. He was placed before the nobles of the court of examination; they found him guilty; they brought his punishment upon him.

439. ¹⁴The great criminal, Peluka (*P²-rw-k²*),^a formerly butler and scribe of the White House.

He was brought in because of his collusion with Pebekkamen, having heard the words from him, without reporting them. He was placed before the nobles of the court of examination; they found him guilty; they brought his punishment upon him.

440. ¹⁵The great criminal, the Libyan, Yenini (*Y-n-y-n-y*), formerly butler.

He was brought in because of his collusion with Pebekkamen, having heard the words from him, without reporting them. He was placed before the nobles of the court of examination; they found him guilty; they brought his punishment upon him.

Col. 5

441. ¹Wives of the people of the harem-gate, who united with the men, when the things were discussed; who were placed before the

^aLit., "the Lycian."

nobles of the court of examination; they found them guilty; they brought their punishment upon them: six women.

442. ²The great criminal, Pere (*P³ y-yry*), son of Ruma (*Rw-m³*), formerly overseer of the White House.

He was brought in because of his collusion with the great criminal, Penhuibin (*Pn-hwy-byu*), making common cause with him to stir up enemies to hostility against their lord. He was placed before the nobles of the court of examination; they found him guilty; they brought his punishment upon him.

443. ³The great criminal, Binemwese (*Byn-m-W³ s³ t*),^a formerly captain of archers in^b Nubia.

He was brought in because of the letter, which his sister, who was in the harem, [in the suite], had written to him, saying: "Incite the people to hostility! And come thou to begin hostility against thy lord." He was placed before Kedendenna,^c Maharbaal,^c Pirsun (*P³ -yr-swn*), and Thutrehknefer,^d they examined him; they found him guilty; they brought his punishment upon him.

III. THE CONDEMNED OF THE SECOND PROSECUTION

444. ⁴Persons brought in because of their crimes and because of their collusion with Pebekkamen, Peyes (*P³ y-yš*), and Pentewere (*Pn-t³ -wr*). They were placed before the nobles of the court of examination in order to examine them; they found them guilty; they^e left them in their^f own hands in the court of examination; they^f took their own lives; and no punishment was executed upon them.

445. ⁵The great criminal, Peyes, formerly commander of the army.

The great criminal, Messui (*Ms-swy*), formerly scribe of the house of sacred writings.

The great criminal, Perekamenef (*P³ -R^c -k³ mn³ f*), formerly chief.

The great criminal, Iroi (*Yy-r³ y*), formerly overseer of the [—] of Sekhmet.

^aMeaning: "*Wicked in Thebes.*"

^bLit., "*of Nubia*," he was probably in Nubia at the time. The phrase, "*of Nubia*," may possibly belong to "*archers*," but such a rendering is against the usual custom.

^cSee col. 2, l. 2.

^eThe judges.

^d*Ibid.*, l. 3.

^fThe condemned.

The great criminal, Nebzefai (*Nb-ḏf³ w*), formerly butler.

The great criminal, Shedmeszer (*Š^c d-msḏr*), formerly scribe of the house of sacred writings.

Total, 6.

IV. THE CONDEMNED OF THE THIRD PROSECUTION

446. ⁶Persons who were brought in, because of their crimes, to the court of examination, before Kedendenna, Maharbaal, Pirsun, Thutrekhnifer, and Mertusamon (*Mrt-y-wsy-Ymn*).^a They examined them concerning their crimes; they found them guilty; they left them in their place; they took their own lives.

447. ⁷Pentewere, who bore that other name.

He was brought in because of his collusion [with] Tiy, his mother, when she discussed the words with the women of the harem, being hostile against his lord. He was placed before the butlers, in order to examine him; they found him guilty; they left him in his place; he took his own life.

448. ⁸The great criminal, Henutenamon (*H³ n-wtn-Ymn*), formerly butler.

He was brought in because of the crimes of the women of the harem; having been among them and having heard (them), without reporting them. He was placed before the butlers, in order to examine him; they found him guilty; they left him in his place; he took his own life.

449. ⁹The great criminal, Amenkha (*Ymn-ḥ^c w*), formerly deputy of the harem, 'in the suite'.

He was brought in because of the crimes of the women of the harem; having been among them, and having heard (them), without reporting them. He was placed before the butlers, in order to examine him; they found him guilty; they left him in his place; he took his own life.

450. ¹⁰The great criminal, Pere, formerly scribe of the king's '—' of the harem, 'in the suite'.

He was brought in because of the crimes of the women of the harem; having been among them, and having heard (them), without reporting them. He was placed before the butlers, in order to examine him; they found him guilty; they left him in his place; he took his own life.

^aAccording to l. 7, these are all butlers.

V. THE CONDEMNED OF THE FOURTH PROSECUTION

Col. 6

451. ¹Persons upon whom punishment was executed by cutting off their noses and their ears, because of their forsaking the good testimony^a delivered to them. The women had gone; had arrived at their^b place of abode, and had there caroused^c with them and with Peyes. Their crime seized them.^d

452. ²This great criminal, Pebes (*P³ y-b³ -s³*), formerly butler. This punishment^e was executed upon him; he was left (alone); he took his own life.

³The great criminal, Mai, formerly scribe of the archives.

⁴The great criminal, Teynakhte (*T³ y-nht³ t*), formerly officer^f of infantry.

⁵The great criminal, Oneney (*o³ -n³ -n³ y*), formerly captain^f of police.

VI. THE ACQUITTED

453. ⁶Person^g who had been connected with them; they had contended with him, with evil and violent words; he was dismissed; punishment was not executed upon him:

⁷The great criminal,^h Hori, who was standard-bearer of the infantry.

^aThe king's instructions.

^bThe condemned.

^cLit., "made a beer-hall" (*c³ t-hk³ t*); the same word in Piankhi, l. 134 (§ 880).

^dThe constitution of the court is not given.

^eCutting off nose and ears; mentioned in l. 1; afterward in despair he kills himself. The others lived and endured the disgrace. Pebes and Mai, the following prisoners, were judges appointed on this trial by the king.

^fThe question arises why these men (not judges) are implicated. The analogy of the case of the two judges shows that they must have had something to do with the trial. Looking at their titles, one a military officer and the other a captain of police, it becomes exceeding probable that we have in them the explanation of another difficulty. How could Peyes and the women, already in custody and awaiting trial, gain their freedom to go to the dwelling of one of their judges? The two officers Teynakhte and Oneney must have been in charge of them; and they secretly went with their charges to the judge's house. They were thus equally guilty with the two judges.

^gAs the rubric shows, this is the title of the following list, consisting of one person.

^hSo-called, although innocent, his name being here cited from the court docket where it appeared with the above words before it. He bears the same name and title as one of the judges (col. 2, l. 4). If he be the same man, then we may doubtless understand the language of l. 6 above as indicating an altercation in court, in which the prisoners had attempted to implicate one of the judges, an attempt which was thwarted by putting him on trial, and acquitting him.

VII. THE PRACTICERS OF MAGIC

First Case of Magic

454. ^aHe began to make magic rolls for [hindering¹ and terrifying, and to make some gods of wax, and some people, for enfeebling the limbs of people; ²and gave them into the hand of Pebekkamen, whom Re made not to be chief of the chamber, and the other great criminals, saying: "Take them in;" and they took ³them in. Now, when he set himself to do the evil (deeds) which he did, in which Re did not permit that he should succeed,^b he was examined. Truth was found in every crime ⁴and in every evil (deed), which his heart had devised to do. There was truth therein, he had done them all, together with all the other great criminals. They were great crimes ⁵of death, the great abominations of the land, the things which he had done. Now, when he learned^c of the great crimes of death which he had committed, he took his own life.

Col. 1. Second Case of Magic

455. ^d"——— ¹the king, L. P. H., for provisioning [———] ²any — of my place of abode, to any person in the world." Now, when Penhuibin (*Pn-hwy-byn*), formerly overseer of herds, said to him: "Give to me a roll for enduing me with strength and might," ³he gave to him a magic roll of Usermare-Meriamon (Ramses III), L. P. H., the Great God,^e his lord, L. P. H., and he began to

^aPapyrus Rollin begins here, but the beginning of the case is lost, so that the name and office of the accused are unknown.

^bIt is not quite certain whether this remark refers to the failure of the whole conspiracy or only to this man's part in it. The former is more probable.

^cThat is, when he learned of what crimes he was charged with. The pronoun is *sw*, which is possibly for *se*, "*they*," viz., the judges; though the papyrus does not contain another example of such an error.

^dHere Papyrus Lee begins; the beginning (top of the column) of the report is lost, and it is uncertain who is speaking. The name and office of the accused are also unknown.

^e"*The Great God*" is applied at this time only to deceased kings, though it is used in the Old Kingdom of living kings. It regularly designates the deceased king in Papyrus Harris (*passim*), but is never applied to him in the vast inscriptions of Medinet Habu made during his life. In Papyrus Abbot, of the same age, the term always designates a deceased king; see also § 471 and commonly. A living king as presiding god of a distinct region or temple may receive the words "*great god*" in his formal cultus titulary (e. g., II, 894), but not otherwise. At the time

^aemploy the magic powers of a god^{1a} upon people. He arrived at the side
⁴of the harem, this other large, deep place.^b He began to make people of
wax, inscribed,^c in order that they might be taken in by the inspector,
Errem (²-ry-m),^d ⁵hindering¹ one troop and bewitching the others,
that a few words^e might be taken in, and others brought out. Now,
when he was examined ⁶concerning them, truth was found in every
crime and in every evil (deed), which his heart had devised to do. There
was truth therein, he had done them all, together with the ⁷other great
criminals, the abomination of every god and every goddess all together.
The great punishments of death were executed upon him, of which the
gods have said: "Execute them upon him."

Col. 2. Third Case of Magic

456. ^f1 ——— in the — — upon the measure. He went away
——— his hand enfeebled^g — —. Now, when ²[he was examined
concerning] them, truth was found in every crime and in [every] evil
(deed), which his heart had devised to do. There was truth ³[therein,
he had done them all, together with the othe]r great criminals, the
abomination of every god and every goddess all together. They were
great crimes of death, the great abominations of ⁴[the land, the things
which he had done. Now, when he^h learned of the] great [crim]es of
death, which he had committed, he took his own life. Now, when the
nobles, who examined him, learned that he had taken his own life
⁵——— Re, altogether, of which the sacred writings say: "Execute
it upon him."

this court record was made, then, the king was dead; but at the time when the roll
was procured he was still living; hence the addition "*his lord*," meaning "his then
lord." The king therefore lived to give the instructions for these prosecutions.

^aWhile the rendering is doubtful in details, there is no doubt about the mean-
ing in general, that he began to use the charms in the book.

^bSome retired place by the wall of the harem, mentioned before in the lost
portion of the papyrus, as the demonstrative shows.

^cWith the names of the persons represented, and the necessary charms.

^dאל-רם.

^eHe evidently was thought to have bewitched the watch, that the intercourse
with the harem might not be discovered.

^fThe second column of Papyrus Lee begins here; the name and office of the
accused are lost with the missing top of the column.

^gThis is some official who has been the victim of the magical arts of the con-
demned; see Papyrus Rollin, l. 1 (§ 454).

^hSee § 454, l. 5.

REIGN OF RAMSES IV

HAMMAMAT STELA

457. These records on the rocks in the Wadi Hammamat bring us knowledge of the only considerable achievement of Ramses IV known to us.

I. THE FIRST STELA

In the first stela^a the king narrates how, by direct revelation of the god, he has been guided in a personal visit to the quarries of the Wadi Hammamat, which lie three days' journey from the Nile, on the road from Coptos to the Red Sea. In commemoration of this visit the first stela was then cut in the rocks. Its date shows that the king undertook this arduous desert journey only a little over a year and three months after his accession. The document is as follows:

458. At the top is a relief, in two fields, showing Ramses IV offering an image of Mat, the goddess of truth, to "*Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, lord of the highlands and mountains;*" "*Min, lord of the highlands;*" and "*Isis, mistress of heaven.*" Behind him stands Mat. Below this, in the second field, the king appears, making the same offering to Onouris, Osiris of Coptos, Isis, and Harsiese. Behind him is Thoth, writing.

459. Below the reliefs is the following inscription:

¹Year 2, second month of the first season (second month), day 12^b
under the majesty of^c ²King Ramses IV.
. 11.^d

^aLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 223, *e*.

^bHe succeeded his father on the sixth of the eleventh month (§ 182), just 1 year, 3 months, and 11 days before this date.

^cFull fivefold titulary; see following stela (§ 463).

^dI have omitted the usual epithets following the king's titulary, as they contain purely conventional reference to the Pharaoh's power, mentioning Retenu and the Asiatics (*c* > *mw*).

460. Lo, this Good God, excellent in wisdom, like Thoth, he has entered into the annals [—¹²—], he has perceived the records of the house of sacred writings, his divine heart does excellent things for the lord of gods, his understanding conceives pleasing things like [—],¹³ which Re has repeated to him in his heart, that he might find the place of truth, (‘where’)^a this monument is founded, forever, hereafter.^b He gave command to the king’s-companions, those who enter in^c to his majesty, the princes,¹⁴ and the great authorities of the South and North, all of them; the scribes and wise men of the house of [‘sacred writings’], to make this monument for the place of eternity in this mountain of Bekhen,¹⁵ before God’s-Land. King Ramses IV, beloved of Amon-Re, Harakhte, Min, lord of the desert, Horus, son of Osiris, and Eswere (Isis, the great); given life.

II. THE SECOND STELA^d

461. The king’s personal investigation of the quarries early in the year 2 was followed by an expedition of his officers thither, over a year and nine months later, toward the close of the year 3. The second stela was erected by this expedition which, according to the statements of the stela, was the second largest expedition of the kind in ancient Egypt, of which we have any knowledge.^e It contained no less than 8,362 men, not including 900 who died from the hardships incident to such a desert journey, and the labor of the quarry in the fierce heat of the desert.

462. After the date and introduction (§ 463) the stela naturally reverts to the king’s visit (§ 464) and the preliminary search for suitable monumental blocks (§ 465). It then records in full the personnel of the expedition. It was led

^aOr: “the true place of this monument, founded, etc.”

^bTo mark the place.

^cⲕ ⲕⲣ, lit., “enter upon;” compare Arabic **دَجَلَ عَلَى**. It probably is not connected with ⲕ ⲕⲣ, Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 46, note 1.

^dLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 219, e.

^eThe largest expedition was that of Mentuhotep IV (I, 442).

by the High Priest of Amon, Ramsesnakht, whose son Amenhotep succeeded to the same great office (§§ 486 ff.). He had under him 9 civil and military officers of rank (Nos. 2-10), 362 subordinate officers (Nos. 11-16, 18, and 21), 10 trained artificers and artists (Nos. 23, 24, 26, and 27), 130 quarrymen and stonecutters (No. 25), 50 gendarmes as police and overseers (No. 22), 2,000 slaves (No. 20), 5,000 infantry (No. 17), who, of course, assisted in the work, and 800 men of Ayan (No. 19). Their supplies were brought from Egypt by a train of ten carts and many pack-bearers.

Date and Introduction

463. The relief at the top shows Ramses IV offering Mat to the Theban triad and Bast. Behind him stand Min, Harsiese, and Isis. Below are the following twenty-two lines:

¹Year 3, second month of the third season (tenth month), day 27, under the majesty of Horus: Mighty Bull, Living Truth, Lord of Jubilees, like his father, Ptah; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Protector of Egypt, Binder of the Nine Bows; Golden Horus: Rich in Years, Great in Victory, Sovereign, Born of the Gods, ²Creator of the Two Lands; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ruler of the Nine Bows, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Might: Hekmare^a-Setepnamon; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses (IV)-Meriamon, beloved of Amon-Re, king of gods, Harakhte, Ptah-South-of-His-Wall, lord of "Life-of-the-Two-Lands," Mut, Khonsu, Min, and Harsiese; given life.

.....⁸.....^b
His heart is vigilant in the pursuit of benefactions for his father, the creator of his body, who opens for him ⁹the way to God's-Land. No one who lived (lit., was) before knew it, (for) its way is far before the 'people', and they had no desire to enter it.

^aThe first half of this name is usually Usermare, as regularly in Papyrus Harris.

^bThe omitted portion (ll. 3 to beginning of 8) contains only conventional epithets in praise of the king. It is highly improbable that any of these refer to specific occurrences, as stated by Brugsch (*Geschichte*, 620). This praise merges gradually (l. 8) into specific reference to the Hammamat expedition.

King's Journey

464. Lo, his majesty took account in his heart like his father Harsiese, and he led^a the way to the place he desired. ¹⁰He went around the august mountain, in order to make marvelous monuments for his father^b and his fathers, all the gods and goddesses of Egypt. He set up a stela^c upon this mountain, engraved with the great name of King Ramses IV,^d given life like Re.

Preliminary Search^e

465. ¹¹Lo, his majesty gave command to the scribe of the house of sacred writings, Ramses-eshehab (*R^c-ms-sw-^cš²-hb*); the scribe of 'crown possessions', Hori; the prophet of the house of Min-Harsiese in Coptos, Usermare-nakht, to seek the '—' for ¹²the "Place of Truth,"^f in the mountain of Bekhen (*Bhn*), after — — — which were very good, being great and marvelous monuments.

The Expedition

466. Then his majesty commanded to commission: 1. the first prophet of Amon, the chief of works, ¹³Ramses-nakht, triumphant, to bring them to Egypt. The butlers and nobles who were with him, were:^g

2. The king's-butler, Usermare-sekhepersu.
3. The butler, Nakhtamon.
4. The deputy of the army, Khamtir (*H^c-m-ty-r²*).

^aOr: "that he might lead, etc." The rendering of Brugsch: "how he might lay out a road, etc." (*Geschichte*, 621), cannot be gotten out of the text.

^bEither Amon or Horus (Harsiese) of Coptos.

^cThis is probably the stela of the year 2 above (§§ 459, 460).

^dDouble name.

^eIt is probable that this search took place on the first expedition at the time of the king's visit.

^fA common name of the Theban cemetery, where the building for which the materials were intended may have been located. But the reference in the stela of the year 2 (above, § 460, l. 13) would indicate that the phrase is rather a designation of some spot in the mountain at Hammamat. The uncertain word (*wp*) preceding the phrase occurs in the same connection in a short inscription left by the same expedition near our stela (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 222, i): "Year 3, second month of the third season (tenth month); his majesty commanded to bring the unknown '—' of the 'Place of Truth,' King Ramses IV."

^gOn the following list, see Brugsch, *Aegyptologie*, 228 ff.

5. The overseer of the White House, Khamtir. ^a	
6. ¹⁴ The chief of the quarry-service, mayor, Amonmose, of the city (Thebes). ^b	
7. The chief of the quarry-service, overseer of herds of "The-House-of-Usermare-Meriamon," ^c Beknekhonsu.	
8. The charioteer of the court, Nakhtamon.	
9. The scribe of the army-lists, Sule (<i>Sw-n-r</i>). ^d	
10. ¹⁵ The scribe of the deputy of the army, Ramses-nakht.	
11. Scribes of the army	20 men
12. Chiefs of the court stables	20 men
13. The chief of the commandants of the army, Kha-male (<i>H³-m-m³³-n-r³</i>)	(1 man)
14. Commandants of the infantry	20 men
15. Charioteers ¹⁶ of the chariotry	50 men
16. Chiefs of prophets, overseers of herds, prophets, scribes, inspectors	50 men
17. People of the infantry	5,000 men
18. Officers of the divisions of the court fishermen	¹⁷ 200 men
19. Eper (<i>pr</i>) of the foreigners of Ayan (<i>nw</i>)	800 men
20. People of the 'crown possessions' ^d of the house of Pharaoh	2,000 men
21. A chief deputy	1 man
22. Mazoi gendarmes (<i>Md³ y</i>)	50 men
23. Chief artificer, Nakhtamon	(1 man)
24. Master workmen of the works of the ¹⁸ quarrymen	3 men
25. Quarrymen and stonecutters	130 men
26. Draughtsmen	2 men
27. Sculptors	4 men
28. The dead who are excluded from this list ^e	900
Total	8,368 ^f

^aThis treasurer is mentioned also in a letter in Papyrus Mallet (*Recueil*, I, 51, Planches V, l. 5) from the fourth year of Ramses IV.

^bWhether it is meant that he was mayor of Thebes, or merely belonged in Thebes, is not to be determined from the text; but there probably was not a mayor of all Thebes, which had a city governor, a mayor of the east, and a mayor of the west.

^cThis is the temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu; the herd is mentioned in Papyrus Harris, 10, 7.

^dBrugsch, *Aegyptologie*, 230, note; it is possible to render "*temples*."

^eSee Spiegelberg, *Recueil*, XXI, 49.

^fThe correct total, including the ten important officials at the head (the leader

Supplies

467. ¹⁹There were transported for them supplies^a from Egypt in ten carts, there being six yoke of oxen to (each) cart, drawing (them) from Egypt to the mountain of Bekhen. ²⁰[There were] many colporteurs laden with bread, meat, and cakes, without number.

Offerings

468. There were (also) brought the oblations for the satisfaction of the gods of heaven and earth from the Southern City (Thebes). They were pure with great purity, they were '—' ²¹ — — — — 'commanded' the chief^b 'that the priests might' give '—'. Bulls were slaughtered; calves were smitten; incense, it 'streamed' to heaven; shedeh and wine, like a flood; beer 'overflowed'^c in this place; the ritual priest, his voice 'presented' the pure offering to Min, Horus, Isis, ²²[Amon, Mut, Khonsu]^d and all the gods of^e this mountain. Their hearts were glad, they received the oblations, that they might requite with myriads of jubilees, for their beloved son, King Ramses IV, given life forever.

ABYDOS STELA^f

469. This document, while it contains no important historical facts from the reign of Ramses IV, is of great psychological interest, and gives us, furthermore, one invaluable

and 9 subordinates), is 8,362. The 900 dead, as stated in the monument, are not included in this total. The scribe has made an error of 6 in the addition. Spiegelberg makes the discrepancy only 4 (*Recueil*, XXI, 49), but this is due to an error of 3 which has crept into his figures; viz., he inserts among the items two 3's, whereas there is but one 3 in the entire list. He also excludes the leader, which reduces his error to 2, making his discrepancy 4 instead of 6.

^aWhether this word (*hr't*) refers to food supplies or equipment in tools and the like is not evident. The colporteurs may have carried the food, and the ox carts the heavy tools.

^bChief (*mt*) of a priestly order or phyle (*s*²).

^c*B* ^c *h*?

^dRestored from the relief at the top of the stela; so also Brugsch (*Geschichte*, 623).

^eBrugsch emends so, or reads from a better copy; Lepsius' text is quite unintelligible.

^fStela now in Cairo, found by Mariette in Abydos; Mariette, *Abydos*, II, Pls. 34, 35 = Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 156 ff. The stela is badly weathered, and the copy of Mariette is excessively inaccurate and incomplete; Rougé is much better. I had a collation of the original by Schaefer, which he kindly placed at my disposal.

datum, the length of Ramses II's reign, sixty-seven years. The petition of Ramses IV is that he may reign as long as did Ramses II, and the manner in which he reasons with Osiris regarding his desire is of unique interest.

470. ¹Year 4, third month of the first season (first month), day 10, under the majesty of King Ramses IV^a^b ¹⁵And thou shalt give to me health, life, long existence, a prolonged reign, endurance to my every member, sight to my eyes, hearing to my ears, pleasure to my heart daily. ¹⁶And thou shalt give me to eat until I am satisfied; and thou shalt give me to drink until I am drunk; and thou shalt establish my issue (as) kings in the land, forever and ever. ¹⁷And thou shalt grant me contentment every day, and thou shalt hear my voice in every saying, when I shall tell them to thee, and thou shalt give them to me with a loving heart. And thou shalt give to me ¹⁸high and plenteous Niles, in order to supply thy divine offerings, and to supply the divine offerings of all the gods and goddesses of South and North; in order to preserve alive the ¹⁹divine bulls;^c in order to preserve alive the people of all thy lands, their cattle and their groves, which thy hand has made. ²⁰For thou art he who has made all, and thou canst not forsake them to carry out other designs with them; (for) that is not right.

471. And thou shalt be pleased with the land of Egypt, t[hy] ²¹land, in my time; and thou shalt double for me the long duration, the prolonged reign of King Ramses II, the Great God; for more are the [mighty] ²²deeds, and the benefactions which I do for thy house in order to supply thy divine offerings, in order to seek every excellent thing, every sort of benefaction to do them for thy sanctuary ²³daily during these four years,^d than those things which King Ramses II, the Great God, did for thee in his sixty-seven years. And thou shalt give to me the long existence ²⁴with the prolonged reign which thou gavest [him] as

^aFull fivefold titulary.

^bThe remainder of the first fourteen lines contains only conventional prayers of mortuary character, addressed to Osiris.

^cOf Athribis (*kmr* [sic!] *wr ntry*); see Spiegelberg, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1891, and Papyrus Harris, 30, 3 (§ 278).

^dThe four years which he has thus far reigned.

[¹king] — — upon — his^a child^b — while I sit upon his throne. For thou art he, who hast said it with ²⁵thy own mouth, and it shall not be reversed ———. ^c For thou art the great lord of Heliopolis, for thou art the ²⁶great lord of Thebes, for thou art the great lord of Memphis. Thou art he in whom is might, and that which thou doest is that which shall come to pass. Give to me ²⁷the reward of the great deeds which I have done for thee, even life, prosperity and health, long existence, and a [prolonged] reign; and thou shalt make — the limbs and preserve the members, ²⁸being with me as my good guardian and excellent protector. And thou shalt [¹give to] me every [¹land] and every [¹country] — — — — — that I may present their tribute to thy ka and to thy name.

BUILDING INSCRIPTION OF THE KHONSU-TEMPLE

472. Ramses III left the Khonsu-temple at Karnak, for the most part, incomplete. The chambers in the rear were then finished by Ramses IV,^d including the smaller hypostyles, which contain the following dedication:^e

Lord of the Two Lands: Hekmare-Setepnamon; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses-Meriamon (Ramses IV); he made (it) as his monument for his father, Khonsu; making for him a temple, excellent, beautiful, enduring forever.

^aMariette has "thy;" Rougé, "his."

^bThis passage is now lost as far as "²⁵it," inclusive.

^cTraces.

^dSee Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III.

^eChampollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 239; ceiling in the "galerie de droite" of the inner hypostyle. The remains of a sandstone obelisk found in Cairo, and now in the museum there, contain a dedication by Ramses IV, as follows: "*He made (it) as a monument for his father, Re, making for him a great obelisk, the name of which is 'Ramses-is-a-Child-of-the-Gods'*" (Daressy, *Annales*, IV).

REIGN OF RAMSES V

TOMB DEDICATION

473. Of the nine Ramessids who ruled after Ramses III the tombs of six^a in the Valley of the Kings' Tombs are known. As a specimen of the dedication inscriptions the following of Ramses V may serve:^b

Live Horus: Mighty Bull, Great in Victory, Sustaining Alive the Two Lands; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Mighty in Strength, Repulser of Millions; Golden Horus: Rich in Years, like Tatenen (Ptah), Sovereign, Lord of Sed Jubilees, Protector of Egypt, Filling Every Land with Great Monuments in His Name; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Nibmare-Meriamon; Son of Re, of His Body, His Beloved, Lord of Diadems: Amonhirkhepeshef-Ramses (V)-Neterhekon, given life, like Re, forever. He made (it) as his monument for his fathers, the gods of the Nether World, making for them a new title,^c in order that their names might be renewed; that they may give very many jubilees upon the Horus-throne of the living, every country beneath his feet, like Re, forever.

^aAccording to Baedeker (1902), these are numbered as follows: Ramses IV (Hekmare), No. 2; Ramses VI (Nibmare), No. 9; Ramses IX (Neferkere), No. 6; Ramses X (Yetamon-Neterhekon), No. 1; Ramses XI (Khepermare), No. 18; Ramses XII (Menmare), No. 4. In Baedeker's list the name of Ramses XII (given as Neferkere) is to be corrected to Menmare.

^bLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III.

^c*Syp't* (see I, 178), meaning a title to land.

REIGN OF RAMSES VI

TOMB OF PENNO^a

474. This official of the Pharaoh lived at Derr in Nubia, where there was a temple to Re or Horus built by Ramses II.

Penno was "*deputy of Wawat*," as his chief office; but he was also "*chief of the quarry-service, steward of Horus, lord of Miam*" (*My^c-t*),^b so that he had charge of the quarry operations in Wawat, as well as the administration of the property of the Horus-temple at Derr, called at that time Miam (*My^c m*).

His relatives filled important local offices at Ibrim: two of them were "*treasurer of the Lord of the Two Lands in Miam (Ibrim)*,"^c another was "*scribe of the White House and mayor of Ibrim*."^c They thus had charge in the local administration of the treasury, which we see was organized in Nubia just as in Egypt at this period. The inscriptions in the tomb furnish a valuable glimpse of the life of the local Egyptian official in Nubia, as well as of the organization of the country and the conditions under Egyptian rule.

475. Penno had erected a statue of Ramses VI, which stood in the temple of Ramses II at Derr; and as a reward the Pharaoh sent him two vessels of silver. This great distinction is portrayed by Penno in his tomb.^d He shows there, not merely his own reception of the two vessels from the viceroy of Kush, but the latter also, in the act of receiving the vessels from the Pharaoh, to be conveyed to Nubia.

^aHewn in the cliff at Ibrim, in Nubia; published by Lepsius, as indicated below. I am also indebted to Steindorff for a collation of Lepsius' plates with the original.

^bLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 229, b.

^c*Ibid.*, 231, a.

^d*Ibid.*, 230.

Relief Scenes

476. Before Ramses VI enthroned, stands the king's-son of Kush, and the accompanying inscriptions record the following:

Inscriptions

Said his majesty to the king's-son of Kush: "Give the two silver vessels (*ṯbw*) of ointment of gums, to the deputy."

To which the king's-son of Kush replies:

"I will do (so); lo, the happy day shall be celebrated in every land."

Relief Scene

477. We now see the viceroy, after his arrival in Ibrim, presenting the two vases to Penno. The viceroy stands before the statue of Ramses VI, of which Penno has charge. Behind him is his steward, bearing a roll of papyrus. Penno, accompanied by two priests, stands before them, bearing in his uplifted hands two bowls containing cakes of ointment, which must be the vessels referred to in the inscriptions. The viceroy addresses Penno as follows:

Inscriptions

May Amon-Re, king of gods, favor thee! May Montu, lord of Hermonthis, favor thee! May the ka of Pharaoh, L. P. H., thy good lord, favor thee, who caused thee to fashion the statue of Ramses VI, son of Amon, lovely like Horus, lord of Miam (*My^c m*) ———. ^a

Hearken, O deputy of Wawat, Penno, to Amon in Karnak. These things were spoken in the court of Pharaoh, thy good lord: "May Amon-Re, king of gods, favor thee! May Harakhte favor thee! May Montu favor thee! May the ka of Pharaoh, L. P. H., thy good lord, favor thee, who is satisfied with that which thou doest in the countries of the 'Negroes'^b and in the country of Akati (*ʿ-k ʿ-ty*). Thou causest

^aHere the artist has neglected to engrave the signs of nearly an entire line, leaving them only painted. They have now disappeared, leaving at the bottom of the line the isolated words: "he slays the rebellious."

^b*Nhy*.

to bring them as captives before Pharaoh, L. P. H., thy good lord, in giving thy payment [—1.]” Behold, I give to thee thy two vessels (*ṯw*) of silver, that thou mayest anoint thyself with gums. Increase thou [— — —] in the land of Pharaoh, L. P. H., wherein thou art.

478. The response of Penno, which is very brief, is badly preserved, but contained only a greeting “*for Pharaoh, L. P. H., my good lord.*”

The lands furnishing the income for the maintenance of the offerings presented to Ramses VI's statue were also recorded by Penno in his tomb, the inscription^a doubtless being a copy of the official records regarding them. The lands comprised five different parcels, each of which is carefully demarked by four boundaries, enumerated as East, South, North, and West.

Title

479. ¹Domain of the statue of Ramses VI,^b which rests in Miam (*My^c t*).^c

First District

District north of “Ramses-Meriamon-²in-the-House-of-Re,”^d the town; opposite the house of Re, lord of the eastern bend.^e

Boundaries

The South is the lands of the domain of the ³King's-Wife, Nefretiri, which rests in Miam (*My^c t*).

^aLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 229, c; I was able to control Lepsius' copy and to fill up some of the lacunæ from a photograph by Graf Grünau, but it was too small to establish a final text in badly preserved places.

^bFull name given is: “*Amonhirkhepeshef-Ramses-Nuter-Ruler-of-Heliopolis.*”

^cUnquestionably identical with the form *My^c m* (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 115, tomb of Huy; cf. II, 1037). See also Brugsch, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1882, 31.

^dThis is the name of Ramses II's temple at Derr (see III, 503, and Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique*, 247); the words, “*the town,*” are added to distinguish it from the temple. The scribe means the town, and not the temple.

^eThe Nile makes an immense bend to the east just below Derr; the “*House-of-Re*” may be the temple of I. 1, or some small, now vanished chapel of the local Re.

The East is the desert.

The North is the flax fields of Pharaoh, L. P. H.

The West is the Nile.

Area

Three khet.

Second District

480. 4District of the [—] behind the land of Miyu (*My-yw*) in the lands of the deputy of Wawat.^a

Boundaries

The South is the lands ⁵of the domain of the statue under charge of the first prophet, Amenemopet.

The East is the great mountain.

The North is the flax fields ⁶of Pharaoh, L. P. H., which are in the lands of the deputy of Wawat.

The West is the Nile.

Area

Two khet.

Third District

481. 7District of the house of the goddess, east of the lands which are [—], and east of the great mountain.^b

Boundaries

The South is the lands ⁸of the domain of the statue under charge of the deputy of Wawat, Meri.

The East is the great mountain.

The North is the lands ⁹of the herdman, Bahu (*B³-hw*).

The West is the Nile.

Area

Four khet.

Fourth District

482. District of the domain of Tehenut (*Tyhnwt*) ¹⁰at the western limit of the nome of Tehenut, in the flax fields of Pharaoh, L. P. H., together with ¹¹the lands which are [—].

^aMeaning among the lands rented by or under charge of the deputy; the same in l. 6.

^bThis datum seems a contradiction of the one in l. 8, that the mountain was the eastern boundary of the land.

Boundaries

The East is the great mountain.

The South is the flax fields of Pharaoh, L. P. H., east ¹²of the great mountain.

The North is the field of the Arasa (ᵐ-rᵐ-sᵐ).

The West is the Nile.

Area

Six khet.

Summary

Total lands ¹³given ¹to¹ it:^a fifteen khet,^b which makes ¹—¹ upper fields. The scribe ¹of¹ its domain, the deputy, Penno (*Pn-nw-t*), ¹⁴son of Herunofer (*Hrw-nfr*) of Wawat, has ¹—¹ (them), as fields ¹rented¹ to him, to pay^c ¹⁵to it one ox, slaughtered yearly.

Fifth District

483. District in the ¹—¹ fields which are under control of ¹⁶the deputy of Wawat, not on the roll (above).

Boundaries

Its West is in ¹front^{1d} of the gravelly ground of the deputy, Penno.

¹⁷The South is the gravelly ground of the deputy, Penno.

The North is the ¹—¹ fields which are in the ¹domain¹ of the Pharaoh, L. P. H.

¹⁸The East is in front of the gravelly [ground] of the deputy, Penno.

Area

¹Eight¹ khet.

Curse on Violator

As for anyone who ¹⁹shall disregard it, Amon, king of gods, shall pursue him, Mut shall pursue his wife, Khonsu shall pursue ²⁰his children; he shall hunger, he shall thirst, he shall faint and sicken.

^aThe statue.

^bMr. Griffith's statement (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 14, 418), that the "spaces between the notches" are to be counted, seems to be an oversight, for the total amounts to 19 by so counting. The notches themselves, however, amount to 15.

^cOn *j*, "pay," see Spiegelberg, *Rechnungen*, 53.

^dSteindorff has a sign like *grg*, which may be *ḫᵐt*, "*front*."

REIGN OF RAMSES VII

STELA OF HORI^a

484. This little stela records a commission intrusted by this almost unknown Pharaoh to Hori, his personal scribe, who is dispatched from Busiris to Abydos to pray at the great temple of Osiris, that the king may be given a long reign.

Above is a mortuary prayer in the name of Osiris of Abydos, Onouris of Thinis, Osiris of Busiris, Harendotes, and Eswere on behalf of King Usermare-Ikhnamon, Ramses (VII)-Menthirkhepeshef-Meriamon, who is also represented offering in a relief at the top. Then follows Hori's statement.

485. The scribe of Pharaoh, L. P. H., Hori, triumphant; he says: "I am a servant of thy^b city (*nw't*), Busiris, thy city (*dmy*), which is in the Northland (Delta). I am the son of a servant of thy house, the scribe of Pharaoh, L. P. H., the favorite of Abydos, Pakauti (*P' - k' wt' yw*), son of Seny (*Sny*), thy servant. I have been brought from my city of the Northland to thy city, Abydos, being a messenger of Pharaoh, L. P. H., your^c servant. I have come to worship before you^c and to beseech for him jubilees. Ye will hear his prayers, according as he is profitable to your ka's, and ye will accept me from the hand of Pharaoh, L. P. H., and my lord, L. P. H., and ye will give to me favor before him daily. 'Make your designs, I will cherish (them)^d. It is said: 'Who can reverse your plans?' Ye are the lords of heaven, earth, and the Nether World, and men do as ye say. And ye will give mortuary offerings of bread and beer, and a sweet north wind for my father, Pakauti, and his son, the scribe of Pharaoh, Hori, triumphant."^d

^aUnpublished stela in the Berlin Museum, No. 2081 (*Ausführliches Verzeichniss des Berliner Museums*, 133). I had my own copy of the original.

^bMeaning Osiris, whom he addresses.

^cPlural.

^dNames of other relatives follow.

REIGN OF RAMSES IX

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE HIGH PRIEST OF AMON AMENHOTEP

486. The high priests of Amon continued to extend their power and influence under Ramses IX. This process was sometimes accompanied by violence and insurrection. A woman testifying in a case which occurred in this reign, and desirous of dating a theft in her father's house, refers very significantly to the occasion when the theft took place:

^aExamination: the Theban woman, Mutemuya, the wife of the sacred scribe, Nesuamon, was brought in; the oath of the king, L. P. H., not to lie, was administered to her. She was asked: "What hast thou to say?" She said: "When the revolt of the High Priest of Amon took place, this man stole some things of my father."

487. This may have been our High Priest Amenhotep, or possibly the affair belongs before his time. The records left by this powerful official significantly continue those of the High Priest of Amon, Roy, at the close of the Nineteenth Dynasty (III, 618-29). No connection can be traced between Roy and the high priests of the Twentieth Dynasty, unless we find it in the fact that the second prophet, who accompanies Roy on the Karnak wall, was named Beknekhonsu (§ 620), while the High Priest of Amon under Ramses III was also a Beknekhonsu.^b The latter must have been succeeded by Ramsesnakht, whose father, Meribast, was not High Priest, and must have belonged to a collateral branch of the family. Ramsesnakht was the father

^aPapyrus, British Museum, No. 10053; Spiegelberg, *Recueil*, 19, 91.

^bSee his statue found in the Mut-temple (Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 343-47).

of our High Priest Amenhotep (§ 489, ll. 23, 24). He lived under Ramses III and IV, appearing as High Priest in year 3 of Ramses IV (§ 466), and was succeeded in the high priesthood by his son Nesuamon, whose brother, our Amenhotep, a second son of Ramsesnakht, followed Nesuamon in the great office.^a

I. BUILDING INSCRIPTIONS

488. In continuance of the privilege already gained by the high priests of Amon under the Pharaohs of the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty, Amenhotep, High Priest under Ramses IX, undertook the rebuilding of the High Priest's dwelling, connected with the Karnak temple of Amon. It had been erected by Sesostri I, some eight hundred years earlier. The kitchen, or refectory, had been solidly rebuilt by Roy, nearly a hundred years before, but the dwelling itself was now in a ruinous state. It stood on the south of the sacred lake (l. 7), east of the southern pylons, and its scanty remains were found there by Mariette.^b At the east end of the neighboring pylon (VIII), by the similar record of Roy (III, 619-26), Amenhotep inscribed the following record^c of his building:

^aSee Legrain, *Recueil*, 27, 71.

^bSee Mariette, *Karnak*, 11. This must be the strange building south of the lake (Mariette's plan, Pl. 2, R), the purpose of which was left uncertain by Mariette. He afterward (*op. cit.*, 62, 63) suggests this building as the one meant in our inscription, but strangely states that our inscription furnishes no indication of the location of the building, although it clearly states that the building overlooked the southern lake (l. 7). See also the following note, and Maspero's remarks (*Momies royales*, 670, 671).

^cMariette, *Karnak*, Pl. 40; Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 202, 203; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1322-24; Maspero, *Momies royales*, 669, 670 (partially); the inscription is on the inside (west) of the wall connecting pylons VII and VIII, at the point marked *h* on Mariette's plan (*Karnak*, Pl. 2). Other references to the High Priest Amenhotep's buildings have recently been discovered (by Legrain, *Annales*, V, 21) in which he refers to "*bringing artificers in every great work, that I might build the great place south of the [lake]*" — *I built this* '—' (determina-

489. ¹The assistant^a whom his majesty taught, the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Amenhotep, triumphant, made it; to wit: I found this pure dwelling of the high priests ²of Amon of former time, which is in the house of Amon-Re, king of gods, beginning to fall to ruin, while that which had been made in the time of King ³Kheperkere, Son of Re, Sesostri (I), was ⁴(still) complete¹. ⁵Then I¹ built it anew with fine work and excellent workmanship. ⁶I made thick its walls from its rear to its front. I built thoroughly upon it, I made its columns ⁷and doorposts of great stones of excellent workmanship. I set up great doors of cedar, bound. I built thoroughly upon its ⁸great lintel of stone which looks ⁹'outward', built — ¹⁰'high —' the High Priest of Amon, who is^b in the house of Amon. I ¹¹'mounted' its great door of —, ¹²with bolts of copper and inlay-figures of fine gold and [silver] —. I built its great ¹³'courses'^c (*d² d³ w*) of stone, which opens toward the southern lake, upon the pure — ¹⁴of the house of Amon. I surrounded [it with a wall] of brick. I erected its great ¹⁵'carvings'^d of stone ¹⁶'at the doorposts' — ¹⁷doors of cedar. I — — — of great stones, dragged and cut as ¹⁸'— — —' with ¹⁹the royal titulary in the great name of Pharaoh, my [lord. I] built a treasury of ²⁰'brick' anew in the great hall, the name of which is — — — ²¹columns of stone, and doors of cedar, inscribed with ²²'— — —' ²³his majesty; it was the rear of the storehouse of the dues of Amon — — — ²⁴the great and august court, each High Priest of Amon — — — ²⁵every[thing] good and pure. I appointed its chiefs — — — ²⁶'— — —' ²⁷taking the — — — ²⁸of stone, doors of cedar. I — — — ²⁹Ishru, they were [planted with] trees — — — ³⁰Pharaoh, my lord, to cause them to be given to Mut, the great, the —, that she might receive them, — — — ³¹as benefactions for Amon-Re, king of gods, my lord. I know that he is great, that he ³²'teaches

tive, two houses) of the House of Amon anew; I made its double doors, wrought of meru wood, the inlay-figures of fine gold — — —." The "great place" must be the refectory, and its location is probably indicated as south of the lake.

^aSee the same phrase, II, 28.

^cSee § 355, l. 12.

^bOr: "shall be."

^dHty; see § 380, l. 15.

^eThree lines are here lacking, not noted by Mariette (Maspero, *Momies royales*, 670, n. 1); but according to Rougé four lines are here lost (Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 203); for convenience I have retained Mariette's numbering.

— —¹ ²²saying: "Thou art the Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of [Diadems] 'Ramses (IX)¹, L. P. H., a long term of life [—] for King Ramses IX, and may he grant to me life, health, a long term of life, ²³an old age of favor before Pharaoh, my lord. The High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Amen-²⁴hotep, son of the High Priest of Amon, Ramses-nakht, made (it)."

490. Another building inscription,^a which almost certainly belongs to our High Priest, records works in the mortuary temples of the Ramessids, especially those of Ramses III and Ramses VI. Fragmentary as the inscription is, it shows that the High Priest's title, "*chief of all the works of the king*," gave him full charge of the building connected with the old temples.

491. ¹ — his way, doing excellent things in the house [of Amon] his [father] ² — myriads of — after old age [—] ³ — Amon-Re, king of gods — of "The-House-of-Millions-of-Years-of-King-Ramses VI" ⁴ — ["The-House-of-Millions-of-Years]-of-King-Usermare-Meriamon (Ramses III)-in-the-House-of-Amon" — — — — — repeating ⁵ — ["The-House-of-Millions-of-Years-of-King] — -in-the-House-of-Amon-on-the-West-of-Thebes." His majesty repeated — — — — — ⁶ — the [place] of rest which my father made on the west of Thebes in — — — — of Pharaoh ⁷ — within of fine gold, genuine lapis lazuli and malachite — — — — marvels ⁸ — great and august amulets which I made for Amon-Re, king of gods, the ⁹ — likewise, in the name of Amon-Re, king of gods, correct [— —] ¹⁰ — great 'works' which I made, established^b in — forever ¹¹ — 'I' am he who gives 'oil', incense, honey, — garlands ¹² — giving [—] to his 'every temple storehouse' — — — — ¹³ — [— —] I 'finish' it, praise [to] Re — — — — — ¹⁴ —. It is for the gold-house of Amon-Re, king of gods, in order to give — — — — — ¹⁵ — which they made. The high priests of Amon-[Re, king of

^aFound by Mariette in the chapel of the high priests, east of the sacred lake at Karnak (*g* on his plan, *Karnak*, Pl. 2); published by Mariette, *Karnak*, Pl. 39; corrections by Maspero, *Momies royales*, 668.

^b*Smnḥ* is probable from the photograph.

gods] have not [done the like¹] — — — ¹⁶ — — — 'which I have¹ done during five years that Amon-Re, king of gods, my lord, might give to me, life, health, long existence, and a good old age ¹⁷ [as reward for¹] the many benefactions and [—] fatigues which I have made for him in his house ¹⁸ — — — it. He spends eight months of days therein, while I [carry¹] it [around¹], bearing him excellently —. I ¹⁹ — — — [Thou art my¹] lord, I am thy servant, while I endure fatigues for thee — — — ²⁰ — — — Amon-Re, king of gods, hear my voice [draw near¹], let him not turn back — [—] ²¹ — — — the transgressor,^a I will report to Pharaoh, my lord, [who¹] will give ²² — — — ["The-House-of]-King —^bin-the-House-of-Amon," "The-House-of-Usermare-Meriamon (Ramses III)-in-the-House-of-Amon-on-the-West-of-Thebes," — — the place ²³ — — — the high priests of Amon who shall come after me. Do not do this ²⁴ — — — transgressing against it, the transgressor who shall come, he shall not hinder ²⁵ — — — many generations in his house [—] — — — ²⁶ —³⁰. ³¹ — — — of the gods of Ramses (II)-Meriamon [in] Memphis, king's-scribe, steward — [—] — —.

II. RECORDS OF REWARDS^d

492. As a reward for his pious work of rebuilding in the Karnak temple, Amenhotep was summoned by the king to the temple court, where, at the hands of the nobles and the chief treasurer, by the personal orders of the king, he was decorated with gold collars in the conventional manner. Splendid vessels of gold and silver, costly unguents, food and drink were also given him. In the king's address of praise

^aOr: "he (him) who transgresses against me."

^bThe vertical cartouche shows an *n* at the bottom.

^cOr: "who shall come after me in doing these things" (the duties of the office).

^dKarnak temple, wall scene by Pylon VIII, on east side of wall, connecting east ends of Pylons VII and VIII; published by Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, Pl. 42; the inscriptions alone; Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 200, 201; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1318, 1319. None of the publications shows the lower portions, only recently excavated. For these I had a photograph by Borchardt (Berlin, No. 5461), which was on too small a scale to insure certain readings, but enabled me to trace the drift of the newly uncovered portion.

to the first prophet, certain dues formerly paid to the palace are now to be paid to the High Priest. Unfortunately this, the most important portion of the document, is so obscurely worded that it is difficult to discern its exact purport. But it probably refers to the portion of the royal impost which, when collected by the king's officers and paid into his treasury, had then formerly been paid to Amon. Such impost is now placed directly in the hands of the High Priest, who can collect it from the people into the temple treasury, without its passing through the royal treasury. This enactment was either twice recorded, or it was repeated and made more sweeping in its scope; for Amenhotep has twice represented the scene of his royal rewards on the temple walls, each time accompanied by this enactment of the king, though in varying language.^a In both scenes, contrary to the immemorial custom that the representations of the king should show him of heroic stature, towering far above his court and officers; the High Priest is here represented with the same heroic figure as the king. The high priests are gradually rising to equal the power and state of the Pharaoh. In keeping with this is the special mention by Amenhotep, in both scenes, of the fact that he inherited his office from his father, Ramsesnakht.

Scene

493. King Ramses IX^b stands, scepter in hand, addressing two officials, who are supposed to be hanging golden collars upon the neck of the High Priest of Amon, Amenhotep.

^aI have not given the duplicate separate treatment, but the variants from it have been inserted in the notes indicated by "variant." The inscriptions are published by Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1319 f. For the lower portions, not accessible in Brugsch's day, I had a photograph (Berlin, No. 5462), which was too small to insure certain readings everywhere.

^bHis throne-name, *Nfr-k R -Stp-n-R*, is engraved over his head.

The latter is represented, however, with the same heroic stature as the king,^a and is, therefore, so tall that the two officials are able to reach but a short way above his waist. Before the king are six stands, bearing sacks of gold, metal vessels, collars, etc. The inscriptions are these:

Before the King

494. ¹The king himself, he said to the princes and companions who were at his side: ^b"Give many favors and numerous rewards of fine gold, silver, ²and myriads of all good things, to the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Amenhotep, triumphant, because of the many excellent monuments which he has made in the house of Amon-Re, king of gods, in (*hr*) the great name of the Good God."^c

By the High Priest

495. Hereditary prince,^d count, High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Amenhotep, triumphant, is in the place of his father, the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, in Karnak, Ramsesnakht, triumphant.

Over the High Priest

¹Year 10, third month of the first season (third month), nineteenth day, in the house of Amon-Re, king of gods. The High Priest of Amon, king of gods, Amenhotep, triumphant, was conducted to^e the great forecourt of ²Amon, called: "One-Tells-His-Praise,"^f in order to praise him with goodly and choice speech.^g The nobles who came forth to praise him were:^h

The treasurer of Pharaoh, ³the king's-butler, Amenhotep, triumphant.

^aDümichen wrongly represents him as smaller than the king.

^bVariant inserts: "*May Amon-Re, king of gods, favor thee.*"

^cThe concluding words were not read by Brugsch in the first relief, but Dümichen has as above. The variant confirms it, as the photograph shows "*his majesty.*"

^dThe second relief inserts: "*favorite of his lord.*"

^e*Hr*; variant, *r*. ^f*Hrtw hsw t-j*; Brugsch's *hrtw-j* is incorrect.

^gVariant connects the preceding and the following, and had a different list of persons, thus: "——— *goodly and choice [speech], by the scribe, Khonsu* ———."

^hThese are the same officials whom we find in Papyrus Abbott (§ 511).

The king's-butler, Nesuamon.

The scribe of Pharaoh, the king's-butler, Neferkere-em-Per-Amon, the herald of Pharaoh.

496. The things said to him as favor and praise on this day, in the great court of ⁵Amon-Re, king of gods, saying:

"May Montu favor thee! May the ka of Amon-Re, king of gods, Pere-Harakhte, ⁶Ptah, the great, "South-of-His-Wall," lord of "Life-of-the-Two-Lands," Thoth, lord of divine words, the gods of the heaven, and the gods of the earth favor thee! ⁷May the ka of Ramses IX favor thee, the great ruler of Egypt, the beloved child ⁸of all the gods, ^abecause of the ¹'completion' of every work!"

497. ^b"The harvests, the exactions of the impost ⁹of the people of the house of Amon-Re, king of gods, shall be under thy charge, and thine shall be the tribute in full according to their sums.^c Thou shalt give^d ¹⁰their —, causing that they should form ¹¹'part' of the court of the treasuries, storehouses, and granaries of the house ¹²of Amon-Re, king of gods; thus from the tribute of the heads and hands ¹³'shall be' the sustenance of Amon-Re, king of gods, ¹⁴which thou didst ('formerly') cause to be delivered to^f Pharaoh, thy lord, the deed of a good servant, profitable ¹⁵to Pharaoh, his lord; he being mighty to do benefactions for Amon-Re, king of gods, ¹⁶the great god; and to do benefactions

^aFrom here on, variant was evidently quite different. It has: "——— the beloved child of [all] the [gods] ——— gold, the vessels ——— gold, the ——— the deed of a [good] servant ———" cf. l. 12 below); while in the context of l. 12 (below) were the words: "——— thy completion ———." The praise in l. 8 has, in the variant, been partially transferred to l. 12; and that in l. 12 has, in the variant, been partially transferred to l. 8.

^bVariant, "The harvests and exactions of the house of Amon ———."

^cOr: "heaps."

^dThe variant of this passage was not uncovered in Brugsch's day; the photograph is very indistinct, but it will be seen that the variant shows important divergencies here; and has transferred this passage to the end. It has: "——— He fills the ¹'breweries' with all his things, ²'he being the lord of' heaps of things, together with the gifts — — — ³'which' Pharaoh, thy lord, makes in the house of the ⁴'great' god — —. Thus from the tribute of [the heads and hands] ⁵'shall be' the sustenance, which thou didst ('formerly') cause¹ to be delivered into the halls of the king's-house. The many, mighty deeds, the many, many benefactions, which thou doest in the house of the great god ⁶'——— ————'."

^eThe uncertain word represents two in the original, viz., "the side;" their connection here is quite obscure.

^fVariant, "——— Pharaoh, for his treasuries and storehouses ———."

for Pharaoh, his lord — ¹⁵— which thou doest. Now, behold, command has been given to the overseer of the White House, the butler of Pharaoh, ^a ¹⁶and all [the princes], ^b to give to thee praise, to anoint thee with sweet oil of gums, and to give [to thee] the vessels of gold and silver, [the reward of] the servant of Pharaoh, thy lord, given to him as a favor [of the king's-presence] — the — of Amon on this day —.

Below the Scene^c

498. Given as a favor of the king's-presence to the great favorite of the Lord of the Two Lands, the High Priest of Amon, king of gods, Amenhotep, triumphant:

Fine gold in —————	—
—————	—
Total, fine gold	—
Sweet beer [—] — [jars]	40
Sweet oil of gums: hin	2

That which was said to him: one (viz., the king) spake to cause the Pharaoh's scribe of rolls to come forth. One spake [to] the overseers of the granaries of Pharaoh — in — of this — by Amenhotep, triumphant, — — —.

THE RECORDS OF THE ROYAL TOMB-ROBBERIES

499. The papyrus records which inform us of the robberies among the royal tombs of this period, while they are strictly legal documents, afford so many valuable glimpses into the historical conditions under the later Ramessids that

^aHere follow two lines below the uplifted arm of the High Priest, of which Brugsch saw only the first three words, now appearing at the end of his copy, in the wrong place.

^bThe legs of the figure for "*prince*" (*sr*) are probable in the photograph. "*Thy lord*" (following "*Pharaoh*") is impossible, owing to lack of determinative after it (*nb*), as regularly in this inscription.

^cThis inscription of three lines is unpublished. It is badly mutilated, and from the small-scale photograph little can be made of it. The variant also shows three similar lines below the scene, which contain a list of the gifts; but it is badly mutilated and not readable in the photograph. It begins quite differently from the above list.

they cannot be omitted from this historical series. The riches lying in the royal tombs, in the form of splendid regalia adorning the dead, rich coffins, and elaborate furniture, which had been accumulating for five hundred years, furnished an irresistible motive for the violation of such tombs. How far the corrupt officials, by indirect connivance, may have been involved in such robberies we cannot now determine. In our first document there are indications that all was not as it should have been among the officials of the government. Their apparent helplessness, and total inability properly to protect the necropolis, however interpreted, are clear evidence of the decadence in government now in progress. A coffin in the British Museum, doubtless of this age, furnishes significant evidence of the conditions in the Theban necropolis, as shown by the following remark,^a recorded upon it by a scribe:

Year 3, fourth month of the first season, day 15; day of renewing the burial of Osiris, Tesitnakht (*T³-s²-t-nht*); after it had been found, the children of the cemetery having taken its coffins and violated the name thereof. They were restored again.

500. While Thebes as a whole was under the vizier as its governor, the main city, on the east side, was under a mayor; at this time a noble, named Peser. The west side was, likewise, under the control of a second mayor, who was also responsible for the necropolis. Under Ramses IX he was a certain Pewero. Peser, mayor of the east side, had in some way gained information of robberies among the royal tombs and he promptly handed in his information to the vizier, as

^aBritish Museum coffin, No. 15659; Budge, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, Cambridge, 1893, 18. An inspection of a file of court documents recording prosecution of tomb-robbers took place in year 6, of an unknown king, and the scribe's report on the inspection of the two jars containing the file is preserved in a papyrus in Vienna (Brugsch, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1876, Taf. 1; Erman, *Aegypten*, 167).

was his duty. The duty was probably not an unwelcome one, for he seems to have had no love for his rival, Pewero, whose administration of the necropolis he was thus able to compromise.

501. Pursuant to this information, the vizier sent a commission to inspect the cemetery, on the eighteenth of Hathor, in the sixteenth year of Ramses IX. Their report covered ten royal tombs, four tombs of the singing-women of the Amon-temples, and a number of tombs of the nobles and people, the exact number of which is not stated. The last were all found to have been plundered; two of the four tombs of the singing-women were in the same condition; but of the royal tombs, only one, that of Sebekemsaf, had been robbed, although two had been unsuccessfully mined into by the robbers. The part of the royal cemetery visited was the district of Drah abu-'n-Neggah, on the northern margin of the western plain of Thebes, and the royal tombs inspected were those of the Eleventh, Thirteenth, Seventeenth, and early Eighteenth Dynasties. The report on them, besides being historically valuable, affords a most interesting glimpse into the royal cemetery at this time. Perhaps the most remarkable reference in it is the description of the stela of Intef I's pyramid, bearing in relief the figure of the king, with his hound Behka between his feet (§ 514, ll. 9-11). This very stela was found by Mariette still bearing the figure of the king, and the hound with the name Behka inscribed beside it (I, 421 ff.), as described in the report of three thousand years ago.

502. Luckily for Pewero, he was able to locate the thieves, in any case he handed in to the vizier a list of their names. The next day, the nineteenth of Hathor, the vizier, Khamwese, and the Pharaoh's secretary, Nesuamon, examined the eight men accused of robbing the tomb of Sebekemsaf.

They confessed, and their story of the robbery is one of the most remarkable documents surviving from ancient Egypt (§ 538). To make the matter certain, the vizier and the Pharaoh's secretary crossed the river with them and made them show where the tomb of Sebekemsaf was located (§ 517). A similar test applied to a coppersmith who had confessed to robbing the tomb of Queen Isis, wife of Ramses III, indicated that the man knew nothing of this queen's tomb, and had evidently confessed that he might be momentarily relieved of the torture. As a matter of fact, the tomb of Queen Isis had been robbed by eight thieves, who can hardly be any other than the eight robbers of Sebekemsaf's tomb, although this fact was not discovered until the next year (§§ 542, 543). Then followed an inspection of "*The Place of Beauty*," a portion of the cemetery where the families of the Pharaohs were buried; they were found to be uninjured. Regarding the royal tombs as the most important, the officials of the necropolis considered the fact that nine of the ten reported robbed were found uninjured, as a great victory for the administration of the necropolis. They therefore sent the whole body of the necropolis employees over to the east side as an embassy of triumph. Some of these rejoicing subordinates went to the house of the mayor of the east side, Peser, who had furnished the information against them to the vizier, and loudly exulted before his door. Meeting three of them in the streets in the evening, Peser was unable to control his anger and, in the presence of witnesses, quarreled with them, told them their inspection of the necropolis was a farce, and accused them vaguely in grave charges, of which he said he was about to send notice to the Pharaoh. This was irregular, as all such charges could legally be reported only to the vizier.

503. Hearing of his enemy's charges immediately, Pewero

was quick to see the opportunity of again humiliating Peser. He reported the whole affair in a long letter to the vizier, dated the next day, the twentieth of Hathor. The vizier called the case the following morning, the twenty-first of Hathor, and, incensed at Peser's reflections upon an inspection which had been sent out from his office and partially conducted by him, the vizier quickly brought the proceedings to a close by summoning the three coppersmiths whom Peser had accused of robbing the ten royal tombs, and placed them at the disposition of the court; at the same time introducing the evidence of his own personal knowledge, gained on his visit to the necropolis. The unhappy Peser, who was himself a judge, and sitting on the bench with his colleagues in this case, was obliged to see the coppersmiths acquitted in their examination, which now followed. Whether he suffered any penalty for his indiscretion is not evident, but his allegations regarding the cemetery were all declared untrue, while the vague charges which he had threatened to make to the Pharaoh were ignored, as they had no legal status at all, unless presented in writing before the vizier.

504. It is clear that the state of affairs in the cemetery was sufficiently bad to justify charges against the officials of the necropolis, and although all the tombs indicated by Peser had not been robbed, the investigation had overlooked the robbery of at least one tomb, that of Queen Isis, so that the action of the vizier in completely exonerating Pewero was not justifiable, and arouses the suspicion that there was some reason for such action not apparent on the surface. It certainly was not calculated to preserve the royal burials from similar depredations in the future.

505. The results were, therefore, what might have been anticipated. Three years later, in the nineteenth year of

Ramses IX, just after he had associated with himself his son Ramses X as coregent, Pewero, the mayor of the West, who had learned wisdom, handed in to the vizier a list of sixteen people to be tried for robbery in the necropolis; while less than two months later he reported twenty-nine more, whom we find on the docket. Twenty days later six^a of these men were convicted of robbing the tombs of Seti I and Ramses II. This robbery, therefore, carries us for the first time^b from the western plain of Thebes to the Valley of the King's Tombs behind the western cliffs. The robberies were, therefore, spreading from the modest pyramids of the kings just before and after the Twelfth Dynasty in the plain, to the magnificent and, of course, more richly equipped cliff-tombs of the great emperors in the valley behind. Five more men were tried two days later and found innocent.

506. Eight months now elapsed without apparent disturbance among the royal tombs; but the usual contingent of tomb-robbers then appears on the court docket, this time numbering twenty-two persons (two women), who had robbed "*the tomb of Pharaoh.*" Which royal tomb is thus designated we do not know, but a thief, whose confession follows the above list of names, states that he robbed the tomb of a Queen Nesimut, and also that of Queen Bekurel, wife of Seti I. Twenty-seven days later a long list of robbers, the wives of eleven of whom were also implicated, and imprisoned, fills the docket, and a fragmentary record of uncertain date refers to the robbery of the tomb of Amen-hotep III.

507. It is evident from these facts that not only the mortuary furniture, but also the very bodies of the greatest kings of Egypt were threatened with destruction. The robberies

^aMayer Papyri (§§ 544 ff.), from which all the following is taken.

^bBut see III, §§ 32A-32C.

had demonstrably now been going on for more than five years at least, and probably much longer. When Pharaohs like Ramses II and Merneptah were guilty of wholesale appropriation of the mortuary equipment of their great ancestors, the officials were naturally not above conniving at similar robberies for their own profit. The occasional prosecution and conviction of the "small fry" were, therefore, of no avail. Such were the conditions under the last three Ramessids in the royal cemetery at Thebes. The pious, and evidently sincere, efforts put forth on behalf of the royal bodies at the close of the Twentieth and the beginning of the Twenty-first Dynasties (§§ 595 ff., 636 ff.) saved them from destruction only after they had been bereft of their splendid furniture and stripped of their rich regalia, by the thieves whose prosecution is narrated in the following documents. So persistent and thorough was their work of plunder that of all the Pharaohs buried at Thebes, only one, Amenhotep II, has been found still in his sarcophagus in his own tomb. But his body had, in ancient times, already been stripped of all valuables. The tomb was securely closed with an iron grating and locked door by the modern government of Egypt, and the body of the great king left undisturbed in its ancient resting-place, where it had slept 3,400 years.

508. Hearing rumors of fabulous wealth on the person of their great ancestor, the tomb-robbers of modern Thebes, doubtless with the connivance of the necropolis guard, forced the tomb door, entered, and subjected the body of Amenhotep II, after an interval of three thousand years, to a second rifling, which was to all appearances entirely fruitless. Perhaps we shall be inclined to judge more charitably the government of Ramses IX and his successors, when it is added that Mr. Howard Carter, the efficient inspector of the government, after having identified and arrested the

guilty parties by tireless zeal in their pursuit, was unable to secure their conviction and punishment at the hands of the modern government. Mr. Carter's official report^a on the whole matter is a striking modern commentary on the ancient conditions exposed in the following documents, and forms the last chapter in the long and dramatic history of the royal tombs at Thebes.

I. PAPYRUS ABBOTT^b

509. This document is really the vizier's abstract, taken from his files, recording the case between the two mayors, Peser and Pewero, as narrated above (§§ 499-504). The condition of the royal necropolis is, therefore, only incidental to the demonstration of the truth or falsity of Peser's charges against the necropolis administration. The whole case is concluded with the defeat of Peser, recorded at the end. The conditions in the necropolis, revealed in the document, led the scribe to consult it again after it had been lying for three years in the vizier's files, and on this occasion he recorded upon the back of the roll a list of tomb-robbers then awaiting trial, which had been handed in by Pewero, the mayor of the West. Nearly two months later he took down this same roll, to record a similar list beside the first (§ 535).

Pl. 1. Date

510. ¹[Year 16,^c third month of the first season, day 18], under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the

^a*Annales*.

^bA papyrus found at Thebes (?), and acquired by the British Museum in 1857 by purchase from Dr. Abbott, of Cairo. The roll is 17 inches high, and contains on the recto 7 columns from 10 to 14 inches wide. Two columns on the verso (8 and 9), containing only hastily written lists of thieves, are 6 to 7 inches wide. It is published in facsimile by the British Museum authorities in *Select Papyri* (London, 1860), Part II, Pls. I-VIII.

^cAll spaced words are rubrics.

Two Lands: Neferkere-Setepnere, L. P. H., Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: ²[Ramses (IX)]Meriamon, L. P. H., beloved of [Amon]-Re, king of gods, and of Harakhte; given life forever and ever.

First Commission of Inspection

511. ³[There were sent] the inspectors of the great and august necropolis, the scribe of the vizier and the scribe of the overseer of the White House of Pharaoh, L. P. H., ⁴[in order to inspect the] sepulchers of former kings, the tombs and resting-places of the nobles, ⁵[located on] the west of the city; by: (1) the governor of the city and vizier, Khamwese; (2) the king's-butler, Nesuamon ([*Ns-sw*] *Ymn*), the scribe of ⁶[Pharaoh]; (3) the major-domo of the house of the Divine Votress, L. P. H., of Amon-Re, king of gods, king's-butler, Neferkere-em-Per-Amon,^a the herald of Pharaoh, L. P. H., ⁷[because of the] thieves [on] the west of the city, concerning whom the mayor, the chief of police of the great and august necropolis ⁸[of] Pharaoh [on] the west of Thebes, Pewero (*P² -wr-² c*), had reported to the vizier, the nobles and butlers of Pharaoh, L. P. H.

List of Members of the Commission

512. ⁹[People] sent on this day:

The mayor and chief of police of the necropolis, Pewero;

^{10b}[Chief of police] of this house, Beknurel (*Bk-n-Wr-n-r²*).

^{11a}_____ of the [necropolis].^b

^{12a}_____ of this house.

^{13a}_____ of this house.

^{14a}_____ -amon.

^{10b}Chief of police of this house, Menthirkepesh (*Mntw-[hr]-hps-j*).

^{11b}The scribe of the vizier, Penebik (*P² - c - n-bywk*).^c

^{12b}Chief scribe of the magazine of the overseer of the White House, Paynofer (*P² y-nfr*).

^{13b}Prophet of the House of (King) Amenhotep, L. P. H., Pe² enkhew (*P² - c n-h^c w*).

^aThis official and Nesuamon (No. 2 above) also figure in the relief scene showing the reward of the High Priest Amenhotep (§ 495).

^bDeterminative preserved. N. B.—Letters a and b with line numbers are not to be confused with letters of footnotes.

^cThis man's name means "the claw of the hawk."

^{14b}Prophet of the wine-cellar of the house of Amon, Uramon (*Wr-Ymn*).

¹⁵The police of the cemetery, who were with them.

Pl. 2. List of Tombs Inspected

513. ¹The pyramids, sepulchers, and tombs, investigated on this day, by the inspectors:

Tomb of Amenhotep I

²The eternal horizon of King Zeserkere, L. P. H., son of Re, Amenhotep (I), L. P. H., which is 120 cubits ³deep^a (measured) from its superstructure, which is called: "The-High-¹Ascent¹," north of the "House^b-of-Amenhotep,-L.-P.-H.,-of-⁴the-Garden," concerning which the mayor of the city, Peser (*P²-sr*), had reported to the governor of the city and vizier, Khamwese; ⁵the king's-butler, Nesuamon, the scribe of Pharaoh, major-domo of the house of the Divine Votress, L. P. H., of Amon-Re, king of gods; ⁶the king's-butler, Neferkere-em-Per-Amon, the herald of Pharaoh, L. P. H., and the great nobles, saying: "The thieves have broken into it." Inspected on this day; it was found uninjured by the inspectors.

Pyramid of King Intef I

514. ⁸The pyramid of the king, the son of Re, Intefo (*Yn-[tf-]^{c2}*), L. P. H., which is on the north of the "House-of-Amenhotep,-L.-P.-H.,-of-the-Court (*wb²*)," ⁹upon which the pyramid is destroyed, before which

^aThis can only be the depth of the passage into the mountain, measured from the building at its front. This passage has never been found, but its entrance was certainly located on the plain, by the tombs of the Eleventh and Thirteenth Dynasties here investigated. A temple of Amenhotep I was found here by Spiegelberg (*Zwei Beiträge*, 1-5). The tomb of Amenhotep I was the last to be located on the front of the western cliffs; his successor, Thutmose I, excavated his tomb in the valley behind, thus for the first time separating sepulcher and chapel. Hatshepsut's terraced temple, piercing into the cliff, brought her temple and her tomb behind it again close together; but those of following kings were again widely separated.

^bThis is not the mortuary temple of Amenhotep I, which was called "*House-of-Zeserkere (Amenhotep I)-on-the-West-of-Thebes*" (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 238). With "*Amenhotep-of-the-Garden*" compare "*Amenhotep,-the-Image-upon-¹-¹*" (*mi*) (*ibid.*, 282), and "*Amenhotep-of-the-Court*," in II, 8, of our document. These are doubtless all different Amenhoteps. See Sethe (*Götting'sche Gelehrte Anzeigen*) and Spiegelberg (*Zwei Beiträge*, 3).

its stela (still) stands; the ¹⁰figure of the king stands^a upon this stela, his hound being between his feet, ¹¹named^b Behka (*Bh-hw-k*). It was inspected on this day; it was found uninjured.

Pyramid of King Nubkheprure-Intef^c

515. ¹²The pyramid of King Nubkheperre (*Nb-hpr-R*), L. P. H., Son of Re, Intef, L. P. H., it was found in course of ¹³being tunneled into by the thieves; they had tunneled $2\frac{1}{2}$ cubits into its ¹⁴masonry¹ (*drw*), 1 cubit (distant) ¹⁴from the outer chamber of the tomb of the chief of the oblation-bearers of the House of Amon, Yuroi (*Yw-r* -y), which is in ruins. It was uninjured; the thieves had not been able to enter it.

Pyramid of King Sekhemre-Intef

516. ¹⁶The pyramid of King Sekhemre-Upmat (*Shm-R* -*Wp-m* -*c* -*t*), L. P. H.; Son of Re, Intefo (*Yntw-f* -*c*), L. P. H. It was found ¹⁷in course of being tunneled into by the thieves, at the place where its stela of its pyramid was set up. ¹⁸Inspected on this day; it was found uninjured; the thieves had been unable to enter it.

Pl. 3. Pyramid of King Sebekemsaf

517. ¹The pyramid of King Sekhemre-Shedtowe (*Shm-R* -*Šd-t* -*wy*), L. P. H., Son of Re, Sebekemsaf (*Sbk-m-s* -*f*), ²It was found, that the thieves had broken into it by mining work through the base^d of its pyramid, from the outer chamber of the tomb of the overseer of the granary of King Menkheperre (Thutmose III), L. P. H., Nebamon. The burial-place of the king was found void of its lord, L. P. H., as well as the burial-place of the great king's-wife, ⁵Nubkhas (*Nb-h* -*c* -*s*), L. P. H., his royal wife; the thieves having laid their hand upon them. The vizier, ⁶the nobles, and the inspectors made an examination of it, and the manner in which the thieves had laid their hands ⁷upon this king and his royal wife, was ascertained.

^aEngraved in relief upon the stela, which still survives (I, 421 ff.), showing not only this dog with name as above, but also five others, which the scribe has not taken time to note.

^bThe name of the dog; the disconnected order of words is also in the original.

^cOf the Thirteenth Dynasty; see I, 773 ff.

^d*Njrw*; see Petrie, *Medum*, Pl. VIII.

Pyramid of King Sekenenre-Tao

518. ⁸The pyramid of King Sekenenre (*Škn(y)·n-R^c*), L. P. H., Son of Re, Tao (*T^o·c^o*), L. P. H. Inspected on this day ⁹by the inspectors; it was found uninjured.

Pyramid of King Sekenenre-Taoo

¹⁰The pyramid of King Sekenenre, L. P. H., Son of Re, Taoo (*T^o·c^o·c^o*), L. P. H., the second King Tao, L. P. H., II. ¹¹Inspected on this day by the inspectors; it was found uninjured.

Pyramid of King Kemose

519. ¹²The pyramid of King Uzkheperre (*W^od·hpr-R^c*), L. P. H., Son of Re, Kemose (*K^o·ms*), L. P. H. Inspected on this day; it was uninjured.

Pyramid of King Ahmose-Sepir

¹³The pyramid of King Ahmose-Sepir (*Y^ch-ms-s^o·p^o·yr*), L. P. H. Inspected; found uninjured.

Pyramid of Mentuhotep II

520. ¹⁴The pyramid of King Nibhepetre (*Nb·hpt·t·aR^c*), L. P. H., Son of Re, Mentuhotep (II), L. P. H., which is in Zeseret (*Dsr·t^l*); it was uninjured.^b

Summary

¹⁵Total of pyramids of the former kings, inspected on this day by the inspectors:

Found uninjured	9 pyramids
Found broken into	1
Total	10

^aThis is now known to be the reading of this word, formerly read *h^rw* (see Naville and Hall, and *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1905).

^bOn a Mentuhotep tomb at Thebes, see Carter, *Annales*, II, 201 ff. The tomb designated in our document was, of course, connected with the mortuary temple of Mentuhotep III, found by Naville and Hall at Der el-Bahri (*Egypt Exploration Fund Archaeological Report*, 1903-4, 1 ff.); and Hall, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXVII, 173-83. Its name was *y^ch^w·y^s·t* (or *y^s·wt*). Zeseret was the name of the immediate locality in the Theban cemetery.

Tombs of Queens and Noble Families

521. ¹⁷The tombs of the singing-women of the house of the Divine Votress, L. P. H., of Amon-Re, king of gods:

Found uninjured	2
Found broken into by the thieves	2
	—
Total	4

Pl. 4

¹These are the tombs and sepulchers in which the nobles, the ¹—, the Theban women, and the people of the land rest, ²on the west of the city; it was found that the thieves had broken into them all, that they had pulled out their occupants ³from their coverings and coffins, they (the occupants) being thrown upon the ground; and that they had stolen their articles of house-furniture, which ⁴had been given them, together with the gold, the silver, and the ornaments which were in their coverings.^a

Report of the Commission

522. ⁵The mayor and chief of police of the great and august necropolis, Pewero, together with the chiefs of police, and ⁶the inspectors of the necropolis, the scribe of the vizier, and the scribe of the overseer of the White House, who were with them, made a report upon them (the tombs) to:

⁷The governor of the city and vizier, Khamwese;

The king's-butler, Nesuamon;

The scribe of Pharaoh, L. P. H., the major-domo of the house of the Divine Votress, L. P. H., of ⁸Amon-Re, king of gods, king's-butler, Neferkere-em-Per-Amon, the herald of Pharaoh, L. P. H.;

And the great nobles. ⁹The mayor of the West, chief of police of the necropolis, Pewero, handed in the names of the thieves in writing ¹⁰before the vizier, the nobles and butlers. They were seized and imprisoned; they were examined, and confessed the facts.

Vizier's Inspection

523. ¹¹Year 16, third month of the first season, day 19; day on which there went to inspect the great seats^b of the king's-children,

^aEvidently the scribe has forgotten the statement of the number, as given at the close of the preceding paragraph.

^bTombs.

the king's-wives, ¹²and the king's-mothers, which are in "The-Place-of-Beauty:"^a

The governor of the city and vizier, Khamwese; and the king's-butler, Nesuamon, the scribe of Pharaoh, L. P. H., ¹³after the copper-smith,^b Pekharu,^c of the west of the city, son of Kharu, his mother, being Mitshere^d (*My't-šry*), a serf of ¹⁴"The-House-of-Usermare-Meriamon (Ramses III),-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Amon," under charge of the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Amenhotep, (being) the man^e who was found there ¹⁵and arrested, while he was with the three people of the (said) temple, beside the tombs, whom the vizier, Nibmare-nakht, had ¹⁶examined^f in the year 14, had told, saying: "I was in the tomb of the king's-wife, Isis,^g L. P. H., of King Usermare-Meriamon (Ramses III), L. P. H.; I carried off a few ¹⁷things from it; I took possession of them."

Examination of the Coppersmith

524. Then the vizier and the butler had the coppersmith taken

Pl. 5

before them to ¹the tomb, while he was blindfolded as a man ¹— —¹. He was permitted to see^h (again), when he had reached them.ⁱ The officials^j ²said to him: "Go before us to the tomb, from which you said: 'I carried away the things.'" The coppersmith went before the nobles³ to one of the ¹—¹ tombs of the king's-children of King Usermare-Setepnere (Ramses II), L. P. H., the Great God, in which no one was buried, which was left open, ⁴and (to) the hut of the workman of

^aThe name of a part of the necropolis.

^b"*The coppersmith*" is the subject of the verb "*had told*" (l. 16). All that follows "*the coppersmith*" is merely the usual identification of such a serf, as found in the invoices of temple property.

^cLit., "*The Syrian*;" a very common name from the Eighteenth Dynasty on.

^dLit., "*Little Cat*."

^eApposition with "*the coppersmith*."

^fHe was therefore an old criminal, who had been tried ("*examined*") two years before, under a different vizier, the predecessor of Khamwese.

^gIt is highly probable that this tomb, although unknown to the coppersmith, had been robbed by the eight thieves of Sebekemsaf's tomb (see §§ 538, 539).

^hLit., "*his eye was given to him*."

ⁱThe tombs.

^jThe vizier and the butler.

the necropolis, Amenemyenet (*Ymn-m-yn't*), son of Huy, which was in this place, saying: "Behold, the tombs in which I was." The nobles examined the coppersmith with a 'severe'^{1a} examination in the great valley, (but) he was not 'found to know any place there, except the two places upon which he had laid his hand. He took an oath^b of the king, L. P. H., that he should be mutilated (by cutting off) his nose⁷ and his ears and placed upon the rack (if he lied), saying: "I know not any place here among these tombs, except this tomb which is open,⁸ together with the hut upon which I have laid your hands."

Conclusion of Inspection

525. The officials examined the tombs of the great seats which are in "The-Place-of-Beauty," in which the king's-children, king's-wives, king's-mothers, the goodly fathers and mothers of Pharaoh, L. P. H., rest. They were found uninjured. The great officials caused the inspectors, the administrators,^c the workmen of the necropolis, the chiefs¹¹ of police, the police, and all the serf-laborers of the necropolis of the west of the city to go around as a great deputation^d to the city.

The Indiscretion of the Mayor of the City (East Side)

526. ¹²Year 16, third month of the first season, day 19; on this day, at the time of evening, beside the House of Ptah, lord of Thebes there came along the king's-butler, ¹³Nesumamon, the scribe of Pharaoh, L. P. H.; and the mayor of the city, Peser; and they came upon the chief workman, Userkhepesh (*Wsr-kpš*); the scribe, Amennakht; ¹⁴and the workman of the necropolis, Amenhotep. The mayor of the city spoke to the people of^e the necropolis in the presence of the (said) butler of Pharaoh, ¹⁵saying: "As for this deputation which ye have

^aThe bastinado, or some form of torture, is certainly meant; compare the examinations in Papyrus Mayer (§§ 544-557).

^bInvolving the name of the king, and hence the royal salutation.

^cThis is probably the same word (*hwt-yw*) which occurs in the long inscription of Paynozem II (§ 671, l. 8), and the stela of Sheshonk (§ 676, l. 3), where it applies to dishonest necropolis officials.

^dTo celebrate the triumph of the mayor of the west side.

^eThis shows that the first designation "*of the necropolis*" (in l. 14) belongs to all three of the preceding names.

made this day, it is no deputation at all.^a It is (only) your jubilation, which ¹⁶ye have made?" So spake he to them. He took an oath of the king, L. P. H., in the presence of the (said) butler of Pharaoh, L. P. H., saying: "The scribe of the necropolis,^b Horishere (*Hry-šry*), son of Amennakht, ¹⁷and the scribe of the necropolis, Pebes, have told me five very serious accusations worthy of death against you. ¹⁸Yea, I am writing concerning them to Pharaoh, L. P. H., my lord, L. P. H., that a man of Pharaoh, L. P. H., may be sent to take you all in charge." So spake he.

Pewero's Letter of Complaint

527. ¹⁹Year 16, third month of the first season, day 20. Copy of the letter which the mayor of the west of the city, the chief of police of the necropolis, Pewero, sent to the vizier, ²⁰concerning the words, which the mayor of the city, Peser, spoke to the people of the necropolis, in the presence of the butler of Pharaoh, L. P. H., and of the scribe of the overseer of the treasury, Paynozem.

528. ²¹That which the mayor of the west of the city, Pewero, said, to wit:

^c"The king's-butler, Nesuamon, the scribe of Pharaoh, L. P. H., happened by, when the mayor of the city, Peser, ²²was with him, while he (the mayor) stood quarreling with the people of the necropolis, beside the House of Ptah, lord of Thebes. The mayor of the city spoke

Pl. 6

to the people ¹of the necropolis, saying: 'Ye exult over me at the door of my house! Oh, indeed! Although I am the mayor who makes report^d to ²the ruler, L. P. H., and ye therefore exult over him. Ye were there; it^e was inspected; ye found it uninjured! Broken into

^aHere and on § 528, l. 8, see Gardiner, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 41, 131.

^bThis necropolis is given a special designation (*n-hny-hny*), and is therefore distinguished from the ordinary necropolis to which the second scribe is attached.

^cAll the titles and conventional forms regularly introducing such a letter are here omitted and only the actual facts communicated are quoted by the recording scribe.

^dPerhaps meaning that he only did his duty in reporting the robberies in the cemetery.

^eThe necropolis.

were (the tomb of) ³Sekhemre-Shedtowe, L. P. H., Son of Re, Sebekemsaf, L. P. H., and (that of) Nubkhas, L. P. H., his royal wife; one great ruler, L. P. H., while he ⁴makes ten reports. (I invoke) the ¹'severity' of Amon-Re, king of gods, this great god, on behalf of his monuments, standing in his hall this day.^a ⁵Then spake the workman, Userkhepesh, who is under the hand of the chief workman of the necropolis, Nakhtemhet, saying: 'But all the kings, together with their ⁶king's-wives, king's-mothers, and king's-children, who rest in the necropolis, together with those who rest in "The-Place-of-Beauty," they are uninjured, ⁷they are protected and defended forever.^b It is the goodly designs of Pharaoh, L. P. H., their son, which protect them and examine them ⁸'closely'.¹ The mayor of the city spake to him, saying: 'Are thy deeds as great as thy speech?' For this is indeed no little word which this ⁹mayor of the city spake.

529. "This mayor of the city spake to him again, a second word, saying: 'The scribe of the necropolis,^c Horishere, son of Amennakht, ¹⁰came to the chief side^d of the city, to my place of abode, and he told me three very serious accusations. ¹¹My scribe and the scribe of the two districts of the city put them in writing. Moreover, the scribe of the necropolis, Pebes, told me two other ¹²matters; in all five. They were put in writing likewise. He that hath them cannot keep silence. Forbid, for they are great and capital crimes, ¹³worthy of bringing to the block, and of executing every penalty because of them. Now, I shall write concerning them to Pharaoh, my lord, L. P. H., ¹⁴that a man of Pharaoh, L. P. H., may be sent to take you all in charge.' So spake he to them, this mayor of the city. He made ten oaths of the king, L. P. H., saying: ¹⁵'So will I do.'

530. "^eI heard these words which the mayor of the city spoke to the people of the great and august necropolis of millions of years, of ¹⁶Pharaoh, L. P. H., on the west of Thebes; and I report them to my lord, for it were a crime for one like me ¹⁷to hear (such) words and conceal them. But I was not able to apprehend^f the very serious words which

^aThe meaning of this last sentence is very uncertain. It may be that he calls upon Amon to protect the other monuments of Sebekemsaf, thus indicating the danger in which he thinks they are.

^bThe same words used of a cemetery in I, 768.

^cAgain defined as above.

^e"I" is Pewero, the writer of the letter.

^dThat is, the east side.

^fFor myself.

the mayor of the city spoke; ¹⁸the scribes of the necropolis^a who stood among the people told me them, (but) my ¹⁹feet were not present with them. I report them to my lord, that my lord may bring in one who apprehended^b the words, which the mayor of the city spake, ²⁰and the scribes of the necropolis told me. 'I am writing of them to Pharaoh, L. P. H.,' said he. This is a crime ²¹of these two scribes of the necropolis, that they should have applied to this mayor of the city, to report to him; for their fathers did not report to him, ²²but they reported to the vizier when he was in the South. When he was in the North, however, the necropolis-police of the suite of ²³his majesty, L. P. H., went North to the place where the vizier was, bearing their writings. 'I have¹ made (this) deposition in the year 16, third month of the first season, day 20, ²⁴of the words which I have heard from the mayor of the city. I put them in writing before my lord, that those who apprehended them may be summoned for tomorrow.'^c

Pl. 7. Hearing of Peser's Accusations

531. ¹Year 16, third month of the first season, day 21; on this day in the great court^d of the city, beside the two stelæ of — — the forecourt of Amon in the gate (called): "Praise."

Composition of the Court

²People and nobles who sat in the great court of the city on this day:

1. ³Governor of the city and vizier, Khamwese.
2. The High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Amenhotep.
3. The prophet of Amon-Re, king of gods, 'scribe' of "The-House-of-Millions-of-Years-⁴of-King-Neferkere-Setepnere,-L.-P.-H.," Nesuamon.
4. The king's-butler, Nesuamon, the scribe of Pharaoh, L. P. H.
5. The major-domo of the house of the Divine Votress, L. P. H., of Amon-Re, king of gods, ⁵king's-butler, Neferkere-em-Per-Amon, the herald of Pharaoh, L. P. H.

^a*Hr-n-hny*

^bLit., "one who reached (*ph*) the words."

^cConclusion of Pewero's letter to the vizier. The closing greetings, etc., are omitted. As will be seen by the following date, the case really came on the next day.

^dOf justice (*knb' t c' -t*).

6. The deputy of 1—1, Hori.
7. The standard-bearer of 6the marines, Hori.
8. The mayor of the city, Peser.^a

532. The governor of the city and vizier, Khamwese, had brought in the coppersmith, Pekharu, son of Kharu; 7the coppersmith, Tharoy (T³-r³-y), son of Khamopet; and the coppersmith, Pekamen, son of Tharoy, of "The-House-of-Usermare-Meriamon (Ramses III),-L.-P.-H.," under charge of the High Priest of Amon.

533. ⁸Said the vizier to the great nobles of the great court of the city: "This mayor of the city said a few words to the ⁹inspectors and workmen of the necropolis, in the year 16, third month of the first season, day 19, in the presence of the king's-butler, Nesuamon, the scribe of Pharaoh, L. P. H., ¹⁰delivering himself of slanders concerning the great seats,^b which are in 'The-Place-of-Beauty.' Now, I, the vizier of the land, have been there, ¹¹with the king's-butler, Nesuamon, the scribe of Pharaoh, L. P. H. We inspected the tombs, where the mayor of the city said that the coppersmiths ¹²of 'The-House-of-Usermare-Meriamon (Ramses III),-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Amon,' had been. We found them uninjured; and all that he^c said was found to be untrue. Now, behold, ¹³the coppersmiths stand before you; let them tell all that has occurred." They were examined. It was found that the people ¹⁴did not know any place in the seat^d of Pharaoh, L. P. H., of which the mayor had spoken the words. He was found wrong^e therein.

534. ¹⁵The great nobles granted life to the coppersmiths of "The-House-of-Usermare-Meriamon,-L.-P.-H.,-[in-the-House-of]-Amon." They were reassigned to the High Priest of Amon-Re [king of gods], ¹⁶Amenhotep, on this day.

The documents thereof are: one roll; it is deposited in the office of the vizier's archives.

Later Dockets

Pl. 8

535. ¹Year 1, first month of the first season, day 2, corresponding to the year 19. Copy of the records of the necropolis-thieves, ²the

^aThe mayor thus belonged to the court which was to try his case.

^bTombs.

^cThe mayor of the city.

^dThe necropolis.

^eBoth here and above (l. 12) the word used (< d >) literally means "guilty," in a criminal case, and in a suit "defeated."

thieves of the tombs, which was placed before Pharaoh, L. P. H., by the mayor of the west of the city, Pewero:

Here follow the names of sixteen people, forming the list of thieves, of which the above is the title.

¹⁹Year 1, second month of the first season, day 25, corresponding to the year 19. Copy of the records of the necropolis-thieves, ²⁰which was laid before the vizier, Nibmare-nakht,^a by the mayor of the west of the city, Pewero:

Here follow the names of twenty-nine people, forming the list of which the above is the title.

II. PAPYRUS, AMHERST^b

536. This fragment, unlike the Abbott papyrus, is part of the court record of the prosecution of the tomb-robbers guilty of the robbery of the tombs on which Peser had reported. It contains the remarkable confession of the eight men who robbed the tomb of Sebekemsaf and his queen, Nubkhas, and the record of their identification of the tomb, on being conducted to it, in the presence of the vizier. All this is omitted in Papyrus Abbott, and only the trial of the innocent coppersmiths is there recorded. A list of prisoners awaiting trial is also appended.

537. Column 1 is too fragmentary to yield any connected content; but it would appear that someone is mentioning

^aThis vizier is mentioned as having been in office in the fourteenth year of Ramses IX (Abbott, 4, 15), while in the year 16 we have the vizier Khamwese. Here we find Nibmarenakht as vizier again in the nineteenth year, and he appears also in Papyrus Mayer in the same year. We must either suppose that there were two viziers of the South, or that Nibmarenakht's term of office was interrupted for a time.

^bPart of a roll containing three columns and part of a fourth, now in the collection of Lord Amherst of Hackney. Published by Chabas (*Mélanges d'archéologie égyptienne*, 3^{me} sér., Tome II, Pls. I-IV), and by Newberry, *The Amherst Papyri* (London, 1899), Pls. IV-VII.

“*thieves ——— with thee,*” perhaps admonishing one of the culprits to confess the names of his companions; for we next find someone speaking in the first person, referring to people of the High Priest of Amon (l. 3), and especially to “*quarrymen ——— who were with me when I was ———.*” The next two lines continue the mention of people who are known to be implicated in the robbery: Hapi and Setnakht, and reference is made to the “*year 13,*” perhaps the date of some earlier theft.

538. In the next column (2) the common confession of all is in progress, having begun in the lost upper portion. It is as follows:

Col. 2

ar“ ——— King’s-Wife, Nubkhas, L. P. H., his royal wife in the place of ²his —, it^b being protected — its — with mortar, covered with blocks. We penetrated them ¹all¹, we found her ³resting likewise. We opened their coffins and their coverings in which they were. We found this ⁴august mummy of this king ¹— — —¹. There was a numerous list of amulets and ornaments of gold at its throat; ⁵its head had a ¹mask¹ of gold upon it; the august mummy of this king was overlaid with gold throughout. Its ⁶coverings were wrought with gold and silver, within and without; inlaid with every splendid costly stone. We stripped off the gold, which ⁷we found on the august mummy of this god, and its amulets and ornaments which were at its throat, and the coverings wherein it rested. ⁸[We] found the King’s-Wife likewise; we stripped off all that we found on her likewise. We set fire to their coverings. ⁹We stole their furniture, which we found with them, being vases of gold, silver, and bronze. We divided, ¹⁰and made the gold which we found on these two gods, on their mummies, and the amulets, ornaments and coverings, into eight parts.”

^aThe number of lines lost above is uncertain, but, judging from the next column, there were at least four.

^bThe place.

Col. 3. List of Thieves

539. ^a[List of the thieves]:

²———— (Lost name, etc.)

³———— (Lost name, etc.)

⁴———— (Lost name, etc.)

⁵The stonemason of the "House-of-Amon-Re,-King-of-Gods," Hapi, under charge of the High Priest of Amon.

⁶The artisan of the "House-of-Amon-Re,-King-of-Gods," Iramon, of the master of the hunt, Nesuamon.

⁷The peasant, Amenemhab, of the house of Amenopet, who administers in the district of Amenopet, under charge of the High Priest of Amon.

⁸The water-carrier, Kemwese (*K²-m-W²s·t*) of the shrine of King Menkheprure (Thutmose IV), L. P. H., under charge of ———.^b

⁹Ehenefer (*c h²-n·jr*), son of Nakhtemmut (*Nht-m-Mw·t*), formerly in the hand of Telamon (*Ty-n-r²-Ymn*), the negro slave of the High Priest of Amon.

¹⁰Total of the people who were in the pyramid of this great god: eight men.

Examination of the Robbers

540. Their examination was held, by beating with a double rod, smiting their feet ¹¹and their hands. They told the same story. The governor of the city and vizier, Khamwese; the king's-butler, Nesuamon, the scribe of Pharaoh, L. P. H., caused the thieves to be taken before them, ¹²to the west of the city, in the year 16, third month of the first season, day 19;^c and that the thieves should put hand upon the pyramid of this god, in whose sepulcher-chamber they had been. Their examination and their [—] were put into writing; and the vizier, the butler, the herald, and the mayor of the city reported to Pharaoh concerning it.

^aThe confession of the thieves is perhaps concluded here. If so, the next column began with a list of the thieves, of which the title occupied one line, and the three lost names, three more lines (each name with its titles occupying a line), making a total loss, at the top of the column, of four lines at least.

^bOmitted by the scribe.

^cThis is the date of the expedition of the vizier and Nesuamon, as also related in Papyrus Abbott (col. 4, ll. 11, 12, above § 523); but no mention is there made of bringing out the robbers of Sebekemsaf's tomb, to make them identify it.

Col. 4

a _____

Thief [_____]

Total

3 men

1 man

4

Thieves Awaiting Punishment

541. Thieves of this pyramid of this god, who took to flight,^b having been delivered to the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, to have them taken and placed among the prisoners at the gate of the "House-of-Amon-Re-King-of-Gods," with their companions secretly,^c that Pharaoh might determine their punishment:

The artisan of "The-House-of-Usermare-Meriamon (Ramses III),-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Amon," Setnakht, son of Penanuket, under charge of the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, the sem priest of "The-House-of-Usermare-Meriamon,-L.-P.-H.,-in-the-House-of-Amon," Nesuamon.

III. TURIN FRAGMENT^d

542. The coppersmith Pekharu, accused of robbing the tomb of Queen Isis (§§ 523, 524) was found to know nothing about it. It was hence supposed to be uninjured. But in the year 17 our fragment shows that it was found to have been robbed by eight thieves. These can hardly have been any other than the eight thieves of Sebekemsaf's tomb, who must have robbed the tomb of Isis before their arrest in the year 16. Hence it had been robbed when the vizier's inspection was made (§ 523), but he failed to discover the fact. Hence it would appear that Peser's charges against Pewero

^aThe number of lines lost is uncertain, but at least three-fourths of the page is lost.

^bWhether this flight took place before the trial, or some of them escaped afterward, is uncertain.

^cn t > wt for m t > wt.

^dA fragment of hieratic papyrus in the Turin Museum, published in transcription by Spiegelberg, with translation (*Zwei Beiträge*, 12, 13).

were later gradually being verified, and that further examination was being made.

543. Year 17, third month of the second season, day 22. The workmen of the necropolis ceased work, and the butler, governor of the city, and vizier, Khamwese; the workmen of the necropolis and their overseers, went up to the 'place' of the (female) singers,^a to inspect (the tomb of) the king's-daughter, king's-wife, Isis, L. P. H. They opened her tomb, they found the granite block,^b the eight thieves having done damage in the '—'. They had wrought evil destruction on all that was therein; and they had damaged [its] owner.^c

IV. MAYER PAPYRI^d

544. These two documents are the court records of the prosecution of the tomb-robbers, whose names are recorded on the back of the Papyrus Abbott, in the first year of Ramses X (nineteenth of Ramses IX), and of others in the next year, eight months later. The contents of the document will be found sufficiently indicated above (§§ 505 ff.) without further summary here.

Trial of Robbers of Ramses II and Seti I's Tombs

545. Year 1, of Uhem-mesut (*Whm-mš-ut*),^e fourth month of the third season, day 15. On this day occurred the examination of the

^aQueens.

^bThe sarcophagus, as Spiegelberg has seen.

^cThe mummy.

^dThese two documents are in the Free Public Library Museum of Liverpool, in the Mayer collection. They are called Mayer A and Mayer B. Mayer A has twelve columns varying from 20 to 27 lines; B has but one column (in a different hand) of 14 lines. Many years ago Goodwin published some notes on the two (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1873, 39 ff.; *ibid.*, 1874, 63 ff.), but both are still unpublished. I was unable to use them when I visited the Mayer collection, as they were then in London; hence I owe a great debt to Spiegelberg, who without reserve placed his transcription of the original at my disposal. Spiegelberg has also published a translation of the documents (*Free Public Library Museum, Mayer Collection*, . . . *Liverpool, Museum Report, No. 5. Mayer Collection Report, No. 1. Translation of Hieratic Papyri Mayer A and B, Liverpool, 1891*), which I found very useful.

^eLit., "*Repeating birth*," and meaning "*Born again*," a name often applied to the king, as Goodwin already saw. It is here Ramses X who is meant.

thieves of the tomb^a of King Usermare-Setepnere (Ramses II), L. P. H., the great god; and the tomb^b of King Menmare, L. P. H., Seti (I), L. P. H., which are 'recorded' in the treasury of ³"The-House-of-King-Usermare-Meriamon (Ramses III),-L.-P.-H.," concerning whom the chief of police, Nesuamon, had reported, in this roll of ⁴names; for he was there, standing with the thieves, when they laid their hands upon the tombs; ⁵who were tortured at the examination on their feet and their hands, to make them tell the way they had done exactly.

Composition of the Court

546. ⁶By the governor of the city and vizier, Nibmarenakht; Overseer of the White House and overseer of the granary, Menmare-nakht;

Steward and king's-butler, 'Ini', the 'herald' of Pharaoh, L. P. H.;

⁷Steward of the court, king's-butler, Pেমeriamon (*P²-mry-Ymn*), the scribe of Pharaoh.

Testimony of the Prisoner, Paykamen

547. ⁸Examination. The *X*,^c Paykamen (*P² y-k² mn*), under charge of the overseer of the cattle of Amon, was brought in; the oath of the king, L. P. H., was administered to him, not to tell ⁹a lie. He was asked: "What was the manner of thy going with the people who were with thee, ¹⁰when ye robbed the tombs of the kings which are 'recorded' in the treasury of 'The-House-of-King-Usermare-Meriamon,-L.-P.-H.?' " ¹¹He said: "I went with the priest Teshere (*T²-šry*), son of the divine father, Zedi, of 'The House;' Beki, son of Nesuamon, of this house; ¹²the *X*, Nesumontu of the house of Montu, lord of Erment; the *X*, Paynehsi of the vizier, formerly prophet of Sebek of Peronekh (*Pr²-c nḥ*); Teti (*T²-ty*) [—] ¹³who belonged to Paynehsi, of the vizier, formerly prophet of Sebek of Peronekh; in all six."^d

^aLit., "house of the corridor."

^bJudging from the connection, this word must mean "tomb," but it is otherwise unknown to me; it is written with the *gs*-sign and the determinative for a building or tomb.

^cThis is a title (*ꜥꜥ*) common among the people of the necropolis, and often occurring in these prosecutions. We have no hint as to its meaning, and I indicate it by *X*.

^dCounting the speaker.

Testimony of the Chief of Police

548. The chief of police, Nesuamon, was brought in. ¹⁴He was asked: "How didst thou find these men?" He said: "I heard that these men had gone to ¹⁵rob this tomb. I went and found these six men. That which the thief, Paykamen, has said is ¹⁶correct. I took testimony from them on that day ¹⁷The examination of the watchman of the house of Amon, the thief, Paykamen, under charge of the overseer of the cattle of Amon, was held by beating with a rod, ¹⁸the bastinado was applied to his feet. An oath was administered to him that he might be executed if he told a lie; he said: 'That which I did is ¹⁹exactly what I have said.' He confirmed it with his mouth, saying: 'As for me, that which I did is what [they] did; I was w[ith the]se six men, I stole ²⁰a piece of copper^a therefrom, and I took possession of it.'"

Testimony of the Prisoner, Nesumontu

549. ²¹The X, the thief, Nesumontu, was brought in; the examination was held by beating with a rod; the bastinado was applied on (his) feet and his hand(s); ²²the oath of the king, L. P. H., was administered to him, that he might be executed if he told a lie. He was asked: "What was the manner of thy going to rob ²³in the tomb with thy companions?" He said: "I went and found these people; I was the sixth. I stole a ²⁴piece of copper^b therefrom, I took possession of it."

Col. 2. Testimony of Karu

550. ¹The watchman of the house of Amon, the X, Karu ($\bar{K}^{\circ} -rw$), was brought in; he was examined with the rod, the bastinado was applied to his feet and his hands; ²the oath of the king, L. P. H., was administered to him, that he might be executed if he told a lie. He was asked: "What was the manner of thy going ³with the (sic!) companions when ye robbed in the tomb?" He said: "The thief, ⁴the X, Pehenui, he made me take some grain. I seized a sack of grain, and ⁵when I began to go down, I hear^b the voice of the men who were in this storehouse. I ⁶put my eye to the passage, and I saw Paybek and Teshere, who were within. I ⁷called to him, saying, 'Come!' and he came out to me, having two pieces of copper in his hand. He ⁸gave them to me, and I

^a $\bar{M}^{\circ} y w$, with determinative of metal.

^bSame as in l. 20.

gave to him 1½ measures of spelt to pay for them. I took one of them, and I gave the other to the X, Enefsu (c n' f-sw).

Testimony of Nesuamon

551. ¹⁰The priest, Nesuamon, son of Paybek, was brought in, because of his father. He was examined by beating with the rod. ¹¹They said to him: "Tell the manner of thy father's going with the men who were with him." He said: "My father was truly there. I was (only) a little child, and I know not how he did it." ¹³On being (further) examined, he said: "I saw the workman, Ehatinofer (c h' t y-n/r), while he was in the place where the tomb is, ¹⁴with the watchman, Nofer, son of 'Merwer (*Mr-wr*)¹, and the artisan; '—, in all three (men). They are the ones I saw ¹⁵distinctly. Indeed, gold was taken, and they are the ones whom I know." On being (further) examined with a rod, he said: "These three men are the ones I saw distinctly."

Testimony of Wenpehti

552. ¹⁷The weaver of "The House," Wenpehti (*Wn-phty*), son of '—, was brought in. He was examined by beating with a rod, the bastinado was applied to his feet and his hands. ¹⁸The oath of the king, L. P. H., was administered, not to tell a lie. They said to him: "Tell what was the manner of thy father's going, ¹⁹when he committed theft in the tomb with his companions." He said: "My father was killed when I was a child. ²⁰My mother told me: 'The chief of police, Nesuamon, gave some chisels of copper to thy father; then the captains of the archers and the X ²¹slew thy father.' They 'held' the examination, and Nesuamon took the copper and gave it to 'me'. It remains 'in the possession of' my mother."

Col. 3. Testimony of Enroy

553. ¹A Theban woman, Enroy (*Yn-n-r' -y*), the mistress of the priest, Teshere, son of Zedi, was brought in. She was examined ²by beating with a rod; the bastinado was applied to her feet and her hands. The oath of the king, ³L. P. H., not to tell a lie, was administered to her; she was asked: "What was the manner of thy husband's going ⁴when he broke into the tomb and carried away the copper from it?" She said: "He carried away some ⁵copper belonging to this tomb; we sold it and devoured it."

Second Trial

554. ⁶Fourth month of the third season, day 17; was held the examination of certain of the thieves of the cemetery.

Here follows the trial of five men, with the usual formulæ, only slightly varied from those used above. The tomb which they were accused of robbing is not mentioned. All five were found innocent. The prosecutions which follow (Columns 5-6), do not refer to any particular tombs, but they are followed in turn by a list (Col. 7), headed: "*Year 2, first month of the first season, day 13; the names of the robbers of the tomb of Pharaoh.*" This list contains the names of twenty-two persons (two women), among whom are some of those above prosecuted.

555. After a gap of a few lines Column 8 proceeds with an important trial, of which the beginning is lost in the gap.

Col. 8

He was again examined by beating with a rod. ²They said to him: "Tell what were the other places which thou didst break into." He said: "I broke into the tomb of the King's-³Wife, Nesimut." He said: "It was I who broke into the tomb of the King's-Wife, Bekurel (*Bk-wr-n-r*²), wife of ⁴King Menmare (Seti I), L. P. H., in all, three (tombs)."

556. After enumerating some of the things stolen, in response to a question of the vizier, the examination of the next man shows him to have been innocent. The fisherman who carried the thieves over to the west side is next examined (Column 9) and discharged; and of the three men whose trial follows, one was innocent. A list of twenty-five thieves fills the next column (10) which is headed: "*The thieves of the cemetery whose examination was held, concerning whom it was found that they had been in the tombs.*" Column 11 contains a similar list entitled: "*The thieves of the tomb, in*

the second month, tenth day," while the margin bears a list of "*the women who were imprisoned,*" being eleven of the wives of the thieves. The document then closes with proceedings in which some of the accused in the first trial reappear.

The second document (Papyrus Mayer B) is in a different hand, but records proceedings of the same sort. In a connection which is not entirely clear, the tomb of "*Amen-hotep III, the Great God,*" is mentioned, and it is evident that it had been robbed.

REIGN OF RAMSES XII

THE REPORT OF WENAMON^a

557. This unique document is our most important source for the position of Egypt in Syria at the close of the Twentieth Dynasty. It belongs to the fifth year of the last of the Ramessids, when he is but the shadow of a king. Hrihor, the High Priest of Amon, although not called king, is in control at Thebes, and Nesubenebbed (Smenides), afterward the first king of the Twenty-first Dynasty, living at Tanis, rules the Delta. Under these circumstances Hrihor dispatches one of his officials, named Wenamon, to procure cedar from the Lebanon forests, for the construction of a new sacred barge for Amon. In accordance with an oracle of Amon, the messenger was intrusted with a certain image of the god called "*Amon-of-the-Way*," which he was to take with him as an embassy to the prince of Byblos. As the envoy met with extraordinary difficulties in the execution of his commission, he made out an elaborate report^b on his return home to explain the long series of accidents which

^aPapyrus found in 1891 by fellahin at el Khibeh, opposite Feshn in Upper Egypt, now in the possession of M. W. Golénisheff, of St. Petersburg. It consists of a part of one column, and another almost complete. It was published in transcription by M. Golénisheff in a collection of essays in honor of Baron V. de Rosen's jubilee, with a facsimile of the first twenty-one lines; and again by Golénisheff in revised transcription (*Recueil*, XXI), with translation. It was translated without alteration of Golénisheff's arrangement of the fragments, by W. M. Müller (*Mittheilungen der Deutschen Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1900, 1); and by Erman (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 38, 1-14) with a rearrangement of the fragments which seems to me unquestionably correct. The following translation, based largely on Erman, I published first in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, 1905.

^bThat our document is Wenamon's authentic report there seems to me, after a study of its characteristics, not the slightest doubt; but there is not space here to discuss the question. See Erman (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 38, 2), who reaches the same conclusion.

had interfered with the success of his mission. Although a large fragment is lacking from the middle of the first column, and the loss of another fragment at the end leaves the narrative unfinished, yet this report is, nevertheless, one of the most interesting and important documents yet discovered in Egypt.

558. On the sixteenth of the eleventh month, in the fifth year, probably of Ramses XII, Wenamon left Thebes and, presenting his credentials to Nesubenebbed at Tanis, he was kindly received. Fifteen days after leaving Thebes (on the first of the twelfth month), he sailed from Tanis (?) into the Mediterranean in a merchant ship, commanded by a Syrian. Arrived at Dor, the gold and silver which he had brought with him as payment for the timber was stolen from him. Dor was now a petty kingdom of the Thekel, who, with the Peleset-Philistines, had begun entering Syria under Ramses III seventy-five or eighty years before. They had constantly pushed southward after their defeat by Ramses III in his eighth year, and had settled along the eastern coast of the Mediterranean as subjects of the Pharaoh. After the death of Ramses III they must have soon gained their independence. The Thekel chief of Dor gives Wenamon little satisfaction for the loss of his valuables, and after waiting nine days he sails northward to Tyre.

559. The account of the voyage from Dor to Tyre is lost in a lacuna. On the way from Tyre to Byblos he in some way met some of the Thekel with a bag (?) of silver. It weighed thirty deben, and, as he had lost thirty-one^a deben of silver, he seized it as security. He arrived at Byblos four months and twelve days after his departure from Thebes, but, as he came in an ordinary merchant ship, and not in a

^aAbout 7½ lbs., troy.

special ship of Nesubenebbed, and was without rich gifts and the customary externals of former Egyptian envoys, Zakar-Baal, the prince of Byblos, would not receive him, and ordered him to leave. After nineteen days, one of the noble youths in attendance upon the prince fell into a prophetic frenzy and demanded that Wenamon and his god, "Amon-of-the-Way," be summoned and honorably treated.

560. About to return to Egypt, Wenamon was summoned to Zakar-Baal's palace, but, being without money and without credentials, which he had foolishly left with Nesubenebbed at Tanis—having only the above-mentioned image of Amon, supposed to confer "*life and health*," but not likely to impress the Syrian—he was treated with scant respect. The claims of Hrihor and of Amon upon the Lebanon were scouted, and Zakar-Baal proved from his records that his fathers had been paid for their timber. Wenamon therefore sends to Nesubenebbed for money, and the prince shows his good-will by dispatching to Egypt at once the heavy timbers of the hull. The messenger returned from Nesubenebbed within forty-eight days (perhaps only nineteen or twenty days) with partial payment of the timber desired, whereupon Zakar-Baal sent three hundred men and three hundred oxen to fell and bring the rest of the timber.

561. Some eight months after Wenamon left Thebes the timber was ready. Zakar-Baal delivers it to him, and with grim humor tells him that he has been better treated than the last envoys from Egypt, who were detained at Byblos seventeen years and died there. The prince charges an attendant to conduct Wenamon to their tomb and show it to him. But Wenamon demurs and takes his leave, promising to see that the balance due on the timber is paid. As he is about to sail, a number of Thekel ships appear, for the purpose of arresting him, doubtless for his seizure of the silver. The

unlucky Wenamon sits down upon the beach and weeps, while Zakar-Baal, hearing of his plight, sends him reassuring messages, with food, drink, and a female singer. In the morning the prince interviews the Thekel and sends Wenamon to sea. In some way he evades the Thekel, but is driven by a contrary wind to Cyprus (Alasa), where he is about to be killed by the Cyprians, when he finds someone who speaks Egyptian, succeeds in gaining the favor of the Cyprian queen, and is spared.

562. Here the remarkable report is broken off, and how Wenamon reached Egypt we do not know. It will be seen that in the Lebanon region, once conquered and controlled by the Pharaohs, they are no longer feared. Thus, at the close of the Twentieth Dynasty Egypt, while respected as a source of civilization (§ 579), cannot secure even ordinary protection and civility for her messengers in Syria, and this state of affairs had already existed, probably as early as the reign of Ramses IX, a generation earlier.

Besides the earliest known instance of prophetic ecstasy known to us, the document contains also another significant datum, viz., the princes of Byblos had, for two generations, been keeping their daily business records in a book or roll (^c r). Moreover, among the gifts brought to the prince of Byblos from the Delta were five hundred rolls of papyrus paper. Of course, the Phœnician did not write cuneiform with pen and ink upon these rolls; for a script worse suited to such writing materials than cuneiform can hardly be imagined. It is evident that he wrote upon papyrus the hieratic hand customarily written upon it in Egypt, the only method of writing then known which contained alphabetic signs for the whole alphabet. It thus becomes clear that by 1100 B. C. the cuneiform had been displaced in Phœnicia, and before the tenth century the Phœnician scribes, discarding

the innumerable syllabic signs of the Egyptian hieratic, had accustomed themselves to employ only its alphabetic signs.

Pl. 1. Departure from Thebes

563. ¹Year five, ^athird month of the third season (eleventh month), day 16, day of the departure of the "eldest of the hall," of the house of Amon, ²[the lord of the] lands, Wenamon, to bring the timber for the great and august barge of Amon-Re, king of gods, which is on [the river] — — — (called): "Userhet"^b of Amon.

Arrival at Tanis

564. On the day of my arrival at Tanis ($\overline{D}^c n$), at the ⁴place of abode of Nesubenebde ($Ns-sw-b^2 -nb-dd$)^c and Tentamon, I gave to them the writings of Amon-Re, king of gods, which they ⁵caused to be read in their presence; and they said: "I will do (it), I will do (it) according to that which Amon-Re, king of gods, our ⁶lord, saith." I abode until the fourth month of the third season,^d being in Tanis.

Voyage to Dor

565. Nesubenebde and ⁷Tentamon sent me with the ship-captain, Mengebet ($M-n-g-b-ty$), and I descended into ⁸the great Syrian ($H^2 -rw$) sea, in the fourth month of the third season, on the first day. I arrived at Dor, a city of ⁹Thekel ($T^2 -k^2 -r^2$), and Bedel ($B^2 -dy-r^2$), its king, caused to be brought for me much bread, a jar of wine, ¹⁰and a joint of beef.

The Robbery at Dor

566. Then a man of my ship fled, having stolen:

— ^e [vessels] of gold, ¹¹ [amounting to]	5 deben
4 vessels of silver, amounting to	20 deben
A sack of silver	11 deben
¹² [Total of what] he [stole]	5 deben of gold
	31 deben of silver ^f

^aThat this date must refer to Ramses XII was shown by Erman (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 38, 2).

^bThe name of the barge of Amon; see, e. g., Papyrus Harris (§ 209).

^cGreek Smendes; part of the name is here broken out, and the reading is taken from l. 6.

^dFourteen days after his departure from Thebes.

^eThe names of the articles of gold are broken out.

^fAbout 1½ lbs. of gold and about 7½ lbs. of silver.

In the morning then I rose and went to ¹³the abode of the prince, and I said to him: "I have been robbed in thy harbor. Since thou art the king of this land, ¹⁴thou art therefore its investigator, who should search for my money. For the money belongs to Amon-Re, ¹⁵king of gods, the lord of the lands; it belongs to Nesubenebbed, and it belongs to Hrihor, my lord, and the other ¹⁶magnates of Egypt; it belongs also to Weret (*W³ rty*), and to Mekmel^a (*M-k³ -m-rw*), and to Zakar-¹⁷Baal (*T³ -k³ -rw-B. ^c -r³*),^b the prince of Byblos,"^c He said to me: ^d"To thy honor and thy excellence! but, behold, I know nothing ¹⁸of this complaint which thou hast lodged with me. If the thief belonged to my land, he who went on board^e ¹⁹thy ship, that he might steal thy treasure, I would repay it to thee from my treasury till they ²⁰find thy thief by name; but the thief who robbed thee belongs to ²¹thy ship. Tarry a few days here with me, and I will seek him." When I had spent nine days, moored ²²in his harbor, I went to him, and said to him: "Behold, thou hast not found my money ²³[[therefore let me depart¹] with [the] ship-captain, and with those who go — — — — —."^f

—————.^g

Pl. 3

1 ————— the sea. He said to me, "Be silent."^h

Departure from Tyre for Byblos

567. ⁵ ————— the harbor ————— ⁶ — — — [I arrived at¹] Tyre.ⁱ I went forth from Tyre at early dawn ————— ⁷ — — — Zakar-Baal (*T³ -k³ -r³ -B. ^c -r*), the prince of Byblos^j —————.

^aWe have here given first the Egyptians who sent the valuables, and then the Syrians, to whom it was to be paid.

^bזכר-בעל, as Müller and Erman have noted.

^cThis indicates the locality where Wenamon expects to purchase the timber.

^dSomething like "I am beholden to" is to be understood.

^eLit., "descended into."

^fFour lines are lost here and an uncertain amount more.

^gThe total loss between the two parts of Pl. 1 is some twenty-three lines. The bulk of this loss precedes Pl. 3, and only a small portion follows it.

^hThree lines containing but a few broken words; among them a reference to searching for the thieves, which shows that Fragment 3 belongs in this place. The journey from Dor to Tyre is somewhere in these lacunæ.

ⁱOnly the *r* of Tyre is preserved, but as he is just leaving there, it can hardly be the *r* of Dor.

^jThis is not the arrival, but merely the mention of his intended destination.

Seizure of Security from Thekel Travelers

568. ——— 8the — — — I found 30 deben of silver therein. I seized [it, 1saying to them: “I will take] 9your money, and it shall remain with me until ye find [my money. 1Was it not a man of Thekel] 10who stole it, and no thief [of ours]? I will take it ———.”^a
11They went away, while I 1—1 — 1—1 —.

Arrival at Byblos

569. [I] arrived — — — — the harbor of Byblos. [I made a place of concealment, 12I hid] 1 “Amon-of-the-Way,” and I placed his things in it. The prince of Byblos sent to me, saying: “Be[take thyself] (from) 13my harbor.” I sent to him, saying: “———. x+1 ———^b if they sail, let them take 1me to Egypt.” — — I spent nineteen days in his [harbor], and he continually sent to me daily, saying: “Betake thyself away from my harbor.”

A Prophet of Byblos

570. Now, when he sacrificed to his gods —, the god seized one of his noble youths (c *ḏd*), making him frenzied, so that he said: “Bring [the god] hither!^c Bring the messenger of Amon who hath him. x+5Send him, and let him go.”

Wenamons Departure Prevented

571. Now, while the frenzied (youth) continued in frenzy during this night, I found a ship bound for Egypt, and I loaded in all my belongings into it. I waited for the darkness, saying: “When it descends I will embark the god also, in order that no other eye may see him.”

Wenamons Summoned

572. The harbor-master came to me, saying: “Remain until morning by the prince.” I said to him: “Art not thou he who continually came to me daily, saying: ‘Betake thyself away from my harbor’?”

^aA few fragments of words for about one-third line.

^bThe lacuna here doubtless includes several lines, but it is not so large as the one before Pl. 3; see notes, p. 279. Of the uncertain line numbering I have inserted only every five lines for this fragment.

^cLit., “*up*.” In ecstasy the youth demands the summoning of Wenamon and his image of Amon, and that they be honorably treated and dismissed.

Dost thou not say, 'Remain in the [land']', ²⁺¹⁰in order to let depart the ship that I have found? that thou mayest come and say again, 'Away!?' He went and told it to the prince, and the prince sent to the captain of the ship, saying: "Remain until morning by the king."

Wenamon Visits Zakar-Baal

573. When morning came he sent and had me brought up, when the divine offering occurred in the fortress wherein he was, on the shore of the sea. I found him sitting in his upper chamber, leaning his back against a window, while the waves of the great Syrian sea beat against the — ²⁺¹⁵behind him. I said to him: "['Kindness'] of Amon!" He said to me: "How long is it until this day since thou camest (away) from the abode of Amon?" I said: "Five months and one day until now."^a

Zakar-Baal Demands Wenamon's Papers

574. He said to me: "Behold, if thou art true, where is the writing of Amon, which is in thy hand? Where is the letter of the High Priest of Amon, which is in thy hand?" I said to him: "I gave them to Nesubenebbed and Tentamon." Then he was very wroth, and he said to me: "Now, behold, the writing and the letter are not in thy hand! Where is the ship of cedar, which Nesubenebbed gave to thee? Where is ²⁺²⁰its Syrian crew? He would not deliver thy business to this ship-captain ['— —'] to have thee killed, that they might cast thee into the sea. From whom would they have sought the god then? And thee, from whom would they have sought thee then?" So spake he to me. I said to him: "There are indeed Egyptian ships and Egyptian crews who sail under Nesubenebbed, (but) he hath no Syrian crews." He said to me: "There are surely twenty ships here in my harbor,

Pl. I

which are in connection with Nesubenebbed; and at this Sidon, ¹whither thou also ['wouldst go'], there are indeed 10,000 ships also which are in connection ²with Berket-el^b (*W² -r² -k² -ty-r²*) and sail to his house."

^aThis would be the twelfth of the fourth month.

^bErman thinks this must be some great Phœnician merchant resident in Tanis, and the parallelism certainly points clearly to someone in Tanis.

Wenammon Declares His Business

575. Then I was silent in this great hour. ³He answered and said to me: "On what business hast thou come hither?" I said to him: "I have come ⁴after the timber for the great and august barge of Amon-Re, king of gods. Thy father did it, ⁵thy grandfather did it, and thou wilt also do it." So spake I to him.

Zakar-Baal Demands Payment as of Old

576. He said to me: "They did it, truly. ⁶If thou give me (something) for doing it, I will do it. Indeed, my agents transacted the business; ⁷the Pharaoh, L. P. H., sent six ships, laden with the products of Egypt, and they were unloaded into their ⁸storehouses. And thou also shalt bring something for me." He had the journal of his fathers brought in, ⁹and he had them read it before me. They found 1,000 deben of every (kind of) silver, which was in his book.

Zakar-Baal Declares His Independence

577. ¹⁰He said to me: "If the ruler of Egypt were the owner of my property, and I were also his servant, ¹¹he would not send silver and gold, saying: 'Do the command of Amon.' It was not the payment ¹²of tribute^{12a} which they exacted of my father. As for me, I am myself neither thy ¹³servant nor am I the servant of him that sent thee. If I cry out to the ¹⁴Lebanon, the heavens open, and the logs lie here on the shore of the sea."

Wenammon has no Equipment

578. "Give ¹⁵me the sails which thou hast brought to propel thy ships which bear thy logs to [Egypt]. ¹⁶Give me the cordage [which thou hast brought to bind¹] the trees which I fell, in order to make them [fast¹] for thee ¹⁷—— I make them for thee [into¹] the sails of thy ¹⁸ships, and the tops are (too) heavy and they break, and thou die in the midst of the sea ¹⁹when Amon thunders in heaven, and puts Sutekh in his time."

Egypt the Home of Civilization

579. "For Amon ²⁰equips all lands; he equips them, having first equipped the land of Egypt, whence thou comest. ²¹For artisanship

^a*Mrk* for *brk*? *F* > = "pay" is common. Erman suggests that *mrk* is connected with *melek*, "king," but *f* > seems to me, to make this interpretation difficult.

came forth from it, to reach my place of abode; and teaching came forth ²²from it, to reach my place of abode. What (then) are these miserable journeys which they have had thee make?"

Wenamon Claims Lebanon for Amon

580. I said to him: ²³"O guilty one! They are no miserable journeys on which I am. There is no ship upon the river, ²⁴which Amon does not own. For his is the sea, and his is Lebanon of which thou sayest, 'It is mine.' It ^a²⁵grows for 'Userhet' (the barge) of Amon, the lord of every ship. Yea, so spake Amon-Re, king of gods, saying to ²⁶Hrihor, my lord: 'Send me,' and he made me go, bearing this great god. But, behold, thou hast let ²⁷this great god wait twenty-nine^b days, when he had landed [in] thy harbor, although thou didst certainly know he was here. He is indeed (still) what ²⁸he (once) was, while thou standest and bargainest for the Lebanon with Amon, its lord. As for what thou sayest, that the ²⁹former kings sent silver and gold, if they had given life and health, they would not have sent the valuables; ³⁰(but) they sent the valuables [to] thy fathers instead of life and health. Now, as for Amon-Re, king of gods, he is the ³¹lord of life and health, and he was the lord of thy fathers, who spent their lifetime offering ³²to Amon.^c And thou also, thou art the servant of Amon. If thou sayest to Amon, 'I will do (it), I will do (it),' and thou executest his ³³command, thou shalt live, and thou shalt be prosperous, and thou shalt be healthy, and thou shalt be pleasant to thy whole land and thy people. Wish not ³⁴for thyself a thing belonging to Amon-Re, [king of] gods. Yea, the lion loves his own."

Wenamon will Secure Payment

581. "Let my scribe be brought to me, that I may send ³⁵him to Nesubenebbed and Tentamon, the rulers whom Amon hath given to the North of his land, ³⁶and they will send all that of which I shall write to them, saying: 'Let it be brought;' until I return to the South and ³⁷send thee all, all thy trifles again." So spake I to him.

^aLebanon.

^bThis was four months and twelve days after leaving Thebes; he must therefore have reached Byblos three months and thirteen days after leaving Thebes.

^cRamses III built a temple of Amon in Syria (§ 219); Thutmose III gave three cities of the southern Lebanon district to Amon (II, 557); Zakar-Baal had a butler named Penamon, and there is no doubt that Wenamon's statement was correct.

Timber is Shipped; Messenger Brings Payment

582. He gave my letter into the hand of his messenger. He loaded in the 'keel',^a ³⁸the head of the bow and the head of the stern, with four other hewn timbers, together seven; and he had them taken to Egypt. ³⁹His messenger went to Egypt, and returned to me, to Syria in the first month of the second season.^b Nesubenebbedd and Tentamon sent:

⁴⁰Gold: 4 *Tb*-vessels, 1 *K* ²*k-mn*-vessel;

Silver: 5 *Tb*-vessels;

Royal linen: 10 garments, 10 'hm-hrd';

Papyrus: ⁴¹500 rolls;

Ox-hides: 500;

Rope: 500 (coils);

Lentils: 20 measures;

Fish: 30 measures (*mst* ²);

She^c sent me:

Linen: ⁴²5 '—', 5 'hm-hrd';

Lentils: 1 measure;

Fish: 5 measures (*mst* ²).

More Timber Felled

583. The prince rejoiced, and detailed ⁴³300 men and 300 oxen, placing overseers over them, to have the trees felled. They spent the second season therewith ⁴⁴'—'. In the third month of the second season^d (seventh month) they dragged them [to] the shore of the sea. The prince came forth and stood by them.

Timber Delivered to Wenamon

584. He sent to me, ⁴⁵saying: "Come." Now, when I had presented myself before him, the shadow of his sunshade fell upon me. Penamon, ⁴⁶a butler, he stepped between me, saying: "The shadow of

^a*Pypy't*, determined with a piece of wood. The three principal timbers of the ship are undoubtedly mentioned here.

^bWithin forty-eight days of the date of his departure (twelfth of the fourth month).

^cTentamon sent him a personal present.

^dSome eight months after he left Thebes.

Pharaoh, L. P. H., thy lord, falls upon thee." He^a was angry ⁴⁷with him, saying: "Let him alone!" I presented myself before him, and he answered and said to me: "Behold, the command which my ⁴⁸fathers formerly executed, I have executed, although thou for thy part hast not done for me that which thy fathers did for me. Behold, there has arrived ⁴⁹the last of thy timber, and there it lies. Do according to my desire and come to load it, for they will indeed give it to thee."

Fate of a Former Embassy

585. ⁵⁰"Come not to contemplate the terror of the sea, (but) if thou dost contemplate the terror of the sea, thou shalt (also) contemplate ⁵¹my own. Indeed, I have not done to thee that which they did to the messengers of Khamwese,^b when they spent seventeen years ⁵²in this land. They died in their place."^c He said to his butler: "Take him, and let him see their tomb, wherein they ⁵³sleep."

Zakar-Baal's Great Distinction

586. I said to him: "Let me not see it! As for Khamwese, (mere) people were the messengers whom he sent to thee; but people ⁵⁴— there was no [god among] his messengers. And yet thou sayest, 'Go and see thy companions.' Lo, art thou not glad? ⁵⁵and dost thou not have made for thee a tablet, whereon thou sayest: 'Amon-Re, king of gods, sent to me "Amon-of-the-Way," his ⁵⁶[divine] messenger, and Wenamon, his human messenger, after the timber for the great and august barge of Amon-Re, king of gods? I felled it, ⁵⁷I loaded it, I supplied him (with) my ships and my crews, I brought them to Egypt, to beseech for me ⁵⁸10,000 years of life from Amon, more than my ordained (life), and it came to pass.' Then in future days when a messenger comes

^aThe chief of Byblos.

^bWho this Khamwese was is not entirely certain. Erman recalls the occurrence of Khamwese as part of the name in the cartouche of Ramses IX, and it is not improbable that he is meant, for as the messengers have been some time dead, and this document is dated in the fifth year of Ramses XII, they must have left Egypt some twenty-five years earlier, which would certainly carry us back into the reign of Ramses IX.

^cThis phrase "*in their place*" in connection with dying must have some particular meaning. It is frequently so used in the inscriptions of Ramses III, and of the conspirators against him, who committed suicide; but its idiomatic force is not clear.

⁵⁹from the land of Egypt, who is able to write, and reads thy name upon the stela, thou shalt receive water in the West, like the gods who are ⁶⁰there." He said to me: "It is a great testimony which thou tellest me."

Payment of Balance Promised

587. I said to him: "As for the many things which thou hast said to me, when I reach ⁶¹the place of abode of the High Priest of Amon, and he shall see thy command in thy command,^a [he] will have something delivered to thee."

Thekel Ships Lie in Wait

588. ⁶²I went to the shore of the sea, to the place where the timbers lay; I spied eleven ships ⁶³coming from the sea, belonging to the Thekel, saying:^b "Arrest him! Let not a ship ⁶⁴of his (pass) to Egypt!" I sat down and began to weep. The letter-scribe of the prince came out to me, ⁶⁵and said to me: "What is the matter with thee?" I said to him: "Surely thou seest these birds which twice descend upon Egypt. ⁶⁶Behold them! They come to the pool, and how long^c shall I be here, forsaken? For thou seest surely those who come ⁶⁷to arrest me again."^d

Zakar-Baal Reassures Wenamon

589. He went and told it to the prince. The prince began to weep at the evil words which they spoke to him. ⁶⁸He sent out his letter-scribe to me, he brought me two jars of wine and a ram. He sent ⁶⁹to me Tentno (*Tynt-nw't*), an Egyptian singer (feminine), who was with him, saying: "Sing for him; let not his heart feel apprehension." He sent to me, ⁷⁰saying: "Eat, drink, and let not thy heart feel apprehension. Thou shalt hear all that I have to say in the morning."

Interview with the Thekel

590. Morning ⁷¹came, he had (the Thekel) called into his [—], he stood in their midst and said to the Thekel: "Why have ye come?"

^aThe text is translated verbatim; but it is perhaps corrupt.

^bThe report, otherwise, so full, abbreviates here; he means that they were under orders, of which he introduces the purport by the word "*saying*."

^cLit., "*until what comes*."

^dThis word points to earlier trouble with the Thekel, and doubtless explains the "*twice*" above.

⁷²They said to him: "We have come after the stove-up ships which thou sendest to Egypt with our [—] comrades." ⁷³He said to them: "I cannot arrest the messenger of Amon in my land. Let me send him away, and ye shall pursue him, ⁷⁴to arrest him."

Escape to Alasa

591. He loaded me on board, he sent me away — to the harbor of the sea. The wind drove me to the land of ⁷⁵Alasa (³-r³-s³); those of the city came forth to me to slay me. I was brought among them to the abode of Heteb (^H³-ty-b³), ⁷⁶the queen of the city. I found her as she was going forth from one of her houses and entering into her other. I ⁷⁷saluted her, I asked the people who stood about her: "There is surely one among you who understands Egyptian?" One ⁷⁸among them said: "I understand (it)." I said to him: "Say to my mistress: 'I have heard as far as Thebes, the abode of Amon, that ⁷⁹in every city injustice is done, but that justice is done in the land of Alasa; (but), lo, injustice is done every day here.'" She said: "Indeed! What is ⁸⁰this that thou sayest?" I said to her: "If the sea raged and the wind drove me to the land where I am, ⁸¹thou wilt not let them take ⁸²advantage of me to slay me; I being a messenger of Amon. I am one for whom they will seek ⁸³unceasingly. As for the crew of the prince of Byblos whom they sought to kill, their lord will surely find ⁸⁴ten crews of thine, and he will slay them, on his part." She had the people called and stationed (before her); she said to me: "Pass the night ———."

RECORDS OF THE RESTORATION OF THE ROYAL MUMMIES

592. We have already seen (§ 545) that the tombs of Ramses II and Seti I had been broken into in the first year of Ramses X (the nineteenth of Ramses IX). Under Ramses XII, in his sixth year, the High Priest of Amon, Hrihor, sent some of his people to restore the bodies, and to place them again in their coffins and sarcophagi. They left a record of this pious work on the coffins:

Coffin of Seti I

593. ^aYear 6, second month of the first season, day 7, day when the vizier, the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Hrihor, sent [to renew the burial of King Menmare, L. P. H.; Son of Re: Menmare (sic!), L. P. H.; Son of Re: Seti (I)-Merneptah; by the hand of the inspector, Hirmamonpene (*Hr-m-Ymn-pn*^c), and the officer (*mnh*) Perepewyot (*P^o-R^c-p^o yw-yt*).

Coffin of Ramses II

594. ^bYear 6, third month of the second season, day 15, day when the noble of — — the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Hrihor, — sent ———.

LETTER TO THE VICEROY OF KUSH^c

595. This letter, the content of which is in itself of slight consequence, is important because of the person to whom it is addressed, the viceroy of Kush. Already in the Nineteenth Dynasty the gold-lands of Nubia had passed into the hands of Amon, though they were administered by the viceroy of Kush (III, 640). The next step was the administration of these Nubian gold-lands and the assumption of the office of viceroy of Nubia by the High Priest of Amon. This was done by Hrihor (§ 615), but the following letter shows that he had not yet done so in Ramses XII's seventeenth year, at which time the king still exercises his authority over the viceroy, and sends him after a tardy butler, who needs prodding in the execution of the king's commission to collect building materials, and to finish a shrine.

Titulary

596. ¹[Horus: Mighty Bull, Beloved of Re; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Mighty in Strength], Repulsing Hundreds of Thousands;

^aWritten with black ink in hieratic on the lid of the coffin; published: Maspero, *Momies royales*, Pls. XI A, XII; p. 553.

^bLike the preceding; published by Maspero, *Momies royales*, Pl. XI B; 557.

^cTurin papyrus, Pleyte et Rossi, Pls. 66, 67.

Golden Horus: Great in Strength, Making the Two Lands to Live, ²Sovereign, L. P. H., Satisfied in Heart, Just, Pleasing the Two Lands; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: ³Menmare-Setepneptah, L. P. H.; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Ramses (XII)-Khamwese-Meriamon-Nuterhekon, L. P. H.

Introduction

597. ⁴Royal command to the king's-son of Kush, king's-scribe of the army, overseer of the granary, Paynehsi, the leader of ⁵the archers of Pharaoh, L. P. H.; saying: "This royal command is brought to thee, to wit:

The Butler

598. "Go forth ¹— after¹ ⁶the major-domo, the butler of Pharaoh, L. P. H., and cause him to proceed with the business of Pharaoh, L. P. H., his lord, ⁷which he was sent to do, in the southern region. When the writing^a of Pharaoh, thy lord, reaches thee, ⁸thou shalt join thyself to him, to cause that he do the business of Pharaoh, L. P. H., ⁹his lord, whereon he was sent."

The Shrine

599. "And thou shalt look to this portable shrine of this great goddess, ¹⁰and thou shalt ¹complete¹ it, and thou shalt bear it to the ship, and thou shalt have it brought before him to my place of abode."^b

Artisans' Supplies

600. ¹¹"And thou shalt have brought ¹for¹ it khenmet stone, inkhu (*yn-n-hw*) stone, ¹emory¹ (*ys-m² -r²*), flowers of the katha-plant, ¹²and many blue flowers, — to my place of abode; in order to fill the hand of ¹³the artisans therewith. Do not neglect this business which I send to thee. ¹⁴Behold, I write for thy testimony.^c It is a letter to inform thee^d of the king's well-being.

¹⁵"Year 17, fourth month of the first season, day 15."

^aThe present letter.

^bTanis?

^cA formula used to indicate to the recipient that the matter is in writing, to serve as his testimony in case of future misunderstanding.

^dAmong other things.

BUILDING INSCRIPTIONS IN THE TEMPLE OF KHONSU^a

601. The temple of Khonsu is the only monument in which we can clearly trace the fall of the last Ramessid and the succession of the High Priest of Amon, Hrihor. This transition will be found briefly discussed in connection with Hrihor's inscriptions (§ 608). The dedications occupying the official place on the architraves of the hypostyle are all in the name of Ramses XII, as if he were in full enjoyment of the usual powers of the Pharaoh; while those around the base of the wall in the same hall (§§ 609, 610) contain but the scantiest reference to the king. On the rôle played by the king in the wall scenes in the same hall, see §§ 611-13.

The architrave dedications are as follows:

602. ^bLive Horus:^c Ramses XII; he made (it) as his monument for his father, "Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest;" which Ramses XII made for him.

^dLive the Good God, maker of monuments in the house of his father, Khonsu, lord of Thebes, builder of his temple as an eternal work in fine white sandstone, increasing — — — —^e

^fLive Horus:^c Ramses XII; he made (it) as his monument for his father, "Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest," making for him (the hall called) "Wearer-of-Diadems" for the first time, of fine white sandstone, making splendid his temple as a beautiful monument,^g forever, which the Son of Re, Ramses XII, made for him.

603. ^h. Ramses XII, mighty king, great in monuments in

^aChampollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 233-35; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 238, d, Text, III, 65; Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, 59, 3-5.

^bArchitraves on both sides of central aisle of hypostyle, on sides facing aisle.

^cPartial titulary

^dArchitraves on right of central aisle, side facing small columns.

^e"Lacune de quelques signes et légende royale du même" (as above).

^fArchitraves over small columns on the right.

^gOr: "with beautiful monuments."

^hBegins the same as the preceding.

the house of his father, Khonsu, lord of Thebes, building for him his house, made for the first time as an excellent, eternal work; the great gods are satisfied in heart over his monument, which the Son of Re, Ramses XII, made for him.

^aLive the Good God, doing benefactions, the monument-builder, plentiful in wonders, whose every design comes to pass 'immediately' like his father, Ptah-South-of-His-Wall. He has illuminated Thebes with great monuments 'of' the king, which King Ramses XII, beloved of Khonsu, made for him.

^aOnly Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, 59, 3.

THE TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY

THE TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY

604. While these volumes are not intended to furnish discussions and reconstructions of the dynasties, the Twenty-first Dynasty is, nevertheless, so unusual in character, that it is impossible to classify the brief and fragmentary documents which it has left us, without some indication of its peculiarities.

605. Already under the last Ramessid (before his fifth year) we have seen, in the report of Wenamon, that a local dynast of Tanis, Nesubenebbed, had assumed the sovereignty of the Delta. When Ramses XII died and the Twentieth Dynasty was ended, Nesubenebbed became king of Lower Egypt, and the founder of the Twenty-first Dynasty of Manetho. At Thebes, the High Priest of Amon, Hrihor, became king of Upper Egypt. Of the Tanite kings we know next to nothing; but we are at least able to follow the high priests at Thebes from generation to generation without a break. They form the only connected thread along which we can trace the course of the dynasty. At Hrihor's death they were not able to maintain their royalty, and Nesubenebbed ruled the whole country for a time. Hrihor's grandson, Paynozem I, having, while High Priest, married Makere, the daughter^a of Pesibkhenno I of Tanis, likewise became sole king for a long reign. Otherwise the Tanites were dominant; but probably not on hostile terms with the high priests, who remained powerful princes, more or less independent, and boasting many of the titles of royalty.

606. Possessing only a few names of Tanite kings in northern monuments of their own, we are obliged to turn to Thebes for the materials with which to reconstruct the dynasty. The difficulty with these materials is that they

^aSee Maspero, *Momies royales*, 692-98.

frequently, indeed prevailing, record royal dates with only the year, omitting the name of the Tanite king to whom the year belongs. From such documents^a it is now possible to reconstruct the following table of the dynasty.^b Space and the purpose of these volumes do not permit its discussion here, but some explanations will be found with the inscriptions upon which it is based. An asterisk with a number indicates that the king's name accompanies it in the original document; and the dagger, that the name of the High Priest occurs with it. It will be seen that there are only three dates with both. The numbers show that the Twenty-first Dynasty lasted $134 + 6x$ years. As one x is the entire reign of Hrihor (Nesubenebbed), we must credit it with not less than 145 years.

607. PHARAOHS ^c	YEARS	HIGH PRIESTS
Nesubenebbed	{	{ Hrihor (high priest and king) Payonekh (his son)
Akheperre-Setepna-	6†	{ Paynozem I (his son)
mon-Pesibkhenno I	9†	
17 years + x	10†	
	13†	
	17†	

^aThey will be found, with one exception, in the following translations (§§ 608-92).

^bThe former discussions, as well as an exhaustive treatment of the Twenty-first Dynasty, will be found in Maspero's *Momies royales* (*Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, I, 640-730). A modification of Maspero's reconstruction was proposed by Petrie, who proved that Hrihor and Siamon were distinct (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XVIII, 59, 60). New material found on the priestly mummies discovered in 1891 confirmed this conclusion. This material was published by Daressy (*Revue archéologique*, 28, 75-78), who furnished further modifications of Maspero's reconstruction, but did not employ all the available material. Another modification was proposed by Torr (*Revue archéologique*, 28, 296-98), who added a new High Priest. The above table agrees in the main with Daressy, but employs all the material and adds some corrections. No comparison with the data of Manetho is here necessary, as his account of the dynasty is almost worthless.

^cThe order of these kings is certain, but the connections between them are very loose, so that there is room for an ephemeral king who may be inserted somewhere in the second half (especially between Amenemopet and Siamon or Siamon and Pesibkhenno II), to make up the seven kings given by Manetho in this dynasty.

PHARAOKHS ^a	YEARS	HIGH PRIESTS
Paynozem I 40 years + x	7	Zekhonsefonekh (son of King Paynozem) ^b
	8*	
	16†	Masaheret (son of King Paynozem)
	25†	Menkheperre-Pesibkhenno ^c (son of King Paynozem)
Amenemopet 49 years + x	40†	
	6†	Nesubenebbed (his son)
	7†	
	22(?)*†	Paynozem II (son of Menkheperre)
	49*	
	1†	
	2†	
	3†	
	5†	
	7*†	
Siamon 16 ^d years + x	8*	
	9†	
	10†	
	13 ^e	
	14*† ^f	
	16†	

^aSee note c, p. 296.

^bNoticed by Mr. Cecil Torr on a now missing coffin, on which the deceased calls himself: "son of the High Priest Zekhonsefonekh, son of King Paynozem" (*Revue archéologique*, 1896, 28, 298). His position above is not quite certain, but as we do not know who was High Priest in Paynozem I's seventh and eighth years, he may well fall in that gap.

^cAs Torr (*Revue archéologique*, 1896, 28, 296 ff.) has noticed, Paynozem II as High Priest under King Amenemopet calls himself in several places both son of the High Priest Menkheperre and son of King Pesibkhenno, showing that both the latter names belong to the same man. As Menkheperre occurs in a cartouche, e. g. (*Revue archéologique*, 28, 75), and likewise Pesibkhenno in a cartouche is once called High Priest, there is no doubt that Torr is correct in supposing that Menkheperre is the prenomen of Pesibkhenno. He thus assumed royal honors, and may possibly have ruled for a while alone. As he would not assume the throne-name till he had gained the throne, that is, until after Paynozem I's death, the High Priest Pesibkhenno whom we find in a fourth and twelfth year must be a different man. Hence I cannot agree with Torr that this Pesibkhenno is the same as Menkheperre, whose father regularly has the cartouche, while this Pesibkhenno is called simply son of Paynozem (without cartouche).

^dA graffito at Karnak records year 17 of a king Siamon who may be our above king (*Recueil*, 22, 51 ff., No. 3 B).

^eMaspero, *Momies royales*, 725.

^f*Recueil*, 22, 61, No. 33; a graffito at Karnak; the king's name is almost broken away. It began with Amon, and, as it can hardly be Amenemopet, it must be Siamon.

PHARAOHS ^a	YEARS	HIGH PRIESTS
Pesibkhenno II ^b 12 years + x	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} 4\uparrow \\ 5 \\ 10 \\ 12\uparrow \end{array} \right\}$	Pesibkhenno (his son)
<hr/> TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY		

Reign of Sheshonk I	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} 5^{*}\uparrow \\ 10^{*}\uparrow \\ 11^{*}\uparrow \\ \text{etc.} \end{array} \right\}$	Yewepet (son of Sheshonk I)
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The following inscriptions are arranged, for the most part, under the High Priest in whose term of office they fall, as this is, in the majority of cases, stated in the document.

^aSee note c, p. 296.

^bMenkheperre-Pesibkhenno may never have governed all Egypt; hence I do not put him in the Pharaonic line, but number the last Pesibkhenno as II. Manetho is our only evidence for his position here.

REIGN OF HRIHOR

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TEMPLE OF KHONSU

608. The inscriptions and reliefs in the temple of Khonsu at Karnak form the chief source for tracing the rise of Hrihor as High Priest of Amon, until his usurpation of the kingship, and they clearly establish the early contentions of Rougé,^a so ably supplemented by Maspero,^b as against those of Lepsius, regarding the close of the Twentieth and the beginning of the Twenty-first Dynasty. The adytum and rear-most chambers of the temple were built by Ramses III and his immediate successors (§§ 214, 472). The hypostyle, the court before it, and the pylon were the work of Ramses XII and Hrihor, the hypostyle having been built by them both in common, and the court and pylon by Hrihor alone. Hence, in passing from the hypostyle outward to the court, the political change can be traced on the walls as one goes. We have seen the dedications of Ramses XII on the architraves of the hypostyle (§§ 601-3). The dedications around the base of the wall, however, as well as the scenes in the same hall, show the dominant position held by Hrihor and the subordinate rôle played by the king.

Dedication^c

609. High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, commander in chief of the armies of South and North, the leader, Hrihor, triumphant; he made it as his monument for "House-of-Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest;"

^a*Etude sur une stèle égyptienne appartenant à la Bibliothèque impériale*, 195-202.

^b*Momies royales*, 646 ff.

^cOccupies the base of the wall (inside), and evidently extends around the right side of the hypostyle, from the door in front to the door in the rear; published by Maspero, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1883, 76-77; and again, *Momies royales*, 652.

making for him a temple for the first time^a in the likeness of the horizon of heaven, extending his temple as an eternal work, enlarging his monument (more than) before.^b He increased the daily offerings, he doubled that which was before, while the gods of Thebes are possessed of joy, and the great house is in festival, the house of Khonsu, (because^c) he repeated the august things, being great and beautiful monuments ——— Lord of the Two Lands: Menmare-Setepneptah; Lord of Diadems: Ramses (XII)-Khamwese-Mereramou-Nuterhekon, given life. Lo, the desire of his majesty was to enlarge the house of his father, "House-of-Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest," in order that his shrine might be covered, by doing benefactions for his ka; that^c which the Son of Re, Ramses XII, beloved of Khonsu, made for him.

Dedication^d

610. High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Hrihor, triumphant. He made (it) as his monument for "House-of-Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest;" making for him (the hall called): "Wearer-of-Diadems," for the first time, of fine white sandstone, exalting his Great Place, with electrum, adorned with every splendid costly stone, enlarging his house forever with labor, making it to be like the horizon of the great gods at the feast when he appears born again; an august [house] of fine gold and every genuine costly stone, like the [horizon of] Re when he is born again. — — many offering-tables of silver and gold, in order to satisfy thy ka, every day.

Scene^e

611. The great barque or sacred shrine^f of Amon is borne by the priests into the temple of Khonsu (as the inscriptions

^aOr merely "anew" ?

^bOr: "which was before."

^cThe antecedent is the building (understood), as commonly.

^dIn the hypostyle, around the base of the wall of the left side, being the pendant of the preceding. It is published by Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 204; see also Maspero, *Momies royales*, 652 (where Rougé's publication is, however, not referred to).

^eIn hypostyle (Lepsius E) immediately behind court, at right of door *h* below; published, without reliefs, by Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 230, 231; Maspero, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1883, 75, 76; and again, *Momies royales*, 651.

^fIt is followed by two others, doubtless those of Mut and Khonsu; the same is true of the following scene.

show). Walking backward before it, the High Priest Hrihor offers incense to it. The inscriptions are significant:

General

It is the procession of Amon-Re, king of gods, lord of —, to the "House-of-Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest," to behold the beauty of his son (Khonsu).

Over Hrihor

Offering incense before this god, [Amon-Re], king of gods, by the companion, [who presents] the Two Lands to the lord of gods, the High Priest of [Amon-Re], king of gods, Hrihor, triumphant.

Over Amon

Utterance of Amon :^a O my son, Lord of the Two Lands: Menmare-Setepneptah (Ramses XII), I have seen this beautiful, pure and excellent monument which thou hast made for me; the reward thereof is all life and prosperity, all health, like Re, forever.

Scene^b

612. The same sacred barque has been deposited upon its base, doubtless in the temple court. Hrihor offers incense and a libation before it. The accompanying inscriptions are:

Over Hrihor

Offering of incense and a libation to Amon ,^a that thou (sic!) mayest grant long life, beholding thy [—], and a good old age in thy city, Thebes; by the hereditary prince, over the Two Lands, great noble^c in the whole land, High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, commander in chief of the army of the North and South, the leader, Hrihor, triumphant.

^aTitles of the god.

^bOn the left of the door *h*, as pendant to the preceding scene; published *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1883, 76; and *Momies royales*, 651.

^cPossibly: "*companion (smr), great noble (wr ˢ)*;" the last being the designation common in the Twenty-second Dynasty.

Over Amon

Utterance of Amon : O my son, of my body, my beloved, Menmare-Setepneptah (Ramses XII), my heart is glad, rejoicing — [in] thy monument, etc.

613. In other scenes which follow, Hrihor officiates while the name of Ramses XII appears behind him. The High Priest thus performs the official religious functions in which hitherto only the Pharaoh has been portrayed on temple walls, while the name of the Pharaoh, and the promises of the god to him, usual on such occasions, are still inserted.

614. The door leading out from this hypostyle to the court in front shows the power of Hrihor still increasing; he has become overseer of the granaries, the source of Egypt's greatest wealth, and viceroy of Kush. These titles appear side by side beneath the name of Ramses XII, in a date (unfortunately now lost) at the head of a very interesting, but fragmentary, inscription which narrated a prodigy in favor of Hrihor, doubtless connected with his advance in power. He appeared before Khonsu with a petition for "*life, prosperity, health, and many good things*," the blessings usually desired; but it is evident that some great event in Hrihor's favor was to take place within a year; though it is not clear what that event was. Khonsu's approval was expressed by numerous nods of the god's head, and news of this was taken to Amon, who also nodded violently in approval, adding the audible promise that he assured Hrihor twenty years, meaning, of course, twenty years' more of power; but whether as king or High Priest is not stated in the scanty fragments preserved. However, it is highly probable that this is the narrative of the divine oracle declaring Hrihor king. In any case, he was very anxious to make the whole event a matter of record, and immediately secured Amon's approval of recording the prodigy "*upon stone*." The place

where the incident is recorded on the door, between the portion of the temple erected by Hrihor in conjunction with Ramses XII, and the court erected by Hrihor alone, suggests that in it we have the divine sanction of the transition which takes place at that point. The record^a is as follows:

Date

615. 1———— Ramses XII,^b beloved of Amon-Re, king of gods, given life forever.

Hrihor before Khonsu

2———— High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, king's-son of Kush,^c overseer of the granaries 3————. Then the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, repeated to him: 4“———— [Thebes], thy city.” Then the god nodded with his head. 5“———— of Thebes, thy city.” Then the god nodded — 6———— 7“———— 8honor to me, life, prosperity, health, and many good things in Thebes, thy city 9———— which thou givest, and thou shalt give them to me.” Then nodded the 10[god] ————— within a year, the space that thou givest to me; those who are in 11———— within the year which thou givest me, which thou spendest to give them to me, besides the — 12———— Hrihor ([Hry]-Hr), triumphant.

Amon's Confirmation

616. The city went forth as messengers 1to1 him to tell that which Khonsu said 13———— [Amon-Re], king of gods, turning his face northward to Karnak. Then he arrived at the — 14———— Amon-

^aBrugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, Pl. XXI; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 248, b; see also Text, III, 64. Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, is hardly readable; Brugsch is much better. See also Maspero, *Momies royales*, 671. The inscription is on the door-post of the door leading from Hrihor's court to the hypostyle; it is marked g in Lepsius' plan (Text). Only the ends of twenty-eight horizontal lines are preserved.

^bSo read by Brugsch, by Lepsius (Text) and by Maspero (*Momies royales*, 671).

^cThere is not the slightest doubt that these titles belonged to Hrihor. He is the only High Priest of Amon known under Ramses XII, and his name occurs in this inscription below as the chief actor. From now on, the high priests during their ascendancy, are also viceroys of Kush; see, among other examples, a statue recently found by Legrain at Karnak (*Annales*, IV, 9). We are therefore to supply the name of Hrihor in the above lacunæ following the titles.

Re, king of gods, the 'father' — — ¹⁵ — — [Then the god nodded his head] exceedingly, exceedingly, saying: "A space¹ of 20 years is [that which¹] Amon-Re, king of gods, [gives¹] to thee ¹⁶ — — [because of¹] the good deeds which thou hast done for Mut, Khonsu, and 'her' children formerly ¹⁷ — —."

Record of the Prodigy

617. Then the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Hrihor, triumphant, repeated it to him, saying: "O my good lord ¹⁸ — — [Shall we record¹ these] marvels upon stone?" The god nodded (his) head exceedingly, exceedingly. Then repeated to him ¹⁹ [the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Hrihor, saying]: " — — [Khonsu-in-Thebes]-Beautiful-Rest, thy saying; grant that they make a stela — ²⁰ — — [Khonsu - in] - Thebes - Beautiful - Rest, which he made." The god nodded (his) head exceedingly, exceedingly.

Hrihor's Gratitude

618. ²¹ — — eternity shall come to thee, and millions of years shall be in — — ²² — — generations shall come to talk of these marvels of — ²³ — — generations, 'c[children¹]' shall make — ²⁴ — — the words 'which¹ came, 'shall be¹ ²⁵ — — ['which¹] thou sayest to me, that givest to me the space^a of twenty years ²⁶ — — ." [The god] nodded (his) head exceedingly, exceedingly — — — ²⁷ — — . Then Hrihor gave ['command to erect this stela¹] — — — ²⁸ — — in putting it, a copy — — — .

619. With the outer court, then, begins the sole rule of Hrihor, the divine approval of which is doubtless narrated in the preceding document, recorded on the door where we leave Ramses XII behind. Here only Hrihor's name appears, and here he only is the recipient of the blessings of the gods, which up to this time, and in the hypostyle behind, were always accorded the Pharaoh alone. Hence in the relief scenes in the court, Khonsu addresses Hrihor thus:^b

^aRead *c h c*, as in l. 10.

^bMaspero, *Momies royales*, 653.

620. "I give to thee very many jubilees, like thy father, Re; I give to thee every land together; while the Nine Bows fall down to thy power."

Utterance of "Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest:" "O my son, my beloved, Lord of the Two Lands, Siamon-^aHrihor; how beautiful is this beautiful, pure, and excellent monument which thou hast made for me! My heart is satisfied in seeing them (sic!), and I give to thee reward for them, even life, stability, satisfaction, and the kingdom of the Two Lands in peace, like Re."

621. As king, therefore, Hrihor built the forecourt and the pylon before it, as is amply borne out by the following dedications on the architraves and the pylon, giving him the full Pharaonic titulary. In this he boldly published his real office, putting the title "*High Priest of Amon*" into the first cartouche, as if it were his given name, before he gained the throne.

622. ^{b1}Live Horus: Mighty Bull, Son of Amon, Maker of Monuments, Establishing for Him Who Begat Him, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Great Ruler of Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: High Priest of Amon. He made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, king of gods, making for him a colonnade, for the first time; it is made like the beauty of the horizon; all people are in joy at seeing it, the lord^c of silver and mistress^c of gold, comprehending^c every splendid, costly stone; the deed of a son in love of him who [placed] him on his throne, giving to him eternity as King of the Two Lands, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: High Priest of Amon, beloved of Amon-Re, king of gods, lord of heaven, ruler of the gods; that he might be given life forever.

623. ²Live the Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Satisfying the Gods, Building their House, Furnishing the Satisfaction of their ka's; Son of Re, Amiable Lord of the Palace, Lord of Diadems: Siamon-Hrihor,^d divine seed of the lord of gods, his splendid emanation, whom

^a"*Son of Amon*;" both the names are now inclosed in a cartouche.

^bCourt, architrave over western colonnade; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 243, ^a= Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 222, 223.

^cEpithets of the temple.

^dIn cartouche.

Mut bore to be ruler of the circuit of the sun. All lands are under his authority, doing that which his ka wills. The chiefs of Retenu do obeisance to his fame every day, while he sits upon the Horus-throne, which all the living magnify for him, the Son of Re, of His Body, Lord of Diadems: Siamon-Hrihor, beloved of Mut the great, mistress of Ishru; given life like Re.

624. ³Live Golden Horus: Doing Benefactions in Karnak for his father, Amon, Creator of his Beauty, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Beloved of the Great Divine Ennead, Lord of the Two Lands: High Priest of Amon; king amiable, like Re, making festive Karnak, protecting it for the gods, setting the lords of Thebes to rejoicing, their hearts glad, when they see the "House-of-Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest," like the horizon in heaven. All people, they praise its beauty, they acclaim [to] heaven. King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Beloved, Lord of the Two Lands: High Priest of Amon, beloved of Khonsu-Re; that he may be given life.

625. ^{a1}. He made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, king of gods, making for him a broad-hall (called): "Hall-of-the-High-Priest-of-Amon,-Siamon-Hrihor,-Great-in-Love-in-the-House-of-Khonsu;" for the first time, of fine white sandstone, as [a work] of eternity by the hand of Ptah, who furnished the plan.

Scene^b

626. Relief represents the pylon of the Khonsu-temple, with four flagstaves on either side of the portal. The inscriptions under the architrave and beside the flagstaves, though fragmentary, show the name of Hrihor.^c Above the pylon is the following:

^aFirst court, eastern architrave. Three lines corresponding to the triple dedication on the western architrave, translated above (§§ 622-24). The titles at the beginning of the line I have omitted; also the other two lines which add nothing. Published by Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 223 (partially); Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 244, a; Text, III, 6r.

^bIn the court, right (east) colonnade; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 243, b; Text, III, 6r.

^cThese are the dedications in the usual form taken from the actual pylon, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 248, i, h.

Inscription^a

Horus: Mighty Bull, Son of Amon, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: ^bHigh Priest of Amon; ^bSon of Re, of his Body: ^bSiamon-Hrihor.^b He made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, king of gods, restoring for him, and making Thebes to shine anew (for him), whose name is hidden in [—], establishing for him the “House-of-Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest,” for eternity.

^aLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 243, *b*; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 226.

^bIn cartouche.

REIGN OF NESUBENEDED

GEBELÊN INSCRIPTION^a

627. This, the only surviving inscription of King Nesubenebbed (Smendes), the founder of the Twenty-first Dynasty, narrates some catastrophe at Thebes, due to the partial collapse of a wall around the Luxor temple, built by Thutmose III. Exactly what happened is not, however, certain. The king sent his officials with 3,000 men to the quarry at Gebelên, to secure stone for repairing the damage, and one reference (l. 16) may indicate that the king himself finally came.

The document shows that Nesubenebbed ruled at Thebes, and, of course, controlled all Egypt. Hrihor must, therefore, have died before the close of Nesubenebbed's reign.

628. ^bLo, his majesty was in the city of Memphis, his august residence of might and victory, like Re ——— [Ptah], ⁴lord of "Life-of-the-Two-Lands," Sekhmet the great, beloved of Ptah, — —, Montu and the great gods residing in Memphis. Lo, his majesty sat, in the hall [¹of his palace, when there came messengers, informing¹] ⁵his majesty, that the canal-wall, forming the limits of Luxor, which King Menkheperre (Thutmose III) had built, had begun [to fall to ruin] ——— ⁶forming a great flood, and a powerful [¹current¹] therein, on the great [¹pavement¹] of the house of the temple. It encircled [¹the front¹] ——— [¹Said his majesty¹] ⁷to them: "As for this matter reported to me, there has been nothing in the time of my majesty from of old, like it."

^aEngraved on a pillar in the quarry at Gebelên; over one-third of a line is lost at the beginning of each line; published by Daressy, *Recueil*, X, 136, 137. The portion preserved is often so uncertain, and has been so inaccurately published, that some omissions have been necessary.

^bI have omitted the titulary.

629. His majesty [‘‘dispatched master-build¹’]ers, and 3,000 men with them, of the choicest of the people of his majesty. The command of his majesty to them: “Hasten to ———— ¹²the mountain — people^a of his majesty as the companions of (his) feet ‘— — —’ ———— ¹²— — —’ this quarry, from the time of the ancestors to the present day, Gebelên ———— ¹³.”

630. They engraved this decree, which perpetuates his majesty [forever] ———— ¹⁴. His command arrived to beautify the work on the stela [Never] ¹⁶was done the like of it in the time of the ancestors. Lo, his majesty passed by, in excellent virtues like Thoth ———— ¹⁷. The reward therefor is might and victory, and to appear upon the Horus-throne [of the living, forever] ————.

^a*Hnty*, evidently the same class as are mentioned in the Paynozem II inscription (§ 671, l. 8).

REIGN OF THE HIGH PRIEST AND KING PAYNOZEM I

I. PAYNOZEM I AS HIGH PRIEST BUILDING INSCRIPTIONS

631. On Hrihor's death his family were unable to maintain their royalty. His eldest son, Payonekh, followed him as High Priest of Amon, but evidently died soon after gaining the office. Hrihor's second son, Paynozem, succeeded to the high priesthood, but, as we have said, not immediately to the throne. He continued the unfinished portions of the Khonsu-temple, especially the pylon of his father, as recorded in the following building inscriptions:

632. ^aLive the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, lord of offering, Paynozem, triumphant, son of the High Priest of Amon. Payonekh, triumphant. He made (it) as his monument for his father, "Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest," making for him a great and august pylon, over against his temple. The great flagstaves approach heaven, their [tops] are of electrum; all people rejoice when they see (it).

^b. making for him a very great pylon anew, in the likeness of his horizon in heaven. The great gods are possessed of joy and satisfaction of heart, because of what he has made in the great house. They give millions of years of satisfying life, to the High Priest, etc. . . . ^c

^dLive, the Horus: Mighty Bull, Son of Amon; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Satisfying the Gods, Doing Benefactions for their ka's;

^aPylon; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 251, a; another broken dedication on the pylon (Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 220; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 248, i = Text, III, 57) also attributes it to him.

^bAs in the preceding; it is also on the pylon; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 251, b; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 215, 216.

^cUsual name and parentage.

^dOn door of first pylon, Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, Pl. 57, 2.

High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Paynozem, triumphant, son of Payonekh, triumphant. He made (it) as his monument for his father, Khonsu, making for him a pylon anew. ———

Scene^a

633. A priest stands before Amon, presenting flowers. The inscriptions are these:

Over Priest

Presentation of all beautiful flowers by [the High Priest] of Amon-Re, king of gods, doing benefactions — — —, Paynozem, triumphant, son of the High Priest of Amon, Payonekh, triumphant; doing the pleasure of his ka, building [the temples] of all gods, fashioning (statues of) their majesties of 'electrum'; he supplies their offerings ———.

Over Amon

Utterance of Amon "O my son, of my body, my beloved, Lord of the Two Lands, Paynozem,^b triumphant, I have seen the monuments which thou hast made for me; my heart is satisfied because of them. Thou makest festive my house anew, thou buildest a 'dwelling' of electrum, thou increasest the daily offering, thou multiplieth that which was formerly. The reward therefore is the satisfying life of Horus."

634. Paynozem also restored the Eighteenth Dynasty temple of Medinet Habu, and left the following record of his work there:

^cLive, the Good God, son of Amon, who came forth from his loins, to equip the Two Lands, whom Mut nourished, to fashion (statues of) the gods, to build their adyta; doing benefactions for all the gods of Thebes; while they are satisfied in heart [because of]^d what he has

^aEntrance of pylon, Khonsu-temple; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 250, a. Behind Amon are Mut and Khonsu, and a figure of the "*divine votress Makere*," inserted by Queen Henttowe.

^bNot in cartouche.

^cEast side of Eighteenth Dynasty Medinet Habu temple, under similar restoration record of Ramses III; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 251, e-g; better, Text, III, 164.

^dThe preposition (*hr*) has dropped out; see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 251, b, for the same phrase.

done, and their hearts are glad; High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, governor of the city, vizier, commander of the army,^a satisfying [—], Paynozem, triumphant, son of the High Priest of Amon Payonekh, triumphant. He restored the monument of his father, "Amon-Re-of-the-Splendid-Throne," when he came to see the house of his father, and found it beginning to fall to ruin ———— in order to restore his temple and his wall anew, in order to satisfy the heart of all the gods and goddesses, in order to shelter — — the divine — of the region of Themet (*Tꜣ-mwꜣt*),^b in order to cause the palace to be like the horizon of heaven.^c

635. To work in Karnak he refers vaguely in the following record, repeated on the rams of Ramses II:

^dHigh Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, lord of offering, Paynozem, triumphant, son of Payonekh, triumphant; he says: "I am great in monuments and mighty in marvels in Karnak, victorious lord. I have enlarged monuments greater than (for) any gods. I made for him very great monuments in silver and gold, engraved with my name forever."

RECORDS ON THE ROYAL MUMMIES

636. As High Priest Paynozem gave much attention to the restoration and preservation of the violated royal mummies. His successive efforts to this end are recorded on the coffins and wrappings. These records are all dated, and such dates, while not mentioning the name of the king, evidently belong to the reign of Pesibkhenno I, the successor of Nesubenebbed in Tanis. Of these, perhaps, the most important is the note of the year 17, recording the transfer of Ramses II's body to the tomb of Seti I.

^aAnother short inscription near by (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 251, *d*) contains only the usual restoration formula, but it gives him the title: "*Commander in chief of the armies of the South and North.*"

^bName of Medinet Habu region; Coptic, Dshême.

^cHere follows a prayer of no historical content.

^dOn the rams of Ramses II connecting the front of the Karnak temple with the river; *Recueil*, XIV, 30.

Mummy of Thutmose II

637. ^aYear 6, third month of the second season, day 7. On this day, the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Paynozem, son of the High Priest of Amon, Payonekh, sent the chief overseer of the White House, Payneferhir, to reinter King Okhepernere (^c [hpr]-n-R^c, ^b Thutmose II).

Mummy of Amenhotep I

638. ^cYear 6, fourth month of the second season, day 5. On this day the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Paynozem, son of the High Priest of Amon, Paynozem,^d son of Payonekh, sent to reinter^e King Zeserkere, Son of Re, Amenhotep (I), L. P. H., by the hand of the overseer of the treasury, Pay———.

Mummy of Seti I

639. ^fLinen, which the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Paynozem, triumphant, son of Payonekh, triumphant, made for his father, Khonsu, in the year 10.

Mummy of Ramses III

640. ^gYear 13, second month of the third season, day 27. On this day the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Paynozem, son of the High Priest of Amon, Payonekh, sent: the scribe of the temple, Zoser-sukhonsu, and the scribe in the Theban necropolis, Butehamon, to give a place to King Usermare-Meriamon (Ramses III), L. P. H., established and abiding forever.

Mummy of Ramses III

^hHigh priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Paynozem, triumphant, son of Payonekh, triumphant [made] (it) for his father, Amon, in the year 9.

^aOn the breast of the mummy; Maspero, *Momies royales*, 545, 546.

^bThe scribe in his hasty note has omitted the hpr-sign.

^cOn the breast of the mummy; *op. cit.*, 536.

^dThis is a dittography, as shown by the preceding docket, which records similar work by the same official about a month earlier under Paynozem, son of Payonekh.

^eLit., "to repeat the burial of."

^fOn inner wrappings renewed by Twenty-first Dynasty; *op. cit.*, 555. The date, year 10, when this linen was made, is of course not necessarily the year when it was used.

^gOn the wrappings; *op. cit.*, 564.

Mummy of Ramses III

641. ^aThe — matron, singer of Amon-Re, king of gods, Fetonemut (*Fṯ·t·cṯ·t-nt-Mwt*), triumphant, daughter of the High Priest of Amon, Payonekh, triumphant, made and brought (it) for her lord, "Amon-Possessed-of-Eternity,"^b residing in the temple; in order to crave life, prosperity and health from him.

Mummy of Ramses II

642. ^cYear 17, third month of the second season, day 6, day of bringing Osiris, King Usermare-Setepnere (Ramses II), L. P. H., to bury him again, (in) the tomb of Osiris, King Menmare-Seti (I), L. P. H.: by the High Priest of Amon, Paynozem.

II. PAYNOZEM I AS KING

643. On succeeding Pesibkhenno I as king, Paynozem I continued his pious works in the royal necropolis. The dates accompanying the records now refer to the reign of Paynozem I himself; and in the year 16 the care of the necropolis was assumed by his son, Masaheret, then High Priest of Amon.

Mummy of Sitkamose

644. ^dYear 7, fourth month of the first season, day 8. On this day a place was given to the king's-daughter, great king's-wife, Ahmose-Sitkamose, who liveth.

Mummy of Ahmose I

645. ^eYear 8, third month of the second season, day 29. The majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Kheperkhare-Setepnamon, Paynozem-Meriamon, L. P. H., sent to give a place to King Nebpehtire (Ahmose I).

^aOn the wrappings; *op. cit.*, 565.

^bThis is evidently the temple of Medinet Habu (see its name, §§ 5 ff.); it was the Amon of Ramses III's temple whom she thought to propitiate by making the shroud for Ramses III. He himself is also shown on the wrappings offering to the same god.

^cOn one of the bandages near the outside; *op. cit.*, 560.

^dOn the breast of the mummy; *op. cit.*, 541; probably by the same hand as the next record on wrappings of Ahmose I (*op. cit.*, 534) from year 8 of Paynozem I.

^eAcross the breast of the mummy; *op. cit.*, 534.

Mummy of King's-Son, Siamon

646. ^aYear 8, month 3, of the second season, day 29. His majesty, L. P. H., sent to give a place to the king's-son, Siamon.

Mummy of Amenhotep I

647. ^bYear 16, fourth month of the second season, day 11. The High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Masaheret, son of King Paynozem, L. P. H., sent to reinter this god, by the hand of the scribe of the White House, scribe of the temple, Penamon, son of Sutimose.

BUILDING INSCRIPTIONS

648. Paynozem I, as king, continued in the Khonsu-temple at Karnak the works which he had begun as High Priest, although only one record of them is preserved. His queen, Henttowe, also left a record of the removal of older sculptured rams to the Khonsu-temple.

649. ^c——— temple anew of fine white sandstone, as an excellent eternal work, even that which a son does who does benefactions for his father, who placed him upon his throne; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Kheperkhare-Setepnamon;^d Son of Re, of his body, his beloved: Paynozem-Meriamon.^d

^eMistress of the Two Lands, Henttowe; she made (it) as her monument for her mother, Mut, when the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Kheperkhare-Setepnamon, brought the rams to the house of Amon.

^a*Op. cit.*, 538.

^bOn the breast of the mummy; *op. cit.*, 536, 537.

^cFrieze outside west wall: Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 230, 231; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 251, c.

^dIn cartouche.

^eOn the back of a sphinx belonging to Amenhotep III (according to Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 263, 264, "léontocéphales") in the Khonsu-temple; published by Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 264; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 249 f.; Maspero, *Momies royales*, 687.

HIGH PRIESTHOOD OF MENKHEPERRE

STELA^a OF THE BANISHMENT

650. Masaheret, Paynozem I's son, whom we find restoring the royal mummies as High Priest of Amon, in his father's sixteenth year (§ 647), must have died before the king's twenty-fifth year, when, according to our present document, the king's son, Menkheperre, was High Priest of Amon. Another son of Paynozem I, Zekhonsefonekh, must have held the high priesthood, and died also before the twenty-fifth year. But it is yet impossible to determine certainly the order of these two sons.

We find Menkheperre coming from the north, supposedly from Tanis, to Thebes in Paynozem I's twenty-fifth year, and the remarkable errand which brought him thither is intentionally narrated in such veiled language that it is impossible to determine exactly what its nature was. He came to put down certain unknown enemies, and to restore affairs in Thebes to their ancient status (ll. 6 and 7). This probably indicates a rising of some sort among the Thebans. When this had been quelled Menkheperre appeared before Amon, and with the usual prodigies, customary, at least since the time of Hrihor, he secured an oracle from the god permitting the return to Egypt of all those who had been banished to the Southern Oasis. Furthermore, he also obtained the god's consent to a decree forever forbidding

^aThe Maunier stela, now in the Louvre; I was unable to secure the number. It is a black granite stela, very difficult to read; published by Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*, I, Pl. XXII, 39 f.; and again, *Reise nach der Grossen Oase*, Pl. XXII (much better). I had my own copy made from the original, which I then collated with a squeeze.

such banishment in the future, and our stela is the permanent record of that decree. The interview with Amon closed with the god's consent that all murderers should be slain.

651. The interesting question as to the identity of the banished, who are thus pardoned, is one on which our document is studiously silent. Were they Thebans, on whose behalf the city had risen in insurrection (ll. 6 and 7)? And were they recalled to appease and quiet the turbulent city? And is the last grim enactment of the god a reminder to the violent of what they might expect in case of further insurrection?

Date and Introduction

652. Year 25, third month of the third season, day 29, corresponding to the feast of Amon-Re, king of gods, at his [beautiful] feast^a

————— ²Nesuhor^b in their increase thereof. The majesty of this august god was ————— ³Thebes. Then he took (his) way to the scribes, inspectors, people —————.

Departure for Thebes

⁴Year 25, first month of the — [season, day] —. 'Then spake his majesty¹ to the people: "Amon-[Re], lord of Thebes ————— ⁵their heart is firm — — — their multitude ——— the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, commander in chief of the army, Menkheperre,^c triumphant, son of King Paynozem-Meriamon ————— ⁶his — — — companion of his footsteps, while their hearts rejoiced because he had

^aThis cannot be the Feast of Opet, as restored by Brugsch (*Geschichte*, 645), for that feast took place in the second month. About two-thirds of a line are lost here, and the same is true of ll. 2-4.

^bThis man's connection with the events narrated is entirely obscure.

^cThis is the first mention of Menkheperre in the inscription, and he here bears his title of High Priest. Hence there seems to me no support for the supposition that he was nominated as High Priest on this visit to Thebes.

desired to come to the South in might and victory, in order to make satisfied the heart of the land, and to expel his enemies, that he might give ——— [as] ⁷they were in the time of Re.

Arrival at Thebes

653. He arrived at the city (Thebes) with a glad heart; the youth of Thebes received him, making jubilee, with an embassy before him. The majesty of this august god, lord of gods, Amon-Re, [lord of] Thebes, appeared (in procession) — — — ⁸that he might [—] him very greatly, very greatly, and establish him upon the throne of his father, as High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, commander in chief of the armies of the South and North. He (the god) decreed to him many gracious wonders, (such as) had never been seen since the time of Re.

New Year's Feast

654. [Now, after] ⁹the fourth month of the third season, on the fifth^a day of the (feast), "Birth of Isis," corresponding to the feast of Amon at the New Year, the majesty of this august god, lord of gods, Amon-Re, king of gods, appeared (in procession), came to the great halls of the house of Amon, and rested before the [inclosure wall]^b of Amon. ¹⁰The High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, commander in chief of the army, Menkheperre, triumphant, went to him and praised him exceedingly, exceedingly, many times, and he founded [for him] his offering, even [every] good thing¹.

Recall of the Banished

655. Then the High Priest of Amon, Menkheperre, triumphant, recounted to him, saying:

"O my good lord, (when) there is a matter, shall one recount it — ?"
¹¹Then the great god nodded exceedingly, exceedingly. Then he went again to the great god, saying: "O my good lord, (it is) the matter of these servants, against whom thou art wroth, who are in the oasis, whither they^c are banished." Then the great god ¹²nodded exceedingly, while this commander of the army, with his hands uplifted was praising

^aThe fifth intercalary day is of course meant.

^b*D* > *q* > *w*, the word which I have rendered "*courses*" in Papyrus Harris.

^cOr: "*one*" (impersonal), meaning: to which people are customarily banished.

his lord, as a father^a talks with his own son: "Hail to thee, [maker] of all [that is], creator of all that exists, father of the gods, fashioner of goddesses; who equips them in the cities and districts; begetter ¹³of men, and fashioner of women, maker of the life of all men. He is Khnum, building excellently, [giving] the breath of life; the north wind — —. Men live from his provision, who supplies the necessities of gods and men; the sun by day, the moon by night, sailing the heavens without ¹⁴ceasing. Great in fame, he is mightier than Sekhmet, like fire — — — — for him that prays to him; he is healthy to heal the sick, when the people look [to him] '———' ¹⁵f———'.^b Thou shalt hearken to my voice on this day, and thou shalt [relent] toward the servants, whom thou hast banished ¹⁶to the oasis, and they shall be brought (back) to Egypt." The great god nodded exceedingly.

Abolishment of Banishment

656. Then he (the High Priest) spake again, saying: "[O my good lord], as for any writing which any '—' makes, in order to bring it, let it be said — — —." Then the great god nodded exceedingly. Then he went ¹⁷again to the great god, saying: "O my good lord, thou shalt make a great^c decree in thy name, that no people of the land shall be [banished] to the distant region of the oasis, nor — — — — from this day on." ¹⁸Then the great god nodded exceedingly. He spake again, saying: "Thou shalt say that it shall be made into a decree upon a stela — — — — in thy '—',^d abiding and fixed forever."

Thanksgiving to Amon

657. Then the High Priest of Amon, Menkheperre, triumphant, spake again, saying: "O my good lord, then my '—' is [for] myriads of times, and the command is for father and mother in every family. My every word shall please the heart in [thy] presence, I am thy faithful servant, profitable to thy ka. ²⁰I was a youth in thy city, I produced thy provision and thy '—', while I was in the womb, when thou didst

^aThe inversion of the members of the comparison is in the original.

^bVery much broken; it is only general praise, and the particular petition begins with the following.

^cOr: "good;" the reading is uncertain.

^dBrugsch read here: "and be set up in thy cities," but this is no longer visible on the stone.

form (me) in the egg, when thou didst bring me forth 'to the great joy' of thy people. Grant that I may spend a happy life 'as a follower of thy ka. There is purity and health wherever thou tarriest. Set my feet in thy way, and direct me on thy path. Incline my heart '— —' to do —. 'Grant that I may pass a happy 'old age' in peace, while I am established, living in thy august house, like every favorite '— —' —."

Slaying of Murderers

658. 'Then the High Priest of Amon, Menkheperre, triumphant, went to the great god, saying: "As for any person, of whom they shall report before thee, saying, 'A slayer of living people '— —' (is he);' thou shalt destroy him, thou shalt slay him." Then the great god nodded exceedingly, exceedingly.

RECORD OF RESTORATION^a

659. Menkheperre was the author of works extending over a wide territory,^b but they are accompanied only by his name and titles. A restoration in the temple of Luxor is, however, recorded as follows:

Restoration of the monument, which the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Menkheperre, triumphant, son of the Lord of the Two Lands, Meriamon-Paynozem I, made, in the house of his father, Amon of Luxor.

KARNAK GRAFFITO

660. This is a record of an inspection of the Karnak temples by Menkheperre in the year 40, which must still be of the reign of Paynozem I, his father.

^cYear 40, third month of the third season, day of inspection of the house of Amon-Re, king of gods, the house of Amen[em]opet (Luxor),

^aOn a wall in the Luxor temple; Maspero, *Momies royales*, 702.

^bSee Maspero, *ibid.*

^cFallen granite pillar, Middle Kingdom portion of Karnak Amon-temple; *Recueil*, 22, 53, No. 3 A.

the house of Mut, the house of Khonsu, the house of Ptah, "South-of-His-Wall-in-Thebes," the house of Montu, lord of Thebes, and the house of Mat; by the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Menkheperre, son of King Paynozem-Meriamon, when command was given to the fourth prophet of Amon-Re, king of gods, prophet of Montu-Re, lord of Thebes, chief censer-bearer, Hetamenthenofer (*H³ t-Ymn-t³-n/r*), triumphant, son of the fourth prophet of Amon, prophet of Montu, lord of Thebes, Nesupehernemut (*Ns-sy-p³-hr-n-Mw³t*), triumphant,

^a

RECORDS ON THE ROYAL MUMMIES

661. Menkheperre continued the care of the royal necropolis, and we find him renewing the wrappings of Seti I in the seventh year of a king not mentioned, who can only be the successor of his father, Paynozem I, Amenemopet of Tanis. It was probably in the interim between the two reigns that he gained royal privileges and the throne-name Pesibkhenno, which he never employed in his father's time. We are unable to determine whether he ever reigned alone or not.

Mummy of Seti I

^bYear 7, second month of the second season, day 26; day of entombing King Menmare (Seti I), L. P. H.

^cLinen, which the High Priest of Amon-Re, Menkheperre, made for his father, Amon, (in the) year 6.

^aAmount of loss is uncertain.

^bOn inner wrappings, just under the outside wrappings renewed by the Twenty-first Dynasty; *Momies royales*, 555.

^cOn inner wrappings renewed by Twenty-first Dynasty.

HIGH PRIESTHOOD OF PAYNOZEM II

RECORDS ON THE PRIESTLY MUMMIES^a

662. The 153 mummies of the priests of Amon, found at Thebes in 1891 bore a few inscriptions of historical value. They show that Menkheperre was succeeded in the high priesthood by a certain Nesubenebbed, who is known from the Karnak decree to be a son of Menkheperre.^b Nesubenebbed was early succeeded by another son of Menkheperre named Paynozem, the second of the name, in the high priesthood of Amon, which he entered upon under the Tanite king Amenemopet, probably before that king's twenty-second year, as the following records show. They likewise carry his administration at Thebes to the year 10^c of Siamon.

663. ^dKing of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermare-Setepnamon (Amenemopet). Linen which the High Priest of Amon, Paynozem, son of Menkheperre, made for his father, Amon, in the year —.

^eKing of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Meriamon-Amenemopet. Linen which the High Priest of Amon, Paynozem, son of Menkheperre, made for his lord, Amon, in the year 22.^f

^gKing of Upper and Lower Egypt, Amenemopet, year 49.

^hLinen which the High Priest of Amon, Paynozem, son of Menkheperre, made for his lord, Khonsu, in the year 3.

^aOn the straps, bandages, and linen; Daressy, *Revue archéologique*, 28 (4-7 of the *tirage à part*). The numbers used in my notes are those of the mummies.

^bDaressy, *op. cit.*, 28 (9, 10, of the *tirage à part*).

^cA graffito at Karnak (Legrain, *Recueil*, 22, 61, No. 33) gives the year 14 of a king whose name is lost. It began with Amen, and may therefore be either Amenemopet or Siamon, very probably the latter.

^dNo. 17.

^eNo. 134.

^fDaressy adds (?) to this numeral without indicating how much of it is affected by the uncertainty.

^gLoose piece of linen, detached.

^hNo. 143.

^aLinen which the High Priest of Amon, Paynozem, son of Menkheperre, made for his mistress, Mut, year 7 of King Siamon.

^b———— Mut, year 8 of King Siamon.

^cLinen which the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Paynozem, son of Menkheperre, made for his lord, Amon, in the year 10.

RECORDS ON THE ROYAL MUMMIES

664. These rough notes, hurriedly recorded on the royal mummies, offer graphic testimony to the insecurity of the times at Thebes.

In Paynozem II's time, though his name is not mentioned in the records on the coffins, the bodies of Ramses II and Ramses I, which had been removed to the tomb of Seti I, as well as that of Seti I himself, were again transferred and deposited for safety in the tomb of Queen Inhapi. This was done in the sixteenth year of the Tanite king Siamon.

Coffin of Ramses II

665. ^dYear 16, fourth month of the second season, day 17, day of bringing King Usermare-Setepnere (Ramses II), the Great God, out from the tomb of King Menmare-Seti-Merneptah (Seti I), in order to bring him into the tomb (*k' y*) of (Queen) Inhapi which is (in) the "Great Place,"^e by the hand of the prophet of Amon-Re, king of gods, Enkhofnamon, son of Beki; the divine father of Amon-Re, king of gods, third prophet of "Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest,"^f scribe of the administration of the house of Amon-Re, king of gods, servant of

^aNo. 16. Another piece from the Amon-temple bears the same year without the king's name.

^bNo. 134. The lost beginning was, of course, like the preceding.

^cNo. 134.

^dOn the lid of the coffin; *op. cit.*, 558.

^eA particular part of the necropolis.

^f*Nfr htp*, which Maspero reads as the man's name; but this phrase is the usual one after Thebes in Khonsu's-title, and the determinative is the divine person in all three texts. Hence, however long the man's titles, they do not stop here.

"The-House-of-King-Usermare-Setepnere (Ramses II)-in-the-House-of-Amon," chief treasurer of the necropolis, Merithoth; the scribe, and chief inspector, Nesupekeshuti, son of Beknekhonsu; after Mut, the guardian goddess of the Great Place, had said:

"That which is in good condition before me, no harm shall befall it, through my^a bringing them (sic!) out from the tomb in which they rest, and they shall be taken into the tomb (*k' y*) of (Queen) Inhapi, which is in the 'Great Place,' wherein King Amenhotep rests."

Coffin of Seti I

666. ^bYear 16, fourth month of the second season, day 17, of King Siamon, the day of bringing King Menmare-Seti (I)-Merneptah, L. P. H., out from his tomb, in order to bring him into the tomb (*k' y*) of Inhapi, which is (in) the "Great Place;" by the hand of, etc. . . .

Here follows a list of the same men as on the coffins of Ramses I and Ramses II (*q. v.*).

Coffin of Ramses I

667. ^c[Year 16, fourth month of the second season, day 17^d] of King Siamon, [day of bringing King Men]pehti[re] (Ramses I) out from the [tomb of King Menmare]-Seti (II)-Merneptah, 'in order to¹ [bring him into the tomb (*k' y*) of Inhapi, which is in the "Great Place," wherein King Amenhotep rests; by the hand of the prophet of Amon-[Re, king of] gods, Enkhofnamon, son of Beki, etc.

Here follows the same list of men as on Seti I's and Ramses II's coffins.

RECORD OF PAYNOZEM II'S BURIAL

668. I have included the preceding documents under the high priesthood of Paynozem II, although he was evidently lying dead in the hands of the embalmers when they were written; for three days later he was buried in the rough

^aOr: "their."

^bOn the lid of the coffin; *op. cit.*, Pl. XII.

^cOn the lid of the coffin; *op. cit.*, Pl. X A; 551.

^dMaspero's restoration (*op. cit.*, 551), giving the first season and the thirteenth day, must be an inadvertence; the parallel texts have it as above.

receptacle excavated in the cliffs of Der el-Bahri, which had served as the tomb of Amenhotep I. The place was sealed up, and the following record was written with the pen on the doorpost by one of the accompanying scribes. The date of year 16 is the highest which we have from the reign of the Tanite Siamon.

^aYear 16, fourth month of the second season, day 20, day of the burial ²of the Osiris, the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, governor [of the city]^b and vizier, prince and leader [—], Paynozem ³by the divine father of Amon, overseer of the White House, Zekhonsefonekh; the divine father of Amon, scribe of the vizier, the inspector, Nesupekeshuti; the [—] of Amon — — — —; ⁴the divine father of Amon, Wennofer; the king's-scribe of the Theban necropolis (*ys' t-m' c' t*), Bek; the chief of workmen, Pediamon.

^cLinen which the High Priest of Amon, Paynozem II [son of] Menkheperre, made for [his] lord, Khonsu, in the year 9.

STELA OF THE "GREAT CHIEF OF ME," SHESHONK^d

669. In this document we gain our first glimpse of the Libyan ancestors of the great family of the Twenty-second Dynasty. Sheshonk, the grandfather^e of Sheshonk I, the

^aOn the left doorpost, at the bottom of the Der el-Bahri shaft; Maspero, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1882, 134; better, *Momies royales*, 523.

^bOmitted, either in the publication or by the ancient scribe.

^cOn wrappings of the mummy; *op. cit.*, 572. The same records for years 1, 3, and 7 were found on the wrappings.

^dA red granite stela, 1.20 by 1.50 m., found by Mariette "southward from the western entrance gate of the Kum-es-Sultan in Abydos" (Brugsch, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1871, 85 f.). He states that it was left by him in situ, although Wiedemann (Wiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte*, 543), places it in the Boulak Museum ("Salle historique de l'est, No. 93"), and seems to have copied it. Published by Mariette, *Abydos*, II, 36, 37; Mariette, *Catalogue général d'Abydos*, No. 1225. The upper portion is wanting, and an unknown amount of the inscription is lost. The copy of Mariette is very incomplete and inaccurate; a better copy was impossible, as the present location of the stone is unknown.

^eSee the long genealogy on the Serapeum stela, § 787, where the Sheshonk, with his wife Mehetnusekhet, is unquestionably the Sheshonk of our inscription, whose wife is also Mehetnusekhet.

first king of the Twenty-second Dynasty, was a powerful chief of the Meshwesh^a who had achieved place and influence in Egypt. His great-grandfather, Musen, had gained control at Heracleopolis (§ 787, No. 2), and five generations later the family had seized the throne, as the Twenty-second Dynasty. The family retained their old native titles or an Egyptian rendering of them, but our Sheshonk was so thoroughly Egyptianized that he buried his deceased son, Namlot, in Abydos, with all the accompaniments of Egyptian mortuary belief. He later found that the officials in charge of his son's mortuary endowment had been appropriating the income. He went to Thebes, under the jurisdiction of which the crime fell, and from some unnamed king, who must have been either Amenemopet or Siamon, he obtained redress. The case, like all other matters of the kind in this period, was carried before Amon, and the stela, of which the first lines are lost, begins the middle of an address to the god by the king. As it continues, the god renders an oracle condemning the guilty officials to death. Sheshonk then conveyed his son's statue to Abydos, where full record of his son's mortuary endowment was entered in the temple archives, with their value in silver, furnishing useful data for determining the ancient values of various property in modern standards.^b

670. The decree of Amon in this criminal case is of the greatest interest, and characteristic of the time. The case of those banished to the oasis, who are pardoned by the god at the High Priest Menkheperre's request (§§ 650-58), is more or less political, but such is not the character of this case. A similar case, also under the high priesthood of

^aAbbreviated, as frequently in the inscriptions of this time, to Me.

^bThe data from our document have never been so employed; see Spiegelberg, *Rechnungen*, Text, 87 ff., for the data from the earlier documents.

Paynozem II, is that of certain temple officials who were slain for dishonesty in the temple accounts. Recorded with it is the remarkable acquittal of a certain major-domo named Thutmose, the method of whose trial is sufficiently evident from the following translation,^a without further explanation.

Appearance of Amon

671. ———^b ¹On this day in the house of Amon-Re, king of gods, on the sixth day of the month, appeared the august god, ²the lord of gods, Amon-Re, king of gods; Mut the great, mistress of Ishru; and “Khonsu-in-³Thebes-Beautiful-Rest;” on the silver pavement of the house of Amon — —. The High Priest of Amon-Re, ⁴king of gods commander in chief of the army, Paynozem, triumphant, son of Men-[kheper]re [triumphant], took counsel of the affairs of ⁵this land, before the great god.

Condemnation of the Guilty

In the second month, on the sixth day, — the great god ⁶who is far from injustice, had not (yet) been taken up to Opet at [‘the Feast of’]^c Opet in this year. ⁷Lo, this great god determined [‘that’] which the scribes, ⁸inspectors and administrators had done, who committed ⁹fraudulent acts in Thebes, his city. ¹⁰Then the great god condemned the scribes, ¹¹inspectors, and administrators, because of the acts of ¹²fraud which they had committed.

The Two Writings

672. This great god appeared upon the pavement of silver in the house of Amon at the morning hour. The High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Paynozem, triumphant, came ¹³before this great god.

^aThis inscription, of which only the first part is translated above, was found on one of the southern pylons at Karnak in Maspero's excavations there in 1881. It was published and treated by Naville, *Inscriptions historiques de Pinodjem III* (our Paynozem II), Paris, 1883. See Maspero, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1882, 135.

^bNaville numbers this line 1; at least one line, containing the date, is lost before it. In the long inscription below it, oracles of the god in the years 2 (ll. 8 and 10), 3 (l. 12), and 5 (l. 13) are recorded; hence this date will not be less than year 5.

^cSo also Naville; this was not long before the beginning of the Feast of Opet (see note on Papyrus Harris, § 237).

This great god saluted violently. He placed two tablets of writing before the great god; one writing said: ¹⁴"O Amon-Re, king of gods, my good lord; it is said that there are matters which should be investigated^a in the case of Thutmose, triumphant, son of Sudiamon (*Swdy-Ymn*), triumphant, the major-domo;" the other writing [said: "O Amon-Re, king of gods], my good lord; it is said that there are no matters which should ¹⁶be investigated in the case of Thutmose, triumphant, the son of Sudiamon, triumphant, the major-domo." The [High Priest] of Amon-Re, king of gods, Paynozem, triumphant, repeated before this great god, saying: "O ¹⁷my good lord, thou shalt judge — — —, thou prosperest beyond all wonders." [The] great god saluted violently.

The Acquittal

673. ¹⁸These two tablets of writing were placed before the [great god]. The great god took the writing^b which said: "O Amon-Re, my good lord; ¹⁹it is said that there are no matters [which should] be investigated in the case of Thutmose, triumphant, son of Sudiamon, triumphant, the major-domo." The great god ²⁰[rejected] the other writing which said: "O Amon-Re, king of gods], my good lord; it is said that there are matters which should be investigated in the case of ²¹[Thutmose, triumphant, son of Sudiamon, triumphant, the major-domo.]"

[Then the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, went again] to this great, great god, to put his two tablets of writing the second time before the great god. [The great god^c] took ²²[the same writing as before¹] — — —. They bore witness, saying: "There are no matters which should be investigated ²³[in the case of Thutmose, triumphant, son of Sudiamon, triumphant, the^d] major-domo."e

674. The legal functions assumed by Amon at this period will be sufficiently illustrated by this and the following ex-

^aLit., "*which should be sought for with Thutmose.*"

^bLit., "*the one writing.*"

^cOmitted by the ancient scribe or in the publication.

^dThese words hardly fill the lacuna.

^eSome 8 lines are here lost; below these follows a long series of legal decisions by Amon, which lead to the acquittal above recounted.

ample. Even the wills and the property conveyances of the numerous relatives of the high priests are issued as oracles and decrees of the god. They form a remarkable class of legal documents by themselves, which will be treated later in this series.^a We can understand, therefore, why the case of the Libyan chief Sheshonk was brought by the king before Amon. It is as follows:

Speech to Amon

675. "——— ^{1b}great chief of chiefs, Sheshonk, triumphant, his^c son in the glorious place by his father, Osiris, 'that he might' lay his beauty 'to rest' in the city of Abydos (*Nj-wr*), over against ——. 'Thou wilt let him survive to attain old age, while his 'heart'² — — —'. Thou wilt let him join the feasts of his majesty, receiving full victory.' This great god saluted exceedingly.

Amon Condemns the Thieves

676. Then his majesty spake again before this great god: "O my good lord, thou shalt slay the ^{3f}—^{1d}, the administrator, the scribe, the inspector, every one who was sent on any commission to the field, of those who stole of his 'things' from the offering-table of the Osiris, the great chief of Me, Namlot, triumphant, son of Mehetnusekhet, who is in Abydos; 'all the people who plundered from his divine offerings, his people, his cattle, his garden, his every oblation and all his excellent things. Thou wilt do according to thy great spirit throughout; fill them up and fill up ('the number of') the women 'and their children.'" The great god saluted exceedingly.

Final Prayer to Amon

677. His majesty smelled the earth before him; his majesty said; "Make to triumph, Sheshonk, triumphant, the great chief of Me, chief

^aIn the volume devoted to legal documents.

^bIn the lost portion of uncertain length preceding this, there was doubtless some verb of which Sheshonk was the subject and "*his son*" the object.

^cThis shows that the Sheshonk of the inscription is the father, not the son, of Namlot, as Wiedemann concludes (Wiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte*, 543, 544).

^dA military officer.

of chiefs, the great '—', and all who are 'before thee', ⁶all the troops ————. "['Said to'] him, Amon-Re, king of gods: "'—' I will do '—' for thee, thou shalt attain old age, abiding on earth; thy heir shall be upon thy throne forever."

Statue of Namlot Sent to Abydos

678. His majesty sent the statue of Osiris, the great chief of ⁷Me, great chief of chiefs, Namlot, triumphant, northward to Abydos. There were — — — — a great army, in order to protect it, having ['numerous'] ships, — — without number, and the messengers of the great chief of Me, in order to deposit^a it in the august palace, ⁸the sanctuary of the right eye of the sun, in order to make his offerings belonging in Abydos, according to the stipulations for making his offerings, incense '— —' in the hall of petition.

Records of Endowment

679. His contract was recorded ⁹in the hall of writings,^b according to that which the lord of gods (Amon) had said. A stela was erected for him of granite of Elephantine,^c bearing the decree — in his name, in order to deposit it in the divine sanctuary to the end of eternity, (even) forever. Then was established the offering-table of Osiris, the great chief of Me, ¹⁰Namlot, triumphant, son of Mehetnusekhet, who is in Abydos.

People of Endowment

680. There were brought the [people] of the — of the great chief of Me, who came with the statue: a Syrian servant (named) Ikhamon '—',^d ¹¹a Syrian (named) Ekptah; 'the price of the first' was 14 deben of silver; his majesty gave 'for the second' 20 deben of silver; total, 35^e deben of silver, the tale thereof.

^aLit., "cause it to rest."

^bTemple archives.

^cOnly one letter (*b*) of this word (⁷*bw*) with the determinative, is preserved, but as the stela is of red Elephantine granite, there can be no doubt of the rendering. Brugsch's "in der Schrift des Landes Ba[bel]" is pure imagination. The text has: "of stone of — b —" (foreign determinative). Wiedemann reads "Ba-sut" (adding "so ist auf dem monumente zu lesen"), and says the material is porphyry (Wiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte*, 544).

^dThe end of the name is uncertain.

^eThe first number is doubtless misread by Mariette. These two numbers, making a total of 35, must be the prices of the two slaves.

Lands of Endowment

681. That which was paid for 50 stat (of land) which are in the high district south of Abydos, called, "Eternity-¹²of-the-Kingdom:" 5^a deben of silver.

That which is in [— —] of the pool which is in Abydos, (viz.), 50 stat of land; amounting to 5 deben of silver.

Total of citizen-lands [—] two places being: the high district south of Abydos, and the high district ¹³north of Abydos: 100 [stat], amounting to 10 deben of silver.

List of Men

682. His [slave], Pewer, son of —f; his slave, Ebek^b (²-bk); his slave, Bupenamunkha (*Bw-pn-Ymn-h*^{2c}); his slave, Neshenumeh (*N² y-šnw-mh*);^c his slave, Dene (*Dn²*); total ¹⁴of slaves: 6; amounting (at) 3¹ deben, 1 kidet of silver ¹for each¹, to 1[8] deben [6 kidet] of silver.

Children

The child of — — son of Harsiese, triumphant; amounting to 4² kidet of silver.

Garden

The garden which is in the high district [—]^d of Abydos, amounting to 2 deben of silver.

Gardeners

The gardener, Harmose, triumphant, son of Pen —; ¹⁵amounting to —² kidet of silver; Pene —, triumphant, his —, Harnepe—r—, triumphant, [amounting to] 6² kidet of silver.

Men and Women

[—] Nesitetat, triumphant, whose mother is Tedimut, the female slave, Tediase, daughter of Nebethapi; her mother, Ero — ¹⁶ekh; [the female slave], ¹Tepiramenef¹, daughter of Paynehsi, triumphant;

^aMariette has 6, but Brugsch has 5 (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1871, 86), which is in agreement with the second 50 stat for 5 deben of silver; 10 stat (= 6² acres) of land were thus worth 1 deben (1,404 grains) of silver.

^bBrugsch: "Ari-bek."

^cMeaning: "The Full Trees."

^dBrugsch: "north."

———— for each one; $5\frac{2}{3}$ kidet of silver being the price of the man; amounting to $3\frac{2}{3}$ deben.^a

List of Supplies

683. Honey; [an expenditure amounting to — deben of silver]^b payable to the treasury, for a hin of honey issued from the treasury ¹⁷of Osiris [for the divine offerings of Osiris], the [great] chief [of Me], great chief [of chiefs, Namlot], son of the [great] chief of [Me, Sheshonk] — — — —. The money therefor has been made payable to the treasury of Osiris, no more, no less.

684. Incense; ¹⁸[an expenditure amounting to] 4 deben of silver, payable to the treasury of Osiris, for 4 kidet of incense, issued from the treasury of Osiris daily, for the divine offerings of Osiris, the great chief of Me, Namlot, triumphant, whose mother is Mehetnusekhet, forever and ever ¹⁹[from that which is issued from] the — — incense. The money therefor is payable to the treasury of Osiris, no more, no less.

685. Myrrh; [an expenditure] amounting to $5\frac{2}{3}$ kidet of silver, payable to the treasury of Osiris, for ²⁰— $\frac{2}{3}$ kidet of [myrrh], issued from the treasury of Osiris daily, for the censer of Osiris, the great chief of Me, Namlot, triumphant, whose mother is Mehetnusekhet, forever and ever; from that which is issued, of the myrrh — —. The money therefor has been made payable to the treasury of Osiris, no more, ²¹[no less].

686. [Grain] — — per man — — per man, an expenditure amounting to ¹ $3\frac{1}{3}$ kidet of silver — with 1 kidet of silver, payable to the treasury of Osiris, for this grain of the field^c that is issued daily from — — — — ²²[from] the treasury of Osiris and the — of Osiris, for the altar of Osiris; the great chief of Me, Namlot, triumphant, whose mother is Mehetnusekhet, forever and ever; from the impost of the — — of the cake-baking ¹—1. The money therefor is made payable to the treasury of Osiris, ²³the treasury of the grain of the field ¹— —1. [The money therefor is payable to the treasury] of Osiris — —, no more, no less.

^aI am uncertain whether this total is to be connected with the preceding or the following paragraph. It is similar in form to the beginnings of the following paragraphs. There is evident confusion in the copy, and probably an omission.

^bThis is the formula which should introduce this paragraph; but see preceding note.

^cSee l. 23.

Summary

687. Total of the silver of these people, which is payable to the treasury of Osiris ²⁴— — — — 13^a men ——— issued from — — to the [—] of Osiris, the great chief of Me, chief of chiefs, Namlot, triumphant, son of Sheshonk, triumphant, whose mother is Mehet-nusekhet; in order to give ²⁵— — — — to Osiris, the great chief of Me, Namlot, triumphant, son of Mehetnusekhet, who is in Abydos:

Lands	100 stat
Men and women	25
Garden	1
Silver	100 ^b [deben]

Abydos ———.

^aThe number is not certain.

^bAnd probably more, but how much is uncertain.

HIGH PRIESTHOOD OF PESIBKHENNO

RECORDS ON MUMMY-WRAPPINGS

688. We have no records of this High Priest beyond the usual note on the temple linen used in swathing the bodies of the Amon priests found in 1891. These show that he was a son of Paynozem II, and that he was in office at least from the year 4 to the year 12 of a king who must be Pesibkhenno II, under whose predecessor, Siamon, he must have succeeded his father, on the latter's death in Siamon's sixteenth year (§ 668).

^aLinen which the High Priest of Amon, Pesibkhenno, son of Paynozem (II), made for his lord, Amon, in the year 4.

Linen which the High Priest of Amon, Pesibkhenno, son of Paynozem (II), made for his lord, Amon, in the year 12.

BURIAL OF NESIKHONSU

689. Nesikhonsu, wife of Paynozem II, died in the fifth year of a king, who must be Pesibkhenno II of Tanis. Her husband's tomb, originally that of Amenhotep I, was opened, and she was likewise buried there. When the door was sealed again, one of the scribes recorded the burial on the doorpost. It contains the names of some of the same officials who had buried her husband, not less than five years before.

^aMummy No. 17 of the cache of priests' mummies discovered at Der el-Bahri in 1891; published by Daressy (*Revue archéologique*, 28, p. 6 (of the *tirage à part*)).

Nesikhonsu

^aYear 5, fourth month of the third season (twelfth month), day 21, ²day of the burial of the chief of favorites, Nesikhonsu, ³by the divine father of Amon, overseer of the White House, Zekhonsefonekh, ⁴together with ^bPaynozem, ⁵the prophet of Amon-Re, king of gods, Enkhofamon (^c*nḥ·j-Ymn*); ⁵————— Nesipai — —; ⁶the divine father of Amon, the chief treasurer, Nesupekeshuti (*Ns-sw-p²-ḥ²-šwtj*). The seals which are upon ¹— of this place ¹—; ^c the seals of the overseer of the White House, Zekhonsefonekh; the seals of the scribe of the White House, Nesu—————.

RECORDS ON THE ROYAL MUMMIES

690. With these two records the history of the royal mummies in ancient times, so far as we know it, closes. The bodies of Seti I and Ramses II were taken from the tomb of Queen Inhapi in the tenth year of Pesibkhenno II, and deposited in the great cache at Der el-Bahri, in the tomb of Amenhotep I, where Nesikhonsu had been buried five years earlier. In all probability the other royal mummies were brought to the same place at this time also. The door was sealed up for the last time, not earlier than the eleventh year of Sheshonk I (§ 699); the shaft leading to it was soon filled with detritus from the cliffs above, and all knowledge of the place was lost. Thus the great kings of Egypt at last found undisturbed rest for three thousand years. Then, some time in the early seventies of last century, they were discovered by the native tomb-robbers of modern Thebes, the descendants of those who were prosecuted under Ramses IX

^aAt the bottom of the entrance shaft leading to the great cache of royal mummies, on the right door-jamb; it is written in ink in hieratic; *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1882, 134; better, *Momies royales*, 520.

^bOr: "son of."

^cMaspero reads the numeral 40 here, but this seems to me improbable. He found fragments of these seals among the rubbish around the door, and among them one with the title "*High Priest of Amon*" in a cartouche.

and X (§§ 499 ff.) Under pressure of much the same legal methods as those employed by their ancestors, not forgetting the bastinado, they finally revealed the place which they had been plundering, and the ancient rulers of Egypt were, in 1881, again brought to the light of day.^a

Coffin of Seti I

691. ^bYear 10, fourth month of the second season, day 20, the day of bringing in the god into his place, in order to cause him to rest [in] the eternal house of Amenhotep^c — — — —; by the hand of the divine father of Amon, overseer of the White House, Zekhonsfonekh; divine father of Amon, [—]¹; divine father of Amon, third prophet of Khonsu —.

Coffin of Ramses II

692. ^dYear 10, fourth month of the second season, day 20, day of bringing in the god into his place, to cause him to rest in the eternal house of Amenhotep, the [— of Amon]¹, in life, prosperity, and health; by the hand of the divine father of Amon, overseer of the White House, Zekhonsefonekh; the divine father of Amon, third prophet of [Khonsu],^e Efnamon, son of Nesupekeshuti; the divine father of Amon, Wennofer, son of Mentemfwe¹; the divine father of Amon, —.

^aOn the discovery and rescue of the royal mummies, see Maspero, *Mummies royales*, 511, 516.

^bOn the lid of the coffin; *op. cit.*, 554, and Pl. XII.

^cThis can hardly be anything else than the tomb of Amenhotep I; on the construction of the whole place, see Maspero, *op. cit.*, 517, 518.

^dOn the lid of the coffin; *op. cit.* 559.

^eFrom duplicate; text has *f*.

REIGN OF OSORKON I

RECORD OF TEMPLE GIFTS^a

729. In his fourth year Osorkon I, for some reason, compiled a record of all the statues, images, vessels, utensils, and the like, which he had presented to the temples of Egypt. The amounts of gold and silver involved are sufficiently large to be of economic importance. The smaller items of gold amount to 20,538 deben, or about 5,005 pounds troy; and those of silver reach a total of 72,870 deben, or over 17,762 pounds, troy. The weight of many articles is, however, not indicated. On the fragments we find mentioned 2,000,000 deben, or about 487,180 pounds troy, of silver, and again 2,300,000 deben, or about 560,297 pounds troy, of gold and silver. How far these last amounts include the others, of which they might be the totals, is not determinable. That such sums could be given to the temples, evidently in addition to their fixed incomes, is important evidence of the great wealth and prosperity of the Twenty-second Dynasty kings. These records also show that Osorkon I controlled the oases of Dakhel and Khargeh (l. 5) and hence, of course, the other oases also.

Address to the King^b

730. ¹——— their bodies repose in all their favorite places; there is none hostile toward them —¹, since the time of former kings;

^aFound by Naville in a small temple beyond the outskirts of the tell of Bubastis, dating from the time of Ramses II. The inscriptions are engraved on four sides of a red granite pillar, now in twenty-nine small fragments, of which two may be put together, giving the beginnings (from one-fourth to two-thirds of the line) of six lines. Now in Cairo Museum, No. 675 (*Guide*, 177, without name of king). They are published by Naville (*Bubastis*, I, Pls. 51, 52), from drawings by Madame Naville, made from squeezes.

^bIt is not clear who is here speaking to the king.

there is none like thee in this land. Every god abides upon his throne, and enters his abode with glad heart, 'since' thou art installed^a to be '[king]' ——— thee, building their houses, and multiplying their vessels of gold, silver, and every genuine costly stone, for which his majesty 'gave' instructions, in his capacity as Thoth (*Hnty-hsr t*).

Heading of List

731. List of monuments which the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands [Osorkon I]^b made ³[for all the gods and goddesses of]^c all the cities of the South and North; from the year [1], first (month) of the [second season],^d day 7, to the year 4,^e fourth month of the third season, day 25; which makes 3 years, 3 months, and 16 days.

Re-Harakhte

732. His majesty gave to the house of his father, Re-Harakhte:

Beaten gold: an august chapel of Atum-Khepri, lord of Heliopolis.

Hammered gold	a sphinx
Real lapis lazuli	10 sphinxes ^f
Amounting to: gold	15,345 deben
silver	14,150 deben
genuine lapis lazuli	4,000 (+x) [deben]

— vessel, amounting to 100,000 deben, presented before Re-Harakhte-Atum, begetter of his two fledgelings.

A *sh*^g. 'vessel', amounting to:

Gold	5,010 deben
Silver	30,720 "
Genuine lapis lazuli	1,600 "
Black copper	5,000 "

^a[*yw-tw hr*] *bs k*.

^bRestored from other fragments, where the name several times occurs.

^cThe amount lost is probably not great, and the restoration is almost certain.

^dRestored by computing from the total of three years, etc. There is a discrepancy of two days, which is undoubtedly due to the modern copy.

^eAnother fragment (Pl. 52, C 1) bears the date: "year 4, second month of the second season, day 10 (+x)."

^fBoth of these statues may be figures of the king on one knee with the other limb extended behind; but the drawing is too imperfect to determine.

^gMistake in the copy; the same word is written with *s* and the vessel (?) a little farther on in this line. It looks like the *hn*-sign; should we read *shn*? Models of this object were presented by the king to the god; see e. g., Naville, *Festival Hall of Osorkon II*, Pl. XI.

Hathor

733. A chapel, amounting to 100,000 deben, presented before Hathor, mistress of Hotep-em-hotep.

Mut

Gold and silver: a *sh*-vessel¹, presented before Mut, the sistrum-bearer.

Harsaphes

Gold and silver: a *sh*-vessel¹.

Beaten silver: a chapel presented before^a Harsaphes, lord of Heliopolis.

Thoth

Gold and silver: a *sh*-vessel¹, presented before Thoth, lord of Hermopolis.

Bast

734. Gold and silver: a *sh*-vessel¹ presented before Bast, mistress of Bubastis.

Thoth

Gold: a *sh*-vessel¹ presented before Thoth, residing in [—].

Gold and silver: 5 —————

Uncertain God

————— [amounting to:]

Gold

Silver

Black copper

— —

9,000 deben

30,000 “

His^b tribute is (the oases of) Dakhel and Khargeh, being wine^c and shedeh; Hemy wine, and Syene^d wine likewise, in order to maintain [—] his house according to the word thereof.

^aOf course, the copy is here wrong; read *rdy't m b³ h* as elsewhere *passim*; a Harsaphes of Heliopolis is not otherwise known, as far as I have observed.

^bWhat god is meant is unfortunately uncertain, owing to the lacuna at the beginning of the line.

^cOn the wines of these two oases, see Brugsch, *Reise nach der Grossen Oase*, 79–81. Brugsch's remark (*ibid.*, 92) that the wines of these two oases are not mentioned before Græco-Roman times was made before our inscription was discovered. See also Dümichen, *Oasen*, 25, 26.

^dNot to be confused with Syene at the first cataract. These two cities (*Hmy* and *Suny*, misread *Nwny* by Naville) were in the western Delta, the former in the vicinity of Lake Mareotis, the latter also probably not far from it. See Brugsch, *op. cit.*, 91, Nos. 2 and 5.

Re

735. His majesty gave to the house of Re and his divine ennead:

Silver: 3 candelabras^a

Gold: 1—1.

Silver: { 3 *dw*-vessels.
3 offering-tablets.
17 small altars.
1 flat dish (*dd·tl*)
1 cartouche-vessel.
2 bowls.
10 altars.
1 *hin*¹-vessel.
1 spouted vessel.
1 pitcher.

Gold: { 3 *dw*-altars.
1 pitcher.
2 Thoth-apes.
2 large censers.
6 altars.
— — — — —
1 fourfold censer.

Gold: — — — — —.

Lapis lazuli — — — — —.

⁶ — — — — — 332,000 deben.

¶In all³ 594,300 deben.

Amon-Re

736. His majesty gave to the house of Amon-Re, king of gods:^b

His majesty wrought a standing statue offering incense 1— —¹, its body was of gold and silver in beaten work, amounting to:

Gold 183^c deben

Silver 19,000^d “

Black copper — — — — — “

Gold^e a 1— — — — 1

its chapel, a censer 1^{of} gold of —.

^a*Hry-sq·t*, lit., “*fire-bearer*,” it occurs elsewhere only in the Stela of Nastesen, l. 49 (ed. Schaefer, 126).

^bThe introductory formula, ordinarily followed by a series of nouns, is here followed by a verb.

^cPossibly 184 or 185.

^dThe hundreds, tens, and units are lost.

^eIt is uncertain whether this continues the description of the statue or begins a new article.

Silver: an altar.

「_____」.

_____.

737. The remaining fragments contain little available material, but they have preserved several data of importance. Among these are: “4 chapels, 3 altars of silver, a processional image of Amon of fine gold;”^a “2,000,000 (+x) deben of silver;”^b “2,300,000 (+x) deben of gold and silver.”^c

^a*Op. cit.*, Pl. 52, M 1.

^b*Ibid.*, C 2.

^c*Ibid.*, I 2.

REIGN OF TAKELOT I

STATUE OF THE NILE-GOD DEDICATED BY THE HIGH PRIEST SHESHONK^a

738. Maspero's surprise^b that this monument should formerly have been so strangely misunderstood, was well grounded. The monument is one of a common class, dedicated to a god, for the sake of the well-being of the donor, which he craves from the god in a prayer inscribed upon it. The character of the donor, his origin, and his prayer are, in the case of this statue, of great historical importance. He is the High Priest of Amon, Meriamon-Sheshonk, son of Osorkon I. As his mother, Makere, is stated to be the daughter of King Pesibkenno, this king can be no other than the second of that name, the last king of the Twenty-first Dynasty.

739. It thus appears that Sheshonk I strengthened his dynasty by an alliance with the old ruling house, the Twenty-first Dynasty of Tanis, by marrying his son, Osorkon I, to the daughter of Pesibkhenno II. As High Priest of Amon at Thebes, the son of this marriage, Sheshonk, assumed royal honors, placed his name in a cartouche, and commanded all the military of Egypt. Characteristic of the turbulent conditions of the time is his prayer for "*all valiant might, to take captive his land.*" His power again shows how truly Thebes

^aBritish Museum; published: Yorke and Leake, *Les principaux monuments Egyptiens du Musée Britannique*, Londres, 1827, Pl. I, Fig. 3 (translated from *Royal Society of Literature*, I; statue and cartouches only); Arundale and Bonomi, *Gallery of Antiquities*, Pl. XIII; Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XV, a-g; Maspero, *Momies royales*, 734-36.

^b*Op. cit.*, 734.

had become a semi-independent principality. He finally shook off the power of the north sufficiently to make his own son his successor at Thebes.^a

740.^b Made it the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Meriamon-Sheshonk, for his lord, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, presider over Karnak, in order to crave life, prosperity, health, long life, an advanced and happy old age, might and victory over every land and every country, 「—」 — —, all valiant might, to take captive his land; lord of South and North, the leader, Meriamon-Sheshonk, who is great leader of the army of all Egypt, king's-son of the Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Offering, Meriamon-Osorkon (I); his mother being Makere, king's-daughter of the Lord of the Two Lands, Meriamon-Horus-Pesibkhenno (II), given life, stability, satisfaction, like Re, forever.

^a*Ibid.*, § 44.

^bOne section number (741) is intentionally omitted.

REIGN OF OSORKON II

FLOOD INSCRIPTION^a

742. As in the days of Nesubenebbed, some two hundred years earlier, the inundation again flooded the temple of Luxor in the third year of Osorkon II, and the water rose to a depth of over two feet^b on the temple pavement. “*All the temples of Thebes were like marshes.*” Amon was brought forth from the temple in his sacred barque, and the priests prayed that he might abate the flood.

743. ¹Year 3, first month of the second season, day 12,^c under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare-Setepnamon, L. P. H.; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, ²Osorkon (II)-Siese-Meriamon, given life forever.

The flood^d came on, in this whole land; ³it invaded the two shores as in the beginning. This land was in his power like the sea, there was no dyke^e of ⁴the people to withstand its fury. All the people were like birds upon its ¹—, the tempest — his —, suspended — — like the heavens. ⁵All the temples of Thebes were like marshes.

On this day Amon caused to appear in Opet, the [barque] of his (portable) image —; ⁶when he had entered the “Great House”^f of his barque of this temple.

744. Then one of the prophets of Amon addressed to the

^aHieratic inscription on the inner wall, in the northwest corner of the hypostyle of the Luxor temple. Published, in transcription only, by Daressy, *Recueil*, 18, 181–84.

^bExactly 62 cm.; Daressy, *Recueil*, 20, 80, CLIX. Its height is determined by the record on the quai at Karnak (§ 696, No. 5).

^cThis calendar date for the high level of the inundation does not at all correspond to the place of the calendar in the seasons at this time as fixed by well-authenticated dates in other periods. Hieratic dates are usually very cursive, and there is little doubt that the transliteration is here incorrect.

^d*Nw* or *nwn*.

^eOr: “canal” (*c -mw*).

^fThis is the shrine which occupies the middle of the sacred barque, the whole being borne on the shoulders of priests.

god a long hymn of forty-two lines, consisting mainly of conventional phrases common in such compositions, but it contained, of course, an appeal to moderate the inundation, which is, however, too fragmentary to be intelligible.

STATUE INSCRIPTION^a

745. This inscription contains only a prayer of the king, but the blessings for which he prays are of great political significance. He desires that his descendants may rule over the high priests of Amon, the chiefs of the Meshwesh, and the prophets of Harsaphes. The power of the last is evident from the long genealogy of Harpeson, whose ancestor, Namlot, a son of Osorkon II, was appointed by this king as High Priest of Harsaphes at Heracleopolis and governor of the South, with military command (§ 787, No. 11).^b

746. The distribution of territory among these nobles was evidently thus: Thebes controlled at least from lower Nubia to Siut;^c Heracleopolis, probably from Siut to the Delta; and the Meshwesh chieftains held the Delta cities, as formerly. Egypt was thus clearly divided at this time into feudal principalities, more or less responsible to the Bubastite Pharaoh. It is for the control of this tottering state by his descendants, that Osorkon II prays as follows:

^aGranite stela, held by a kneeling statue of Osorkon II, at Tanis, doubtless the one published by Petrie (*Tanis*, XIV, No. 3; VI, 41, A.C.D.), as Daressy has noticed (*Recueil*, 18, 49); although Petrie thought the statue was one of Ramses II usurped by Osorkon II (*op. cit.*, 25). It was seen and copied by de Rougé (*Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 71, 72), and published again by Daressy (*loc. cit.*).

^bThe same Namlot was High Priest of Amon, and thus ruled at Thebes also (§ 789).

^cThe northern boundary is fixed by the will of Yewelot (§ 741); the southern is probable from the mention of "gold of *Khenthennofer*" given by the High Priest of Amon, Osorkon (§ 770), although this gold might have been secured in trade. For Heracleopolis we have no data as to its boundaries, except that it probably began control where that of Thebes ended, viz., at Siut.

747. May my issue —, the seed that has come forth from my limbs, rule^a — ⁸the great — of Egypt, the hereditary princes:^b the high priests of Amon-Re, king of gods, the great chiefs of Me and — ⁹—, ^cthe prophets of Harsaphes, king of South and North, while I command that his servant come down to —, ¹⁰and he inclines their hearts toward the Son of Re, Meriamon-Sibast-Osorkon (II); may he put them — ¹¹— [—]. Thou shalt establish my children in the [offices] ¹²which I have given to them; let not the heart of brother be exalted [against] his brother. [As ¹³for] Queen Kerome, may he grant that she stand before me at these [my] feasts. [May he ¹⁴grant] that her male children and her —^d may live, ¹⁵that they may go at the head of the army, and that they bring back to me [their] report ¹⁶[concerning] the —.^e

JUBILEE INSCRIPTIONS^f

748. In his twenty-second year Osorkon II celebrated his first jubilee. At Bubastis the king erected a hall in the temple for the celebration of this feast, which he therefore called the “*jubilee-hall*.” One of the surviving blocks carries the following record^g of the erection of the building:

Appearance^h of the majesty of this august god, beginning the way, to rest in the jubilee-house, which his majesty made anew,ⁱ of — —; all its walls are of electrum, the columns — —.

^aLit., “*command*” (ts).

^bI take it that, in apposition with the preceding, three classes are enumerated: (1) high priests of Amon; (2) chiefs of the Meshwesh and ——— (?); (3) prophets of Heracleopolis.

^cAccording to Daressy, this word ends in *tyw* and has the determinative of foreigners; but Rougé gives it the ending *ḫ*, with the same determinative. It may therefore be the Libyan Kehek (*ḫḫ*).

^dOne would expect “female children” in the lacuna, but there is hardly room, and the restoration would not fit the following context.

^eA name of foreigners ending in *ywd*! The fragments of the remaining five lines I do not understand.

^fBlocks from the jubilee-hall of the great temple at Bubastis, published by Naville, *The Festival Hall of Osorkon II* (London).

^gNaville, *op. cit.*, Pl. VI.

^hThe appearance of the procession bearing Amon in his shrine; this was depicted in a relief which the inscription accompanied.

ⁱOr possibly: “*for the first time*.”

749. The walls of this building bore a long series of reliefs depicting the elaborate ceremonies accompanying the celebration of the jubilee. These are almost all of religious significance and connection; but one of the ceremonies is of great historical importance. It was, perhaps, the opening rite of the jubilee, for it commemorated the assumption of power by the king. He is shown in a relief^a seated on a portable throne, of the greatest simplicity, and borne on the shoulders of his servants. The scene is accompanied by the words:

Carrying the king, sitting upon the portable throne; procession of the king to the palace.

Beneath the throne are inscribed the words:

All lands, all countries, Upper Retenu, Lower Retenu, all inaccessible countries are under the feet of this Good God.^b

750. Above the scene is an inscription which indicates clearly the nature of the particular event commemorated, viz., the assumption by the king of the responsibility for the protection of the land. That this was a characteristic, if not the chief, ceremony of the jubilee (*hb-šd*) is shown by the words of the conquered Hermopolitans to Piankhi: "*Celebrate for us a jubilee (hb-šd), even as thou hast protected the Hare nome*" (§ 848, l. 61). It is not evident why the ministering women of the Theban temple should be given so much attention. The prominence of Amon, who dominates the ceremony, is noteworthy. Probably the most important fact furnished by the inscription is the statement that Thebes is exempt from inspection by the royal fiscal officers, who do not even go thither. It would thus appear that Thebes was

^a*Ibid.*

^bThe identification of Osorkon II, because of this inscription, with Zerah the Ethiopian, who, according to 2 Chron. 14:8, invaded Judah in Asa's time, hardly needs any refutation.

not taxed by the Bubastites, at least not by Osorkon II. This conclusion is substantiated by the long list of offerings to Amon, recorded by the High Priest of Amon, Osorkon, in his own name, under Takelot II and Sheshonk III (§§ 756 ff.).

751. The inscription is as follows:

Assumption of Government

Year 22, fourth month of the first season (occurred) the appearance of the king in the temple (*h t-ntr*) of Amon, which is in the jubilee-hall, resting on the portable throne; and the assumption of the protection of the Two Lands by the king, the protection of the sacred women of the house of Amon, and the protection of all the women of his city, who have been maid-servants since the time of the fathers, even the maid-servants in every house,^a who are assessed for their service yearly.

Royal Offerings

Lo, his majesty sought great benefactions for his father, Amon-Re, when he (Amon) decreed the first jubilee for his son, who rests upon his throne, that he might decree for him a great multitude (of jubilees) in Thebes, mistress of the Nine Bows.

Exemption of Thebes

Said the king in the presence of his father, Amon: "I have protected Thebes in her height and in her breadth, pure, delivered to her lord. No inspectors of the king's-house (*pr-stny*) journey to her; her people are protected forever,^b in the great name of the Good God."

^aTemple.

^bLit., "two sixty-year periods."

REIGN OF TAKELOT II

GRAFFITO OF HARSIESE^a

752. This document, while furnishing some data of importance regarding hereditary claims among the priests of Amon, is valuable also for its confirmation of the arrival of Osorkon as High Priest at Thebes in the eleventh year of Takelot II. It is dated four months and eleven days after the date of the beginning of his annals (§ 760), and furnishes us the exact day of his arrival in Thebes.^b The occasion is the feast of Khonsu, and a priest in the Karnak temple of Thutmose III, probably named Harsiese, improved the opportunity of the new High Priest's presence to present a family claim. The document is as follows:

Date

753. Year 11 under the majesty of the king, the Lord of the Two Lands, Meriamon-Siese-Takelot (II), given life forever; the first month of the third season, day 11.

Arrival of the High Priest

On this day there arrived at Thebes, the victorious, the eye of Re, mistress of temples, bright dwelling of Amon of the hidden name, his city of 1—1, the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, commander in chief of the army, Osorkon, triumphant, royal son of the Lord of the Two Lands, Takelot II, living forever; at his beautiful feast^c of the first (month) of the third season.

^aCut on one of the roofing-blocks of the rear of the great Karnak temple built by Thutmose III. Now in the Louvre; published: Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 162-64; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 255, i; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1071-73. I had also my own copy of the original.

^bAs the bulk of his term of office fell in the reign of Sheshonk III, the five years of his annals falling under Takelot II are herein placed with the reign of Sheshonk III (§§ 756-70).

^cThe Feast of Khonsu, after whom the month is named.

Claim of Harsiese

There came the great priest ($w^c b$) of the house of Amon, serving his month in "Glorious-in-Monuments,"^a in the third phyle, Harsi[Tese] — — — — —^b triumphant, before the governor of the South, saying: "I am the $c k$ -priest of Karnak, I am the son of the great prophets of Amon, through my mother."

754. Harsiese then presents some hereditary claim, the nature of which is not entirely clear, but probably he claimed the hereditary right to cleanse the temple, its utensils, or the wardrobe of the god. The High Priest granted him his claim; whereupon he immediately exercised his family privilege, and, to prevent any further question as to his rights, he engraved the above record of the facts on the roof of the great Karnak temple.

STELA OF KEROME^c

755. This monument is primarily important because it furnishes the highest known date of Takelot II's reign, year 25. It records the gift of 35 stat of land to a princess, and singer of the temple of Amon, Kerome; but whether for her tomb or for her support in the temple, does not appear. A relief at the top shows Amon and Khonsu on the left, before whom, emerging from a chapel or possibly a sarcophagus on

^a $y > hw mnw$; evidently a designation of the Amon-temple; the same building is mentioned on a mummy of the Twenty-first Dynasty (Daressy, *Annales*, IV, 10 of *tirage à part*); and as early as Haremhab the goddess Amonet (feminine of Amon) is once called "*Resident in 'Glorious-in-Monuments'*" (*Recueil*, 23, 64) on her statue found in the great temple of Karnak. The place of our inscription on the roof of the hall of Thutmose III shows what part of the temple was so called. The name is therefore clearly the one which he gave it, shortened by the omission of his name at the beginning. See II, p. 237, n. f., and II, 560.

^bThe name and titles of his father filled the lacuna.

^cFound in an Osiris-chapel by the pylon of Thutmose I at Karnak, by Legrain in 1902; published by him in *Annales*, IV, but without data as to size and material.

the right, appears Kerome, holding a roll of papyrus, and praying to the said gods. The roll is probably to be considered as the deed for the land. Below is the following:

Year 25 of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Takelot (II),^a living forever; the High Priest of Amon, Osorkon.

On this day were confirmed the 35 stat of citizen-lands, to the singer of the temple of Amon, the king's-daughter, Kerome.

^aThe name as written contains no indication by which we can determine which of the two Takelots is meant; but as there is no known High Priest of Amon, Osorkon, under Takelot I, it is evident that we are dealing with Takelot II, under whom we know from other monuments (§§ 752 ff.) that there was a high priest Osorkon. Legrain's statement that this High Priest Osorkon became King Osorkon II, is thus an error.

REIGN OF SHESHONK III

ANNALS OF THE HIGH PRIEST OF AMON, OSORKON^a

756. This High Priest is better known to us than any of the princes of the Bubastite family who held that office, although the remarkable records which he left, owing to their mutilated condition, have never been studied or understood in their entirety. He began his term in the eleventh year of Takelot II, and was still in office in the thirty-ninth year of Sheshonk III (§ 698, No. 17); he thus served at least fifty-four years. He left a series of temple records in the great Karnak temple, which may be fairly termed his annals.^b They cover fifteen years of Takelot II's reign, and much of the following reign of Sheshonk III; but they cannot be conveniently divided, and are, therefore, treated here under the reign of Sheshonk III. They begin with Osorkon's appointment to the office of High Priest of Amon; or, if not his appointment, at least some significant date (the first of Tybi), four months and eleven days before his arrival at Thebes to take up the duties of his office (§ 753). This took place at the Feast of Khonsu, in his father's eleventh year, and was accompanied by rich offer-

^aThese records are the longest inscriptions on the Bubastite gate. They are all on the inside (north side) of the gate on both sides of the door, and begin at the east side of the door (year 11), jump to the west wall at right angles to the door-wall west of the door (years 12-15), and, turning the corner, proceed on the door-wall, west of the door (year 11 of Takelot II to 29 of Sheshonk III). The vertical lines of the inscriptions are surmounted by a relief on each side of the door. The inscriptions are in a frightfully mutilated state, and no modern copy from the original has been published. The publications and materials at my disposal will be found with the translations.

^bThey are in such a fragmentary condition and so insufficiently published that of many parts only a summary could be given, in the following translations. Closer study would bring out some facts not noted in the following sketch.

ings, many signs of the god's favor, and the acclamations of all Thebes. In response to the flattery of the priests, he introduces a new calendar of offerings.

757. In the year 15 there occurred a remarkable prodigy of uncertain nature, but in some way connected with the moon. This natural phenomenon was accompanied by a long and serious civil war. Osorkon left Thebes and, as we afterward find him with his father's courtiers, we might suppose that he went to Bubastis, but for the fact that his return journey to Thebes was northward. With some of his father's court, therefore, he withdrew to the south. One of his sisters, Shepnepdet, had married Zekhonsefonekh, a great noble of Thebes, who bore all the titles of power except those of the king and the High Priest,^a and the presence of such a son-in-law of the king at Thebes would be a fruitful source of jealousy and friction. Years of hostility between the former followers of Osorkon's father passed; Osorkon's part in these events is not entirely clear, but he at last constrains his father's followers to peace, and some compromise with his enemies must have been effected. The unhappy events passed are attributed to the displeasure of the god, Osorkon orders his people to prepare a great propitiatory offering, and with many ships and a numerous following he returns amid great rejoicing to Thebes.

758. Here he consults Amon, as the offering is presented, regarding the god's purposes toward Thebes. Osorkon's question, "*Dost thou do to Thebes as thou hast done to them?*" shows that not only other revolters, already punished, but also Thebes had been implicated in the hostility against himself. It is evident that the compromise involved the exemption of the Thebans from punishment, for, in response

^aSee the genealogy and connections of this powerful family, Legrain, *Recueil*, 27, 75-78, especially 77-78.

to Osorkon's question, the god delivered an oracle in their favor; whereupon the Thebans broke out in praise of their magnanimous High Priest. Although not recorded in his annals, Osorkon's struggles to maintain himself were not yet passed; for in the sixth year of Sheshonk III we find another High Priest named Harsiese at Thebes (§ 698, No. 16). How and when Osorkon regained his power at Thebes the second time^a it is not possible to determine.

759. Osorkon's annals pass on from his first return to a long list of offerings to the Theban temples, beginning in the eleventh year of Takelot II, and continuing to the twenty-eighth year of Sheshonk III. A final line adds those of the year 29. This table is important, for it shows that the temples of Thebes were supported at this time by the High Priest, and his offerings were recorded in his name alone, with no reference to the Bubastite king. From a graffito in the temple (§ 753), as already stated, we know that Osorkon ruled at least ten years longer at Thebes. That is, until the thirty-ninth year of Sheshonk III.

I. EAST OF DOOR^b

760. A relief in duplicate at the top shows Takelot II, accompanied by his son, the High Priest of Amon, Osorkon, before Amon. The accompanying inscriptions, containing

^aShould it turn out that the stela of Kerome of year 25 (§ 755) belongs to Takelot I, and not to Takelot II (which would give us another high priest Osorkon under Takelot I), then the civil war and Osorkon's withdrawal from Thebes in the year 15 were caused by the death of Takelot II, and the intervening rule of the other high priest, Harsiese, till year 6 of Sheshonk III, is an incident in the same series of events. In that case Osorkon was expelled but once from Thebes.

^bPublished: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 257, a; Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, 15; Champollion, *Monuments*, 277, 1; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 20, 21 (last three containing only reliefs or accompanying inscriptions, "Beischriften").

the titles of those depicted, add nothing to the content of the inscription below, which is as follows:

Appointment of Osorkon

¹Year 11, first month of the second season, day 1, under the majesty of King Takelot II ————^a [‘went’ the High Priest of Amon-]Re, commander in chief of the whole army, the leader, Osorkon, born of the hereditary princess, great in favor, great king’s-wife [Kerome], ————.

Here follows the same long series of epithets of praise, belonging to the High Priest Osorkon, as in the inscription of the year 12 (§ 762). These merge into the acclamations of Thebes, as in l. 5: “*Thebes betakes herself to thee.*” Osorkon then apparently entered the city and offered sacrifice to Amon (l. 6). Then, probably on a second appointed day, he entered the temple (l. 8), and performed the ritual of Amon, at the same time presenting an offering (l. 9), which was the first installment of a new and richer calendar of offerings (l. 10).

761. The god then appeared in procession (l. 11), and the High Priest in his capacity as “*Pillar-of-his-Mother*” (*yn-mw t f*) presented himself (l. 11). The god visibly expressed his satisfaction, as when a father receives marks of affection from a son (l. 12), whereupon the whole priesthood of the temple, of all ranks, came forward (l. 12), and all together, with one accord, joined in praising Osorkon as him whom Amon had appointed to his high office (l. 13). Their speech continues probably to l. 17, and apparently contained no more than the phraseology usual on such occasions. In l. 18 Osorkon is speaking, and announcing the new and rich calendar of offerings, which he is founding. The content of his further address (ll. 18–25 ?) is uncertain,

^aEpithets of the king.

but it probably concludes with an exhortation to the officers of the temple faithfully to administer his foundations. He then enumerates the lists of the new calendar of offerings (ll. 26-35), which is very fragmentary, but shows the usual items where preserved. It concluded with the customary curse:

As for him who shall injure this stela, which I have made, he shall fall under the blade of Amon-Re.

II. WEST OF DOOR^a

762. A relief at the top showing Osorkon offering before Amon, surmounts the following inscription:

Date

¹Year 12, first month of the first season, day 9, under the majesty of Horus: Mighty Bull, [Shining] in Thebes, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Offering: Kheperhezre-Setepnere; Son of Re, of his body: Meriamon-Siese-Takelot (II).
..... ———. Lo, his eldest son was 'in the land' [the High Priest of Amon-Re], king of gods, commander in chief of the army, Osorkon — — —.

Lines 2-5 then proceed with a series of conventional epithets of praise and laudation, usually applied to kings, which, owing to the mention of the High Priest Osorkon at the end of l. 1, must refer to him.^b

^aOn the arrangement of this inscription, see § 756, note; published: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 256, a, 258, a, b; Brugsch, *Thésaurus*, V, 1225-30 (only upper ends of lines). The passage regarding the alleged eclipse, is in confusion in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, two sheets of the squeeze having exchanged places. This error was corrected by Goodwin (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1868, 25 ff.) from the rough copy in Young's *Hieroglyphics*. I had a collation of the Berlin squeezes by Mr. Alan Gardiner, who kindly placed it at my disposal; it covered the first half of the monument (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 256, a).

^bThe same occur in the corresponding place in the inscription of year 11 (§ 760, ll. 2-5). Mr. Gardiner noticed that they express Osorkon's favor and power with the king, in successive phrases, taking up the latter's titles in the order of the fivefold titulary.

Arrival of Osorkon

763. Then l. 6 narrates that

He came in our time, in the year [1]1,^a [— —] bearing her^b festal offerings, that he might set her in festivity ———. They rejoiced at seeing him, making festive her offerings, and supplying her altars with every good, pure, and pleasant [thing], in order to increase the daily offerings.

Civil War

764. ⁷Now, afterward, in the year 15, fourth month of the third season, day 25, under the majesty of his august father,^c the divine ruler of Thebes, before heaven devoured the moon,^d [great]^e wrath arose in this land like — — the [hated] and the rebels. They set warfare in the South and North ——— not ceasing to fight against those who were therein and those who^f followed his father; while years passed^g [in] hostility (*hsj-ꜥ*) (each) one seizing upon his neighbor, [not] ⁸remem-

^aThere is no doubt about this restoration, which corresponds with the statement of the graffito (§ 753), that the High Priest Osorkon came to Thebes in the year 11. The restoration also fits the space in the lacuna exactly; but it should be said that this space on the squeeze shows no trace of 10.

^bReferring to Thebes.

^cSee the passage as read from the squeeze by Lepsius (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1868, 29, note). The long discussions regarding the king here meant might have been avoided, had the consecutive narrative ever been worked out. The adverb "*afterward*" is of itself sufficient to show that the date must be later than the last preceding date, which as we have seen, is year 11. "*His august father*" is therefore clearly the High Priest Osorkon's father, Takelot II, the then reigning king.

^dLit., "*heaven not having devoured the moon.*" There is no word or phrase in Egyptian for "not yet;" see my *New Chapter*, 11, (5). This is the famous passage supposed by Brugsch to record an eclipse of the moon. This seems to me possible only on the basis of the rendering I have adopted, according to which the meaning may be: "just before new moon;" or possibly: "just before an eclipse of the moon." The controversy on the subject will be found in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1868 (Goodwin, 25 ff.; Brugsch, 29 ff.; Chabas, 49 ff.); but the above rendering was not there discussed.

^eThe squeeze shows *n* and a papyrus roll; the frequency of the phrase, *nšn ꜥꜣ*, suggested to Chabas the emendation of our *nšn n* (which is grammatically impossible), and the emendation is probably correct.

^fRead *nly m ht*, as at the beginning of l. 12.

^gGardiner's collation.

bering his 'son'^{1a} to 'protect' him who came forth from him. He^b was satisfied in his heart, leading excellent — to his every beautiful hall.

Osorkon's Address to the Court

765. Said this governor^c of the South to his nobles, the companions 'of' his father who were by his side: "."

The details of this speech are totally obscure, but it is evident that Osorkon is exhorting them to peace.^d He appeals (l. 9) to his authority in Thebes,^e and apparently attributes the disturbance to Re, who must be appeased with offerings.

Fidelity of the Court

766. "[Now,]^{1o} when he had finished speaking these words to his hearers, their hearts ['rejoiced']." They assured him: "All thy [designs], they come to pass. Now, when we offer to the god, he will 'restore' the land." The remainder of the speech is again uncertain, but the fragments show that they were faithful to him (l. 11).

Return to Thebes

767. Then said to them this governor of the South: " — — ['gather]' this army into one place, that we may build for him a 'colonnade'.^{1f}

^aGardiner's collation. This son may be the heir to the throne at Bubastis, or Osorkon, the High Priest.

^bFrom here to the close of the paragraph I have no idea of the connection or meaning.

^cThe High Priest, Osorkon.

^dI can make out: "Ye were (wn'tn) the counselors of him who begat me — ye shall not fight [—]" (l. 8).

^eHe says: "I found not a way of knowing her welfare."

^fMr. Gardiner read the determinative as the legs; but after the verb "build," "colonnade" is the only noun that can possibly be rendered for the consonants *wḏy't*. One naturally thinks of the Bubastite colonnade at the gate bearing this inscription, but its architraves bear the name of Sheshonk I. Its continuation, however, on the same side of the forecourt, and the entire opposite side, are uninscribed. The remainder of our inscription, moreover, does not refer to the collection of building material, but the gathering and bringing of offerings. But it must be remembered that much of the inscription is lost.

Then it was done according to that which [he] had said. They brought their — to the ships, even all his things that were numbered as his property. [Then came] ¹²those who followed him, both men and women, the court of his father,^a the troops of his following, without number. Moreover, there were many ships, every one thereof [bearing] their offerings.

All these people brought their gifts and came with ¹³“heart rejoicing, because he was justified in their hearts like the son of Osiris.”

Arrival at Thebes

768. “Then he stationed people before his advance and behind him, rejoicing to heaven.” They proceeded on the voyage toward Thebes in festivity,

like Horus sailing north^b at the Feast of Rekeh (*Rkh*) ^{14f} — ¹ his troops were like a flock of wild fowl. He arrived at the time of verdure, they came before him, with a heart of love to his victorious ‘city’. Then they found Thebes rejoicing and Karnak in [jubilee] — — because of the arrival in her ————— in Southern Heliopolis.

Presentation of the Offering

Then he made a great oblation ————— ¹⁵bulls, gazelles, antelopes, oryxes, fattened geese in tens of thousands and thousands ————— ————— a flood of wine —————, flowers, honey, and shedeh likewise, — measures (*ddmt*) of incense. Then he presented — these [things to] the great god in Thebes. ¹⁶ This august god was brought forth in procession, to adorn this his oblation, while his divine ennead, with rejoicing heart, were receiving it.

Amon Pardons Thebans

769. “The High Priest of Amon, Osorkon, spake to the great god, and his army spake in praising [him]: ‘.’” They now address appealing questions to the god, among

^aLit., “of him that begat him,” as in l. 8 (§ 765).

^bThis evidently indicates the direction of Osorkon’s voyage, not that of Horus only.

which can be discerned: "Dost thou do to Thebes as thou hast done to them?"^a But the following three lines (18-20), containing but a few scattered signs, fail to reveal the nature of their further address. Their appeal was successful, for the god responded (l. 1)^b with the usual signs of favor and acquiescence. Thebes was thus spared, and the Thebans joined in praise of Osorkon and Amon, promising the god the most plentiful offerings (ll. 2-4).

Summary of Osorkon's Offerings

770. The narrative now passes over a long period and begins a retrospect of Osorkon's benefactions from the beginning of his rule at Thebes, which Osorkon himself states as a

"list of all the benefactions which I did for them for the first time, from the year 11 under [the majesty of Takelot II]^c to the year 28, under the majesty of Sheshonk III."

After a list of myrrh, incense, honey, and oil (l. 7) follows a statement of precious metals given to Amon, Mut, and Khonsu, among which "*fine gold of Khenthennofer*" twice appears (ll. 8 and 9). Later are offerings of "*the High*

^aMeaning: "wilt thou punish Thebes as thou hast punished them?" for the preposition is *r*, lit., "*against*." Who is meant by "*them*" is uncertain, but it would appear that other revolters had been severely punished, and that Thebes, being implicated, appeals to Amon for mercy.

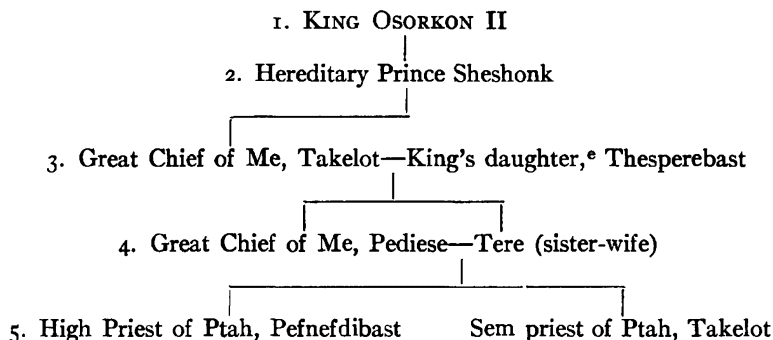
^bThe inscription now passes from the west to the south wall, and Lepsius begins a new numbering of lines (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 258, *a*, *b* = Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1227-30); but he knew that the inscription of the south wall was the continuation of that of the west wall (Text, III, 11).

^cAs we know that Osorkon arrived in Thebes in the year 11 of Takelot II, and that he made his first offering calendar in that year (§ 753), there can be no doubt about the restoration. Osorkon's term of office at that time, from year 11 of Takelot II to year 28 of Sheshonk III, thus rests on better evidence than that heretofore drawn from this inscription (Maspero, *Momies royales*, 741, 742). Of course, the interruption by the civil war just narrated is taken for granted, and not referred to in giving the chronological limits of his term of office, at the time when the record was made.

Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Osorkon, from the year 22^a to the year 26''^b (l. 12), among which appears the income of the goddess Mat (l. 15); after which the income of Amon in the year 25 is itemized (l. 17), followed by that of Mut (l. 17). The last line (22), perhaps added later, contains the income of Amon and Hathor in the year 29.^c

FIRST SERAPEUM STELA OF PEDIESE^d

771. This Libyan commander was a great-grandson of Osorkon II, who lived in the time of Sheshonk III, in whose twenty-eighth year he erected, in the Serapeum, the votive stela under discussion. He gives his genealogy, which is as follows (adding his two sons):



^aIt is not evident why he should begin a subsection with the year 22. This is his earliest date under Sheshonk III. Does it mark the beginning of Osorkon's restoration to office after the rule of Harsiese, who was High Priest in his absence?

^bSo Lepsius and Maspero, *Momies royales*, 741 (collation of original); Brugsch has 28.

^cThe mention of Sheshonk III in l. 7 shows clearly that this date belongs to his reign. Maspero's attribution of it to Takelot II (*Empires*, 165, note 2) is therefore an inadvertence. He attributed it correctly, *Momies royales*, 741.

^dFound by Mariette in the Serapeum; now in the Louvre (No. 18); published by Mariette, *Fouilles*, Pl. 36 (not seen); Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, III, Pl. 24; Chassinat, *Recueil*, 22, 9, 10. I had also my own copy of the original.

^eNot on our stela, but on another of the second year of Pemou (§ 781), as noticed by Lepsius, *Zweiundzwanzigste Dynastie*, 276, note.

772. As the Sheshonk mentioned (No. 2) is distinctly called "*great first hereditary prince*," it can hardly be doubted that he is the prince who became Sheshonk II; but as his name is not inclosed in a cartouche, we may regard this as another evidence that he was never more than coregent, as indicated by the quai-records at Karnak (§ 696, No. 13). His son Takelot cannot be Takelot II; otherwise we should expect him to be called king. The above quai-record, furthermore, calls Takelot II son of Osorkon II.

773. The burial of an Apis in the twenty-eighth year of Sheshonk III having given Pediese opportunity to erect this stela, he took part in the search for the new Apis in the same year, and conducted its burial twenty-six years later in the second year of Pemou, when he erected a second stela (§§ 778-81).

774. The first stela is as follows:

Year 28, King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Setepnamon; Son [of Re], Lord of Diadems: Meriamon - Sibast - Sheshonk (III) - Nuterhekon.

Below, three men are praying before the sacred bull. They are accompanied by the following inscriptions,^a showing them to be father and two sons:

1. His beloved favorite, the great chief of Me, Pediese, triumphant, son of the great chief of Me, Takelot, triumphant; his mother was Thesperebast (*Ts-B³s-t-pr-t*), triumphant; son of the great first hereditary prince of his majesty, Sheshonk,^b triumphant, royal son of the Lord of the Two Lands, Usermare-Setepnamon (Osorkon II),^c given life like Re.

2. His beloved favorite, High Priest of Ptah, Pefnefdibast, triumphant,

^aThese are repeated in horizontal lines below the figures. Both versions are combined in the translation.

^bWho became coregent as Sheshonk II.

^cThe prenomen does not differ from that of Sheshonk III, but the variant gives Osorkon.

phant, son of the great chief of Me, Pediese, triumphant; his mother was Tere (*T³-yry*), triumphant, daughter of the great chief of Me, Takelot,^a triumphant.

3. His beloved favorite, sem priest of Ptah, Takelot, triumphant, son of the great chief of Me, Pediese, triumphant.

Heretibsuten, triumphant, made it.

RECORD OF INSTALLATION^b

775. This brief document is a graffito such as the officials of this age were wont to cut upon the walls at Karnak, in commemoration of their installation or promotion in office. It bears the latest surviving date of the High Priest Osorkon, and also informs us that his brother, Bekneptah, was commander at Heracleopolis in the year 39 of Sheshonk III. Bekneptah must, therefore, have interrupted the succession of Harpeson's family in that office at Heracleopolis.^c Osorkon and Bekneptah are here making common cause, "*overthrowing all who fought against them.*"

776. This can hardly be a reminiscence of the trouble which interrupted Osorkon's rule at Thebes (§ 758). The interim in the power of the ruling family at Heracleopolis, by the installation of Osorkon's brother, Bekneptah, doubtless explains the origin of the trouble referred to. Osorkon and Bekneptah, sons of Takelot II, probably expelled from Heracleopolis the line established there by Osorkon II. This offers an interesting parallel to the expulsion from Thebes of the High Priest Osorkon himself, and suggests, at least, that he may have owed his expulsion to the Heracleopolitans, on whom he has now retaliated. Did their recov-

^aHence his mother was both sister and wife of his father.

^bGraffito on one of the Middle Kingdom blocks behind the sanctuary of the great temple of Karnak; published by Legrain, *Recueil*, 22, 55, No. 7.

^cHe would fall in the generations Nos. 12-14 or thereabout (§ 787).

ery of Heracleopolis then bring Osorkon's long career at Thebes to a close?

777. Year 39, — month of the third season, day 26, under the majesty of King Sheshonk III, living forever.

Behold, the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, governor of the South, the chief Osorkon, [son of King] Takelot II, living forever, was in Thebes, celebrating the feast of Amon with a single heart, with his brother, chief commander of the army of Heracleopolis, Bekneptah, ——— overthrowing all who fought against them. On this day was installed the chief judge, governor of the city, and vizier, —hor—^a in the great and august throne of Amon^b

^aThe man's name, of which beginning and end are lost; his parentage followed.

^bThe remainder is an address of the installed official, mostly unintelligible as published.

REIGN OF PEMOU

SECOND SERAPEUM STELA OF PEDIESE^a

778. Pediese, who had erected a stela at the burial of an Apis in the twenty-eighth year of Sheshonk III (§§ 771-74), records the successful search for another in the same year, and the death of the sacred animal twenty-six years later, in the second year of Pemou. Pediese has, meantime, become High Priest of Ptah; as such he conducted the burial of this Apis, and recorded the whole in this second stela. The length of life of the animal, given as twenty-six years, enables us to establish the length of Sheshonk III's reign, thus:

Apis born in year 28 of Sheshonk III.

Apis died in year 2 of Pemou.

Apis lived 26 years.

Length of Sheshonk III's reign, 52 years.^b

779. The stela is surmounted by a relief showing the Apis in human form, with head of a bull, accompanied by the goddess of the west. Three people, praying before them, are designated as:

1. Great chief of the Me, Pediese, triumphant, son of the great chief of the Meshwesh,^c Takelot, triumphant.

^aFound by Mariette in the Serapeum; now in the Louvre (No. 34); published by Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, III, Pl. 26; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 967; Chassinat, *Recueil*; I had also my own copy of the original. The monument exists in duplicate; the second (Louvre, No. 36): Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, III, Pl. 27. Two other stela, of value in corroborating the dates, commemorate this Apis: Louvre, No. 35; Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, III, Pl. 28; and Louvre, No. 276, not published by Mariette.

^bFor the possibility of another Sheshonk, between Sheshonk III and Pemou, thus shortening the reign of Sheshonk III (though without lengthening the dynasty), see quai-records (§ 698, No. 18, n. d).

^cThis proves that Me is an abbreviation for Meshwesh, for this Takelot, the father of Pediese, occurs as "*chief of Me*," on the preceding stela (§ 774).

2. Sem priest of Ptah, Harsiese ———.

3. ———.

780. Below them is the following inscription:

[Year] 2,^a second month of the second season, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Setepnamon, given life; Son of Re, Lord of Diadems: Meriamon-Pemou,^b given life, stability, satisfaction, like Re, forever, beloved of Apis, son of First of the Westerners, the great god.

On this day the god was conducted in peace to the beautiful west, (to) his burial in the cemetery, to lay him to rest in the eternal house, in his everlasting seat. Now, he was born in the year 28 in the time of the majesty of King Sheshonk III, triumphant. They sought his beauty in every place of the Northland, and he was found at the temple of Shedebod^c (*Šd-ybd*), after three months, when they had gone around the regions of the Delta, and every district of the Northland.

781. He was conducted to Memphis, to his father, "Ptah-South-of-his-Wall," by the High Priest of Ptah, sem priest in the house of Ptah, great chief of the Meshwesh, Pediese, son of the High Priest of Ptah, sem priest, [great chief of] the Meshwesh, Takelot, born of the king's-daughter, of his body, his beloved Thesperebast; in the year 28, second month of the first season. The beautiful life^d of this god was 26 years.

^aI read a fragmentary first stroke immediately following the lacuna, making three; but another stela (No. 276, my own copy) gives the date as "*year 2, second month of the second season, day 1.*" The two other stelæ relating the burial of this Apis have lost still more, and do not aid in restoring the number.

^bThe first half of this part of the name is broken out, but is perfectly preserved on one of the duplicates (No. 35).

^cUnknown place.

^dCorrected from Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, III, Pl. 27, l. 7 (^c *h* ^c *nfr*).

REIGN OF SHESHONK IV

STELA OF WESHTEHET^a

782. This interesting stela records Weshtehet's gift of land to the temple of Hathor in an unknown town, probably in the western Delta, called Pesebek. The importance of the monument lies in Weshtehet's office as chief caravaneer of Pharaoh, controlling the intercourse with the oases of the Libyan desert; and that of his immediate superior, who was the great chief of Libya, Hetihenker, the Pharaoh's governor of a portion of the western Delta, and, perhaps, some uncertain extent of Libyan country also, including the oases. These arrangements are doubtless only the continuation of the organization of Sheshonk I. The barbarous names borne by these men are, of course, Libyan, but the chief caravaneer's mother bore a name of Egyptian formation, and he himself conveyed an endowment of land to the Hathor of the town, which doubtless lay at the Egyptian terminus of his caravan route to the oases.

783. A relief at the top of the stela shows two scenes: on the left a man praying before Hathor, with the inscription: "*May she give life, prosperity, health, to the great chief of Libya (R-b³)*"; on the right a similar scene, with the inscription: "*May she give life, prosperity, health, to the chief caravaneer of Pharaoh.*" These two men are the donator of the land, and his superior, as shown in the following inscription:

^aRough limestone stela, with round top broken off, 53 by 31 cm., in possession of Daninos Pacha; published from a squeeze by Maspero, *Recueil*, XV, 84, 85.

Date

784. ¹Year 19, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Okheperre (^c -*hpr-R*^c, Sheshonk IV), given life.

Donation

The chief caravaneer ²of Pharaoh, Weshtehet (*W*² -*š*² -*ty-h*² -*t*²), son of Newsetrekenye (*N-w*² -*s*² -*ty-rw-k*² -*n*² -*yw*), ³whose mother is Tentseherye (*Tynt-S*² -*h*² -*rw-yw*), has presented five stat of land to the house of Hathor, ⁴mistress of Malachite, under charge^a of the chief of the door-keepers, Pese² eke (*P*² -*s*² -^c *k*²), son of ⁵Pekenu (*P*² -*knw*), whose mother is the divine votress of Soped, Hernofer (*Hr-n/r*); in order to crave for him life, prosperity, health, long life, ⁶and an advanced and happy old age, under the favor of his lord, the great chief of Libya (*R-b*), great chief of Me, Hetihenker (*H*² -*ty-π* *hn-k-r*); in the house of Hathor, mistress of Malachite, abiding and permanent, forever.

Curse

As for any man, or ⁸any scribe who is sent on a commission to the district of the town of Pesebek (*P*² -*Šbk*), who shall injure ⁹this stela; they shall come under the blade of Hathor. (But) the name of him who shall establish it shall abide.

SERAPEUM STELA OF HARPESON^b

785. This remarkable stela, while of the usual form of votive stela in the Serapeum, contains facts of fundamental importance in the study of the origin and internal affairs of the Twenty-second Dynasty. It was erected by one Harpeson, the military commander and High Priest of Harsaphes

^aThis is undoubtedly the rendering here, although the determinative of the preposition (*r ht*) is not usually the legs. To render it "after" (*m ht*) and connect it with the verb "crave" (*dbk*), ignoring the preposition, "in order to" (*r*), as the editor of the text has done, is not a solution of the difficulty which need be discussed.

^bDiscovered by Mariette in the Serapeum, now in the Louvre (No. 278); published by Lepsius, *Die Zweiundzwanzigste ägyptische Königsdynastie*, 267-69; Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, III, Pl. 31. I had also my own copy of the original.

at Heracleopolis in the thirty-seventh year of Sheshonk IV; that is, practically at the close of the Twenty-second Dynasty.

786. After recording, in the usual manner, the interment of an Apis-bull in that year, Harpeson appends the customary prayer on his own behalf, adding to his name his genealogy, ascending through fifteen generations. We thus have enumerated sixteen generations of an important family, extending from the close of the Twenty-second Dynasty back through the entire dynasty (ten generations), and six generations preceding it. The ten generations of this family thus correspond in length to the nine kings of the Twenty-second Dynasty. More important than this, however, is the fact that with the sixth generation back of Harpeson, his genealogy merges with the royal line in the person of Osorkon II. This will be clearer from the following table:^a

^aThe names of kings are in spaced capitals.

787. 1. The Libyan, Buyuwawa
 2. Divine father of Harsaphes, great chief, Musen
 3. Divine father of Harsaphes, great chief, Nebneshi
 4. Divine father of Harsaphes, great chief, Pethut
 5. Divine father of Harsaphes, great chief, Sheshonk—king's-mother, Mehetnuskhet
 6. Divine father of Harsaphes, great chief, Namlot—Divine mother, Tentseph
 7. KING SHESHONK I—Divine mother, Kerome
 8. KING OSORKON I—Divine mother, Temehkhonsu
 9. KING TAKELOT I—Divine mother, Kepes
 10. KING OSORKON II—Uzmutenkhos
 11. Count, governor of the South, High Priest of Heracleopolis, commander of the army, Namlot—Priestess of Harsaphes, Tentseph
 12. (Same titles), Uzptahenkhof—King's-daughter, Tentseph
 13. (Same titles), Henptah—Priestess of Harsaphes, Thenekemet
 14. (Same titles), Harpeson—Priestess of Harsaphes, Petpetdedes
 15. (Same titles), Henptah—Prophetess of Hathor, Ireteru
 16. (Same titles), Harpeson (year 37 of Sheshonk IV)

788. Back of Osorkon II, therefore, the genealogy of Harpeson becomes that of the Twenty-second Dynasty, and the Libyan, Buyuwawa, the father of his line is, therefore, the ancestor of the Twenty-second Dynasty. His immediate descendants (Nos. 2-5) also bear Libyan names, and among them is that chief of the Meshwesh, Sheshonk (No. 5), whom we found endowing his deceased son Namlot's (No. 6)^a tomb at Abydos (§§ 669 ff.). Their ancestor, Buyuwawa, bears no Egyptian title, but his son, Musen, became priest of Harsaphes at Heracleopolis, and was a "*great chief*," of course, of the Meshwesh, like his great-grandson, Sheshonk^b (No. 5). These warlike chiefs of the Libyan mercenaries so husbanded their power that after five generations at Heracleopolis they seized the throne. There is no intimation in this document of any connection with Bubastis.^c

789. It is evident, therefore, that for at least a hundred years before the Twenty-second Dynasty, Heracleopolis had been the seat of a powerful family. Of the fortunes of its rulers during the first three reigns of the dynasty we learn nothing; but our genealogy shows Osorkon II appointing his son Namlot as High Priest and military commander there, with the title of governor of the South, like the High Priest of Amon. Indeed, this Namlot became also High Priest

^aAs the name of Namlot's mother, Mehetnusekhet, and the name of his father, Sheshonk, are the same in our genealogy and in the Abydos stela, there can be no question about their identity.

^bOn the Abydos stela, § 677.

^cWe can only suppose that during the Twenty-first Dynasty the family had gained control of Bubastis, and that Sheshonk I, perceiving the necessity of a stronghold in the eastern Delta, took up his residence there, thus gaining for his family the name Bubastites; but the family was clearly not of Bubastite origin.

of Amon, as Lepsius long ago saw.^a The principality of Thebes, added to that of Heracleopolis, gave to one man the control of all Upper Egypt, from the Delta into Nubia, creating a dangerous rival of the royal house. How long Namlot held both principalities is uncertain,^b but the family held possession of Heracleopolis for five generations more, six in all (§ 787, Nos. 11 and 16).

790. But in the thirty-ninth year of Sheshonk III, Bekneptah, a son of Takelot II, not appearing in our genealogy, was in control at Heracleopolis (§§ 775, 776) and making common cause with Osorkon, High Priest at Thebes. Namlot's descendants^c must therefore have lost and recovered control at Heracleopolis. The support of their enemy, Bekneptah, by the High Priest of Amon at Thebes, suggests earlier hostility between the two principalities, and is evidently only one example of the petty wars in which the dynasts of Egypt were now constantly embroiled. Thus, while Thebes did not succeed in maintaining a dynasty under the Bubastites, that of Heracleopolis, beginning early in the Twenty-first Dynasty, continued for fifteen generations, interrupted for four generations by the accession of the line to the throne as the Twenty-second Dynasty, and by the probably short usurpation of Bekneptah (see §§ 745, 746). The power and importance of Heracleopolis continued through the Ethiopian and Saitic periods. It is mentioned in the annals of Ashurbanipal and Isaiah saw the envoys of Judah going to Tanis and Heracleopolis (𐤇𐤍𐤏, Isaiah 30:4) for assistance.

^a*Zweiundzwanzigste Dynastie*, Pl. I.

^bEvidently not into the reign of Takelot II; see Wreszinski's list (*Die Hohenpriester des Amon*, § 47), where a high priest of Amon, Amenhotep, is between Namlot and the High Priest Osorkon, who was appointed in year 11 of Takelot II (§ 760).

^cAbout Nos. 12-14.

Apis Record

791. ¹This god was introduced to his father, Ptah, in the year 12,^a fourth month of the second season, fourth day, of King Okheperre, ²Son of Re, Sheshonk (IV), given life. He was born in the year 11 of his majesty; he rested in his place ³in Tazoser (the cemetery) in the year 37, third month of the first season, day 27, of his majesty.

Sixteenth Generation

792. May he grant life, prosperity, health, and joy of heart to ⁴his beloved son, the prophet of Neit, Harpeson;

Fifteenth Generation

Son of the count, governor of the South, chief prophet in Heracleopolis, commander of ⁵the army, Henptah; born of the prophetess of Hathor of Heracleopolis, his sister, the matron, Ireteru (*Yr' t-rw*);

Fourteenth Generation

⁷Son^b of the like,^c Harpeson; born of the chief sistrum-bearer of Harsaphes, king of the Two Lands, ruler of the two shores, ⁸Petpetdedes;

Thirteenth Generation

Son of the like, Henptah; born of the like, Thenekemet (*T' n-km' t*);

Twelfth Generation

Son of the like, ⁹Uzphatenkhof (*Wd-Pth-^c nhf*); born of the prophetess of Hathor of Heracleopolis, king's-daughter, the matron, Tentsepeh (*Tnt-sph*);

Eleventh Generation

Son of the like, Namlot, ¹⁰born of the chief sistrum-bearer of Harsaphes, king of the Two Lands, ruler of the two shores, Tentsepeh;

Tenth Generation

Son of the Lord of the Two Lands: Osorkon (II), born of Uzmutekhos;

Ninth Generation

Son of King Takelot (I), ¹¹and the divine mother, Kepes;

^aHis predecessor was buried in the year 11, the twenty-eighth of Paophi (Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, Pl. 30).

^bThe genealogy ascends from father to grandfather here; I have indicated each generation by a paragraph.

^cMeaning that the father bore the same titles and filled the same offices as the son. "*The like*" may also be applied to the females of the line, as in l. 8.

Eighth Generation

Son of King Osorkon (I) and the divine mother, Temehkhonsu;

Seventh Generation

Son of King Sheshonk (I) and the divine mother, ¹²Kerome;

Sixth Generation

^aThe divine father, the great chief, Namlot, and the divine mother, Tentsepeh;

Fifth Generation

Son of the like, Sheshonk, born of the king's-mother, Mehetnusekhet;

Fourth Generation

Son of the like, Pethut (*P³ -twt*);

Third Generation

Son of the like, Nebneshi (*Nbnšy*);

Second Generation

Son of the like, Musen (*M³ w³ sn*);

First Generation

Son of the Libyan (*Tyhn*), Buyuwawa (*Bw-yw-w³ -w³*).

Abiding, abiding, remaining, remaining, enduring, enduring, flourishing, flourishing, in the temple of Harsaphes, king of the Two Lands, ruler of the two shores, one man the son of another man, without perishing, forever and ever, forever and ever, in Heracleopolis.

^aThe omission of "*Son of*" is noticeable, but might easily happen in such a long series. Petrie (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXVI, 284) thinks this couple the same as that of the eleventh generation, so that the genealogy stops at the seventh and goes back to begin again with the eleventh (= sixth) and carries it back (6 to 1) parallel with 11 to 7; 11 to 7 being the ancestry of Namlot, and 6 to 1 the ancestry of his wife Tentsepeh. To this reconstruction there are three fatal objections: (1) If 6-1 is the genealogy of Tentsepeh alone, why has her husband's name been inserted before hers in 6? (2) If 6-1 is the genealogy of a woman, why does it proceed (fifth generation) with "*son*" and not *daughter*? (3) The titles in 6 and 11 are not the same, but in 6 we have the old Libyan title of Namlot, whereas in 11 (carried back from 15) we have the Egyptian titles which we should expect after the Egyptianization of the family. It is unfortunate that the above possibility of evading the Libyan origin of the Twenty-second Dynasty should be used as an argument for the Assyrian origin of that dynasty; although we have proof positive that at the rise of the Twenty-second Dynasty, Assyria was in a state of decline, and had absolutely no power in the west.

THE TWENTY-THIRD DYNASTY

RECORDS OF NILE-LEVELS AT KARNAK^a

793. These records, continuing those of the Twenty-second Dynasty (§§ 695-98), are of great importance. They show that the new Twenty-third Dynasty controlled Thebes, probably from its accession (about 745 B. C.), but at least twenty-three years thereafter. Its conquest by Piankhi must, therefore, fall after this period and after the reign of Pedibast, which concluded those twenty-three years. The interruption of the Twenty-third Dynasty at Thebes by Piankhi was, therefore, not earlier than 722 B. C., and his campaign not earlier than about 720 B. C. (see §§ 812, 813). The remainder of the Twenty-third Dynasty will be found discussed in the notes and introduction to the Piankhi Stela (§§ 811-13). The question whether it may have been parallel with the Twenty-second Dynasty is also taken up there (§ 813). See also Appended Remark, p. 404.

Reign of Pedibast

794. 1. (26)^b The Nile. Year 16 of King Meriamon-Pedibast, which is year 2 of King Meriamon-Yewepet (*Yw-[p]^c-ty*).

2. (27) The Nile. Year 19 of King Meriamon-Pedibast; time of the High Priest of Amon, [Harsiese], triumphant.

3. (28) The Nile. Year 19 (sic!) of King Meriamon-Pedibast; time of the High Priest of Amon, [Hars]ese.

4. (29) The Nile. Year 23 of King Meriamon-Pedibast; time of the High Priest of Amon, Takelot.

^aOn the quay of the great Karnak temple; published by Legrain, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1896, 113 f.

^bLegrain's number.

^cThe *p* has, of course, been omitted in the publication. This Yewepet is the same as the Yewepet mentioned in the Piankhi inscription, §§ 830, 878.

Reign of Osorkon III

5. (16) The Nile. Year 5.^a High Priest of Amon, Yewelot (*Yw-w³ -r² -t*), triumphant, son of the Lord of the Two Lands, Osorkon III.

6. (17) The Nile. Year 8. High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Nesube[neb]ded, triumphant, king's-son of the Lord of the Two Lands, Osorkon III.

7. (18) The Nile. Year 14. High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Nesubenebbed, triumphant, son of the Lord of the Two Lands, Osorkon III.

8. (19) The Nile. Year — (same as 18).

9. (20) [The Nile. Year] ——— triumphant, king's-son of the Lord of the Two Lands, Osorkon III.

10. (21) [The Nile. Year] ——— (conclusion like 20).

APPENDED REMARK

After these pages were in type, and as they go to press, I have received from Mons. Legrain, a letter in which he has had the great kindness to review the evidence from his brilliant excavations at Karnak, relating to the chronology of the Twenty-third Dynasty. He concludes from this evidence that the Twenty-third Dynasty was contemporary with the end of the Twenty-second. I wish to thank him very cordially here for the labor and time which he has so kindly devoted to this valuable letter, and to congratulate him upon the remarkable success of his work at Karnak, although I am as yet unable to see that the evidence adduced proves the alleged contemporaneity.

^aThe following records (Nos. 5-21) cannot belong to Osorkon I, whose second name is Meriamon-Osorkon, as here; nor are they of Osorkon II, whose second name is Meriamon-Sibast-Osorkon. Hence they evidently belong to Osorkon III, whose second name was likewise Meriamon-Osorkon, as here. This also relieves us of an impossible series of otherwise unknown High Priests of Amon, who cannot be made sons of Osorkon I.

REIGN OF OSORKON III

WILL OF YEWELOT^a

795. The introduction to this will contains historical facts, too important to be omitted here, even though this series is not designed to include legal documents. I have, therefore, given below the introduction and the conclusion which furnish the framework of the document. According to the custom since the Twenty-first Dynasty, at least, all such legal instruments are decrees of Amon. Yewelot, son of Osorkon III and High Priest of Amon at Thebes, had founded a landed estate there in his youth, in the tenth year of his father's reign. He wills this estate to his son, Khamwese. In the introduction he indicates the northern limit of his military command as Siut.

¹Said Amon-Re, king of gods, the great god, great in the beginning of being: "As for the landed estate, which the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, commander in chief of the army, who is at the head of the great army of ²the South as far as the region of Siut, Yewelot, triumphant, founded; which lies in the district of the highland north-west of 'Thebes', and is called 'Beautiful Region;' while he was a youth in the time of his father, King Meriamon-Osorkon (III), ³in the year 10, fourth month of the third season, last day ²². . . in all 556 ¹stat¹ of various land, and 35 men and women, their dykes, their ²³trees, their large and small cattle; I confirm them to the prophet of Amon-Re, king of gods, the chief of a district,^b Khamwese, triumphant, his son, whom the daughter of a king's-daughter, ²⁴Tedenetnebast (*T³ dn' t-n-B³ s' t*), bore to him, forever."

^aRed granite stela, round top, 2.67 m. high, 1.25 m. wide, 38 cm. thick, discovered by Legrain in the great Karnak temple; published by him, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 35, 13-16, and translated by Erman, *ibid.*, 19-24. A relief at the top in two parts shows: on the right a priest with panther-skin offering a statuette of Truth to Amon and Khonsu; on the left, the same person in the same ceremony before Amon and Mut. Below is the text in thirty-two horizontal lines.

^bSee Dakhel Stela (§ 726, l. 2) for the same title.

REIGN OF PIANKHI

THE PIANKHI STELA^a

796. This stela is the most instructive surviving document in respect of the internal political condition of Egypt in a time when no strong central power and no aggressive monarch controlled the whole country. The conditions pictured in this record are undoubtedly typical of similar periods throughout the historic age in Egypt, and in reading it the student clearly perceives why certain epochs in the history of the Nile-dwellers have left us no monuments. That we consequently know almost nothing of such periods is, in view of the revelations of the Piankhi Stela, probably no great loss, as far as political conditions are concerned. We may safely picture them to ourselves as essentially like this period first revealed to us by our great stela.

The Piankhi Stela discloses the Nubian kingdom

^aLarge and splendid stela of pink granite, with rounded top, 180 cm. high, 184 cm. wide, and 43 cm. thick; in the Museum of Cairo (No. 160, *Guide*, III, b). It was discovered in the temple at Gebel Barkal (Napata) by a native Egyptian officer of the Sudanese government in 1862, and a rude copy made by him was used by de Rougé for his essay on the stone in 1863 (*Revue archéologique*, 1863, 2 n. s. VIII, 94 ff.). The original having arrived in Cairo in 1864, a copy was made by Devéria, and published in 1867 (*Fouilles exécutées en Egypte, en Nubie et au Soudan, d'après les ordres de son Altesse le Vice-Roi d'Egypte*, par Auguste Mariette-Bey; folio; Paris: Franck, 1867; I (texte), 1-2; II (planches), Pls. 1-14). This work was for some reason withdrawn from sale a few days after publication, and only the few copies sold now exist. It was then published from the copies of Devéria in Rougé's *Chrestomathie*, fasc. IV (1876), and in Mariette, *Monuments divers*, Pls. I-VI. The publications are very good; I had also a collation of the original by Schaefer, and my own collation of the Berlin squeeze, from both of which sources a few corrections have been inserted. The best and most recent translation is that of Griffith (*A Library of the World's Best Literature*, 5275-95). See bibliography of older treatments, by Maspero (Mariette, *Monuments divers*, 1, 2, and Maspero, *The Passing of the Empires*, p. 166, n. 6). The geographical notes which I have appended are chiefly drawn from Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique*.

already in existence as a full-fledged power. King Piankhi must have come to the throne in Napata about 741 B. C., but his records offer no hint of the development of the kingdom which must have preceded him. Its character as an Amonite theocracy or hierarchy sufficiently indicates its Theban origin. When, moreover, we remember that the Nubian "*gold-country of Amon*," with its own governor, already existed toward the close of the Nineteenth Dynasty;^a that the Theban High Priest of Amon became viceroy of Kush at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty;^b and, finally, that the sacerdotal princess of Thebes in the Twenty-first Dynasty was "*viceroys of Kush, and governor of the Southern Countries*,"^c it will be seen that over four hundred years before Piankhi's reign the Theban hierarchy had a strong hold on Nubia, and that some two hundred years later this had strengthened into full possession of the country.

797. The transfer of the Pharaonic seat of power to the Delta and the prominence of Ptah in the family of the Twenty-second Dynasty, had alienated the Amon priests from the northern dynasties. What was the specific occasion of the priests' withdrawal and the foundation of a new government at Napata, the old Eighteenth Dynasty seat of Amon worship by the fourth cataract, we do not know. As the later generations of the Twenty-second Dynasty weakened, petty dynasts arose throughout the Delta and as far south as Hermopolis. The Twenty-third Dynasty, at Bubastis,^d although acknowledged for at least twenty-three years at Thebes during the reign of its first king, Pedibast (§§ 793,

^aIII, 640.

^b§ 615.

^cE. g., on the Canopic jars and stela of Nesikhonsu, A. B. Edwards, *Recueil IV*, 80-85, and Maspero, *Momies royales*, 712.

^dAlthough Manetho gives the twenty-third as a Tanitic dynasty, it is clearly Bubastite, according to the Piankhi inscription.

794), brought no order out of the chaos; for, as the Nubian kingdom now (about 722 B. C.)^a suddenly emerges upon our view, we find it in possession of Thebes and Upper Egypt, as far north as Heracleopolis just south of the mouth of the Fayûm.^b

798. The occasion of the Nubian conquest of the farther North, narrated in our document, was a disturbance in the situation just described, occasioned by the aggressiveness and rapid rise of Tefnakhte, a local dynast of Sais in the western Delta, whose career at this point illustrates that of almost every founder of a Pharaonic dynasty. Had the Nubian conquest not put an end to his brilliant career, he, too, like Ahmose of Thebes, and Sheshonk of Heracleopolis (later Bubastis), would have headed a dynasty of Pharaohs. In Piankhi's twenty-first^c year, in the first month of the calendar year, his vassals in Upper Egypt reported to him that Tefnakhte had defeated the dynasts of the entire western Delta, and of both shores of the Nile above the Delta, almost as far south as the vicinity of Benihasan. Besides these, he had also gained control of all the eastern and middle Delta princes (l. 19), so that he was practically king of all lower Egypt, and of the lower portion of Upper

^aOr possibly a little later. The reasons why Thebes could not have fallen much later will be found at the close of this discussion, § 813. The correctness of this dating of Piankhi's appearance in Lower Egypt some fifty years later than has been heretofore done by other historians, is not only rendered certain by the chronological data of the preceding period (dead reckoning from accession of Eighteenth Dynasty), but also by the fact that Piankhi was the father of Taharka, who began to reign in 690 or 691 B. C.; the fact that Bocchoris, the son of Tefnakhte, Piankhi's enemy, was the opponent of Shabaka; so that Piankhi and Shabaka cannot have been far apart.

^bThe Ethiopian period in Egypt thus includes Dynasties 23 (excepting the first reign), 24, and 25, the last of which only, is called Ethiopian by Manetho, because it was not until the overthrow of the ephemeral Twenty-fourth Dynasty, in the Delta that the Ethiopians established themselves permanently there.

^cAs he must have been holding Upper Egypt for some time before this, we must place his occupation of Thebes a year at least before these reports.

Egypt. Only Heracleopolis was holding out against him, and was suffering a siege at his hands, all his vassal princes lending him aid against it.

799. The wily Piankhi, desirous of drawing his enemy far southward, away from the safety of the impenetrable Delta swamps, quietly awaited developments. A second appeal from the north (§ 819) then informed Piankhi of the submission of Namlot, king of Hermopolis, to Tefnakhte (§ 820). Piankhi thereupon sent his commanders, with the troops then in Egypt, northward to check Tefnakhte's further southern advance, and besiege Hermopolis (§ 821). This they did, while Piankhi was, at the same time, dispatching from Nubia a second army for their support (§ 822). Having left Thebes, the second army met Tefnakhte's fleet coming up, and defeated it, capturing many ships and prisoners (§ 825). Continuing northward, probably down the Bahr Yusuf,^a they struck Tefnakhte's army, which was besieging Heracleopolis, with the assistance of the Delta dynasts, as we have already stated. The northerners were defeated, both by land and water, and fled to the west side of the Bahr Yusuf (§ 831), whither they were pursued by the Nubians the next morning, again discomfited and forced to retreat toward the Delta.

800. Namlot, king of Hermopolis, escaped from the disaster, and returned southward to protect his own city, Hermopolis, which had not yet surrendered; whereupon the Nubian commanders returned up the Bahr Yusuf to Hermopolis which they closely beset (§ 833).

801. On receiving reports of these operations, Piankhi was enraged that the northern army had been allowed to escape to the Delta. It was now late in the calendar year,

^aSee p. 424, n. f.

and Piankhi determined, after the celebration of the New Year at home, to proceed to Thebes to celebrate there the great Feast of Opet in the third month, and then to lead the campaign against the North in person (§§ 835, 836). Meanwhile, his commanders in Egypt captured Oxyrhyncus, Tetchen, and Hatbenu (§§ 837-39), although Hermopolis still held out against them.

802. Piankhi then proceeded northward early in the calendar year, celebrated the Feast of Opet at Thebes in the third month, and went on to assume charge of the siege of Hermopolis, which had now been going on for certainly four, and probably five months (§ 840). He pressed the siege so vigorously that the city was soon at his mercy, and Namlot, finding that gifts, even his own royal crown, availed nothing with Piankhi, sent out his queen to plead with Piankhi's women that they might intercede with him in Namlot's behalf (§§ 842-44). This move was successful and, assured of his life, Namlot surrendered and turned over all his wealth to Piankhi, who immediately entered the city (§§ 845-50). One of the most remarkable touches in this remarkable inscription is the wrath of Piankhi as he visits Namlot's stables and finds that the horses have suffered hunger (§ 850). All of Namlot's wealth was assigned to the royal treasury of Piankhi and the sacred fortune of Amon (§ 851).

803. Heracleopolis, being already exhausted after a siege at the hands of Tefnakhte, its king, Pefnefdibast, now came to greet Piankhi and praise him for his deliverance (§ 852). The advance to the Delta, sailing down the Bahr Yusuf, was then begun, and all the chief towns of the West surrendered one after another on seeing Piankhi's force, except Crocodilopolis, in the Fayûm, which would have carried him too far from his course by Illahun. On the other hand, he

did not touch Aphroditopolis, which lay on the east side of the river, equally far removed from his route, past Medûm and Ithtowe to Memphis (§§ 853-57). Piankhi offered sacrifice to the gods in all the cities which he passed, and took possession of the available property for his own treasury and the estate of Amon.

804. On reaching Memphis, it was found to be very strongly fortified and, in answer to Piankhi's demand to surrender, the Memphites closed the gates and made a sortie, which was evidently not very effective (§§ 857, 858). Under cover of night, Tefnakhte entered the city, and exhorted the garrison to rely on their strong walls, their plentiful supplies, and the high water which protected the east side from attack, while he himself rode away north for reinforcements (§§ 859, 860). Having landed on the north of the city, Piankhi was surprised at the strength of the place. Some of his people favored a siege, others desired to storm the walls upon embankments and causeways raised for the purpose (§ 861). Piankhi decided to storm, devising a shrewd plan of assault which speaks highly for his skill as a leader.

805. The lofty walls on the west side of the city had been recently raised still higher, and it was evident that the east side, protected by high waters (artificially raised?), was being neglected. Here was the harbor, where the ships now floated so high that their bow-ropes were fastened among the houses of the city. Piankhi sent his fleet against the harbor, and quickly captured all the shipping. Then, taking command in person, he rapidly ranged the captured craft and his own fleet along the eastern walls, thus furnishing footing for his assaulting lines, which he immediately sent over the ramparts and captured the city before its eastern defenses could be strengthened against him (§§ 862-65). A great slaugh-

ter ensued, but the sanctuaries were, of course, respected and protected, and Ptah recognized Piankhi as king (§§ 865, 866).

806. The entire region of Memphis then submitted (§ 867), whereupon the Delta dynasts also came to Memphis with gifts for Piankhi, and signified their submission (§ 868). After dividing the wealth of Memphis between the treasuries of Amon and of Ptah, Piankhi crossed the river, worshiped in the ancient sanctuary of Kheryha-Babylon, and followed the old sacred road thence to Heliopolis, where he camped by the harbor. Among the important religious ceremonies here was his entrance alone into the holy of holies of the Re-temple, that he might view the god and be recognized by him as king, according to the immemorial custom^a (§ 871).

807. Before he left Heliopolis, King Osorkon III of Bubastis surrendered and visited Piankhi. Having moved his camp to a point just east of Athribis, by a town called Keheni, he there received the submission of all the petty kings, princelets, chiefs, and dynasts of the Delta (§§ 872, 873). Among these, Pediese of Athribis showed himself especially loyal to Piankhi and invited him thither, placing all his wealth at the Nubian's disposal. Piankhi, therefore, entered Athribis, received the gifts of Pediese, and, in order to choose for himself the best horses, especially entered the stables, which the shrewd Athribite, observing his love of horses, had particularly invited him to do. Fifteen Delta dynasts were here dismissed, at their own request, that they might go back to their cities and return to Piankhi with further gifts, in emulation of Pediese (§§ 873-76).

808. Meantime the desperate Tefnakhte had garrisoned

^aSec II, §§ 134, 221 ff.

Mesed, a town of uncertain location, but probably somewhere on his frontier. Rather than have them captured by Piankhi, he burned the ships and supplies which he could not save. Piankhi then sent a body of troops against Mesed, and they slew the garrison. Tefnakhte had, meanwhile, taken refuge on one of the remote islands in the western mouths of the Nile. The season was far advanced; many miles of vast Delta morass, and a network of irrigation canals, separated Piankhi from the fugitive. It would have been a hazardous undertaking to have dispatched an army into such a region. When, therefore, Tefnakhte sent gifts and a humble message of submission, requesting that Piankhi send a messenger with whom he might go to the neighboring temple and take the oath of allegiance to Piankhi, the Nubian king was very ready to accept the proposal (§ 880). In this less humiliating, not to say much less dangerous manner, Tefnakhte then accepted the suzerainty of Piankhi, and when the two kings of the Fayûm and Aphroditopolis, whom he had not molested on his way northward, appeared with their gifts (§ 882), a Nubian Pharaoh was lord of all Egypt.

809. The vassals, having paid Piankhi a last visit, he loaded his vessels with the wealth of the North and sailed away for his southern capital, amid the acclamations of the people. Arrived at Napata, he had erected in the temple of Amon our magnificent granite stela, recording how he, the son of Amon, had humiliated the rivals of that god in the North. The language of the inscription is good, and clear Egyptian in the narrative portions; but in the speeches, especially those of Piankhi himself, it is in places quite unintelligible, and produces the impression of a composition by one not perfectly familiar with the language. Apart from the Annals of Thutmose III, and possibly the documents

of Ramses II on the Battle of Kadesh, the inscription of Piankhi is the clearest and most rational account of a campaign which has survived from ancient Egypt. It displays a good deal of literary skill, and an appreciation of dramatic situations which is notable, while the vivacious touches found here and there quite relieve it of the arid tone usual in such hieroglyphic documents. The imagination endues the personages appearing here more easily with life than those of any other similar historical narrative of Egypt; and the humane Piankhi especially, the lover of horses, remains a man, far removed from the conventional companion and equal of the gods, who inevitably occupies the exalted throne of the Pharaohs in all other such records, except, possibly, the Annals of Thutmose III.

810. Tefnakhte, while he had nominally submitted to Piankhi, only awaited the withdrawal of the Ethiopian to resume his designs. He eventually assumed the Pharaonic titles; and a gift of land near Sais by a priest of Neit, to this goddess, is dated in Tefnakhte's eighth year as Pharaoh.^a He must have greatly increased the power and prestige of Sais, for his son Bocchoris^b was the founder of the Twenty-fourth Dynasty (about 719-713 B. C.).

811. In Upper Egypt, Piankhi's rule continued for an uncertain but brief period. In the temple of Mut, at Thebes, he left a relief^c representing a festal voyage of his ships, perhaps his return from the North. Among the ships appears

^aStela in hieratic in the museum of Athens, first noticed and partially published by Mallet (*Recueil*, 18, 4 ff.); then fully by Spiegelberg in transcription (*ibid.*, 25, 190-93); the relief at the top by Maspero (*Empires*, 181).

^bDiodorus, I, 45.

^cBenson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, Pls. XX-XXII, and pp. 370-79. These blocks may belong to some other Piankhi.

the state barge^a of Sais, of course captured from Tefnakhte's fleet in the northern war. Osorkon III of Bubastis finally recovered Thebes, perhaps about 720 B. C., and together with an otherwise unknown Takelot (III) ruled there for a few years.^b Some years later^c Tefnakhte's son Bocchoris (*W* ³ *h-k* ³ -*R* ^c) ascended the throne as the first and, as far as we know, the sole king of the Twenty-fourth Dynasty (see following table).

^aThe Somtu-tefnakhte, who appears here as a naval commander of Piankhi and prince of Heracleopolis, cannot possibly be the same as the Saite Tefnakhte, who, besides the difference in the name, was not prince of Heracleopolis.

^bSee note, § 872, l. 106.

^cWho ruled at Thebes during these years we do not know. Osorkon III's, coregent, Takelot III, may have continued there. As Osorkon III's successor Africanus and Syncellus give a certain Psammus, with ten years, and Africanus follows Psammus with one Zet (thirty-one years); but neither of these two kings has been found on the monuments.

812.

		ETHIOPIANS	SAITES		BUBASTITES Twenty-third Dynasty	
Piankhi	741	Accession in Napata	726	Ruled at least 8 years as Prince of Sais and Memphis and as King in Western Delta	745	
	722	Control of Thebes and Lower Egypt				
	720	Campaign			718	Beginning of Twenty-fourth Dynasty	Takehot III-Osorkon III	Rule of Psammus and Zet of Africanus, here ?
	717	Thebes probably lost				
	Uncertain	712	Beginning of Twenty-fifth Dynasty	712	End of Twenty-fourth Dynasty	End of Twenty-third Dynasty
Shabaka 700						

700

813. The preceding table will show how the complicated history of the time is probably to be restored. The Twenty-third Dynasty ruler, Osorkon III, is a Bubastite, and not a Tanite, as Manetho states.^a Hence the Twenty-third Dynasty, being clearly Bubastite, could not have been parallel with the close of the Bubastite Twenty-second Dynasty, but must have followed it. Again, both Pedibast and Osorkon III of the Twenty-third Dynasty, controlled Thebes (§§ 793, 794) as did all the later kings of the Twenty-second Dynasty. Hence they could not have been contemporary.^b There are two other possible parallels: first, the last few years of the Twenty-third Dynasty, with the reign of Bocchoris,^c but Bocchoris could not have been regarded as the founder and sole king of a new dynasty, if he had not ruled the country as a whole for a time; second, the early years of Shabaka may have been parallel with the close of Bocchoris's reign. The whole period involved by these two parallels could not have been more than ten years, and was probably less, if it existed at all.

814. Returning now to the Piankhi Stela, it is crowned by a relief, showing Amon of Napata^d enthroned, with Mut standing behind him. Before the divinities stands Piankhi. Approaching him a king, wearing upon his forehead the royal serpent-crest (*uraeus*), leads a horse with the left hand, and in the right hand carries a sistrum; above him the words: "*King Namlot.*" This incident is afterward

^aOn the position of Osorkon III and his relation to Thebes and Piankhi, see § 872, l. 106, note; and § 941.

^bThe new materials found by Legrain in the great cache at Karnak (*Recueil*, 27, 78, 79) have led him to think that the old conclusion of the contemporaneity of the Twenty-second and Twenty-third Dynasties is supported by them. In so far as published, they do not prove this conclusion. [Later: See Appended Note, p. 404.]

^cOn date of Bocchoris, see § 884.

^dThe fragmentary words inscribed beside him, refer to the "*pure mountain*," or Gebel Barkal, by Napata.

described in the great inscription (l. 58). A woman, standing with uplifted right hand, preceding Namlot, represents "*the king's-wives*," the women of Namlot, who appeared before Piankhi in the palace at Hermopolis (ll. 62-64). Three kings, with the royal uraeus upon their foreheads, are kissing the earth at Piankhi's feet. They are designated as: (1) *King Osorkon*; (2) *King Yewepet*; (3) *King Peñefdibast*.

815. Five other princes approach Piankhi, of whom one, without the uraeus, but wearing the sidelock of youth, was "[*Prince*]¹ *Teti*." The other four, who are also without the uraeus, but wear the feather plume on the head, are:

(1) The prince (*h^c ty^{-c}*),^a Pethenef (*P^c -tnjy*); (2) The prince (*h^c ty^{-c}*), Pemou (*P^c -m^c*); (3) Great chief of Me, Akenesh (*ꜥ -k^c -n-š^c*); (4) Great chief of Me, Zeamamefonekh.

The words of these conquered dynasts, or at least of Namlot, inscribed before them, are too fragmentary for restoration, but they began: "*Be appeased, Horus, lord of [the palace]*," in which we recognize the opening words of Namlot's speech before Piankhi (ll. 55, 56). The figure of Piankhi has been chiseled away by his political enemies.

Beneath the relief the great inscription then follows, as translated below:

Date

816. ¹Year 21,^b first month of the first season, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Meriamon-Piankhi^c (*P^{-c} nhꜥy*), living forever.

^aThe old "*counts*" have now become practically independent "*princes*," and the old title, *h^c ty^{-c}*, should generally be so rendered in this age.

^bThis date may be either that of the first events in the following record, or that of the return of Piankhi and the erection of the stela. Piankhi, having celebrated the New Year's feast at Napata, departed for Thebes, which in turn he left in the third month, for his campaign in the north. The above date, nine months later, would allow enough for his campaign and the return to Napata. Again, if it be the date of the first report of Tefnakhte's aggressions, Piankhi's departure was a year later (his commanders operating in Egypt meanwhile), so that his departure and campaign fell in the year 22.

^cFor this name I have retained the traditional spelling, although it is evident

Introduction

817. Command which my majesty speaks: "Hear of what I did, more than the ancestors. I am a king, divine emanation, living image of Atum, who came forth from the womb, adorned as a ruler, of whom those greater than he were afraid; whose father knew, ²and whose mother recognized that he would rule in the egg, the Good God, beloved of the gods, achieving with his hands, Meriamon-Piankhi."

Announcement of Tejnakhte's Advance

818. One came to say to his majesty: "A chief of the west, the great prince in Neter, ^aTefnakhte (*T³ j-nht¹ t*)^b is in the nome of —,^c in the nome of Xoïs, in Hapi (*H^c p*),^d in — ³in Ayan,^e in Pernub,^f and in Memphis. He has seized the whole west from the back-lands to Ithtowe, coming southward with a numerous army, while the Two Lands are united behind him, and the princes and rulers of walled towns are as dogs at his heels. No stronghold has closed [its doors] in] ⁴the nomes of the South: Mer-Atum (Medûm), Per-Sekhemkheperre,^g

from the two reed-leaves at the end that the vowel followed the *h*. The *p* or *py* is certainly the demonstrative "pay." The name of Hrihor's son, Payonekh, owing to the lack of the *y* at the end, evidently had nothing to do with Piankhi. Hence the political connection between Thebes and Napata, however probable on other grounds, cannot be based on the supposed identity of these two names, as is commonly done.

^aA region in the central Delta near modern Behbeit, the Iseum or Isidis oppidum of classic geographers; see also § 878, No. 5, note.

^bThis name is an abbreviation, the full form being: *X* (divine name)-*t³ j-nht¹ t* = tefnakhte, "(the god) *X* is his Strength." See Schaefer, *Festschrift für Georg Ebers*, 93, note 2. The full form occurs on the Theban blocks of Piankhi (Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 375). Feminine form *X*-tesnakhte (§ 918).

^cThe sign above the nome standard is omitted in the original.

^dLit., "Nile," a Nilopolis supposed by Brugsch to be somewhere in the western Delta.

^eUncertain.

^fThere was a Per-Nub near Sais (Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique*, 325) in the western Delta. The following generalization, "the whole west, etc.," shows that all these places are to be distributed in the western Delta from Memphis to the coast. Ithtowe was between Medûm and Memphis.

^gLit., "House of Osorkon I.," the place was therefore a foundation of this king. Its exact site is no longer known, but it must have been near Illahûn at the mouth of the Fayûm.

the temple of Sebek,^a Permezed,^b Theknesh^c (*T-k²-n-š*); and every city of the west;^d they have opened the doors for fear of him. He turned to the east, they opened to him likewise: Hatbenu,^e Tozi^f (*T²-ywd²-t*), Hatseteni^g (*H²-t-stny*), Pernebtēpih^h (*Pr-nb-tp-yh*). Behold, [he] besieges Heracleopolis, he has completely invested it,ⁱ not letting the comers-out come out, and not letting the goers-in go in, fighting every day. He measured it off in its whole circuit, every prince knows his wall;^j he stations every man of the princes and rulers of walled towns over his (respective) portion."

Piankhi's Indifference

819. Then [his majesty] heard [the message] "with courageous heart, laughing, and joyous of heart.

Second Appeal of the North

These princes and commanders of the army who were in their cities sent to his majesty daily, saying: "Wilt thou be silent, even to forgetting the Southland, the nomes of the 'court'?"^k While Tefnakhte advances his conquest and finds none to repel his arm."

^aCrocodylopolis, capital of the Fayūm.

^bOxyrhyncus-Behnesa, capital of the nineteenth nome of Upper Egypt.

^cCoptic Takinash of the nome of Pemdshe (Oxyrhyncus); see Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique*, 669.

^dThis means the west side of the Nile, above the Delta.

^eThe capital of the eighteenth nome of Upper Egypt, perhaps the Hipponon of the classic times. It literally means: "*House of the Phoenix*" (Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique*, 670-96).

^fA town in the nineteenth nome of Upper Egypt, perhaps the Coptic Tōdshi (Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique*, 182).

^gA town of the eighteenth nome of Upper Egypt, probably the classic Alabastropolis. It was "*Horus, lord of Hatseteni*," who conducted Harmhab to Thebes for his coronation (III, 27). See Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique*, 669-71.

^hAtfih (Aphroditopolis) of the twenty-second nome of Upper Egypt; and as we find this city (called Metenu) surrendering to Piankhi later (I. 145), it is evident that Tefnakhte had taken it.

ⁱA remarkable expression, literally meaning: "*He has made himself into a tail-in-the-mouth*;" viz., he lay around the city like a serpent with its tail in its mouth.

^jThe section of wall assigned to him by Tefnakhte.

^kOr: "*the nomes of the court of the Southland*," like "*Elephantine of the South* (*tp ršy*)."

Submission of Hermopolis to Tefnakhte

820. "Namlot^a — —, 'prince of Hatweret^b (*H·t-wr [t]*), he has overthrown the wall of Nefrus^c (*N/rws*), he has demolished his own city, for fear of him who might take it from him,^d in order to besiege another city. Behold, he goes to follow at his (Tefnakhte's) heels,^e having cast off allegiance to his majesty^f (Piankhi). He tarries with him (Tefnakhte) like one of [his vassals in] ⁸the nome of Oxyrhyncus, and gives to him (Tefnakhte) gifts, as much as he desires, of everything that he has found."

Piankhi Commands the Capture of the Hare Nome

821. Then his majesty sent to the princes and commanders (*mr*) of the army who were in Egypt: the commander (*ts*), Purem^g (*P-w 3-r-m*); and the commander (*ts*), Lemersekeny (*Rw- 3-mr-s-k-n-y*);^h and every commander (*ts*) of his majesty who was in Egypt (saying): "Hasten into battle line, engage in battle, surround —, ⁹capture its people, its cattle, its ships upon the river. Let not the peasants go forth to the field, let not the plowmen plow, beset the frontier of the Hare nome, fight against it daily." Then they did so.

Piankhi Sends His Army; His Instructions

822. Then his majesty sent an army to Egypt, charging them earnestly: "[¹Delay] not [day nor] ¹⁰night, as at a game of draughts;ⁱ (but) fight ye on sight. Force battle upon him from afar.^j If he says

^aIn cartouche.

^bLit., "*Great House*," a designation of a town in the sixteenth nome of Upper Egypt, perhaps the same as Hebenu (*Hbnu*; cf. Harris, 61b, 6, § 367).

^cTown in the same nome as Hatweret.

^dOr: "*for fear that he (Tefnakhte) might take it*." As he submitted to Tefnakhte immediately afterward, the motive for the act is not clear in either case.

^eLit., "*to be the companion of his feet*," the figure of the dog, as above in l. 3. It is a common figure applied to followers of a king.

^fPiankhi's rule had thus extended as far north as Hermopolis.

^gLit., "*The Negro*," from a Nubian word "urum" = "black" and the Egyptian article.

^hOr Lesmersekeni (*Rw- 3-s-mr-s-k-n-y*).

ⁱPerhaps a reference to the slowness of the game.

^jJudging from the context, this certainly means, not that they are to fight at long range, avoiding close quarters, but that they are to seek battle at the earliest opportunity, and begin the attack from afar.

to the infantry and chariotry of another city, 'Hasten;' (then) ye shall abide until his army comes, that ye may fight as he says. But if his allies be in another city, ¹¹(then) let one hasten to them;^a these princes, whom he has brought for his support: Libyans (*Tḥnw*) and favorite soldiers, force battle upon them ¹²first!^b Say, 'We know not what he cries in mustering troops.^c Yoke the war horses, the best of thy stable; ¹²draw up the line of battle! Thou knowest that Amon is the god who has sent us.'"

Instructions as to Thebes

823. "When ye arrive at Thebes, before Karnak, ye shall enter into the water, ye shall bathe in the river, ye shall dress in ¹fine linen¹; unstring the bow, loosen the arrow. Let not the chief boast ¹³as a mighty man; there is no strength to the mighty without him (Amon). He maketh the weak-armed into the strong-armed, so that multitudes flee from the feeble, and one alone taketh a thousand men. Sprinkle yourselves with the water of his altars, sniff the ground before him. Say ¹⁴ye to him, 'Give to us the way, that we may fight in the shadow of thy sword. (As for) the generation^d whom thou hast sent out, when its attack occurs, multitudes flee before it.'"

Reply of the Army

824. Then they threw themselves upon their bellies before his majesty (saying): "It is thy name which endues us with might, and thy counsel is the mooring-post of thy army; thy bread is in our bellies on every march, thy beer ¹⁵quenches our thirst. It is thy valor that giveth us might, and there is strength at the remembrance of thy name; (for) no army prevails whose commander is a coward. Who is thy equal therein? Thou art a victorious king, achieving with his hands, chief of the work of war."

^aIf Tefnakhte should send his allies to fight them, they are to await the attack; but if the allies remain in some city, Piankhi's forces are to seek them.

^b*Tpy*-c, evidently parallel with *mw* ("from afar") in l. 10.

^cThe meaning is uncertain; possibly: we are indifferent to his battle-cry, in encouraging his troops. The remainder is a defiance to Tefnakhte, to be spoken by Piankhi's army.

^d*D* > *m*, lit., "young men," or, in the military organization of the country, a "class," as they successively fall due for military service (see § 402).

Advance to Thebes

825. They sailed ¹⁶down-stream, they arrived at Thebes, they did according to all that his majesty had said.

Battle on the River

They sailed down-stream upon the river;^a they found many ships coming up-stream bearing soldiers, sailors, and commanders;^b every valiant man of the Northland, equipped with weapons of war, ¹⁷to fight against the army of his majesty. Then there was made a great slaughter among them, (whose) number was unknown. Their troops and their ships were captured, and brought as living captives (sic!) to the place where his majesty was.^c

Arrival at Heracleopolis

They went to the ¹⁸frontier^d of Heracleopolis, demanding battle.

List of the Northern Enemy

830.^e List of the princes and kings of the Northland,^f namely:

1. King Namlot and
2. ¹⁹King Yewepet (*Yw-w' - p-t*).^g
3. Chief of Me, Sheshonk,^h of Per-Osiris (Busiris), lord of Ded.

^aThe addition is significant; the advance through Nubia had been largely by land. The exact place of the battle is uncertain; but as Piankhi's commanders were already besieging Hermopolis, it could hardly have been south of that city.

^bOr perhaps "*troops*" (*ts-t*).

^cNapata.

^dThe meaning of this word (*hn-t*) is here uncertain; it is possibly "*houn*" (of *ehoun*), "*into*." As the troops of Tefnakhte were besieging Heracleopolis, the battle which now took place must have been by the city far from the Nile; and the capture of ships would indicate that the Nubians had descended the Bahr Yusuf, as Schaefer has suggested to me. See § 831 and note.

^eOmission of Nos. 826-29 in the section numbering is intentional.

^fThe term is loosely used here, for Namlot, the first king, was king of Hermopolis, the second nome south of the Fayûm. A fuller list of the Delta dynasts is given later (§§ 878, ll. 114-17).

^gSee § 794; p. 437, n. d; and § 878.

^hThis mercenary commander from Busiris is subordinate to Pemou, prince of that city (l. 116). They are contemporary, and neither bears royal titles; hence they cannot have been identical with Pemou and Sheshonk IV, the last kings of the Twenty-second Dynasty. Moreover, both Pemou and Sheshonk IV held Memphis to the end of their reigns, but Memphis has now long been held by Tefnakhte, who was sem priest of Ptah there.

4. Great chief of Me, Zeamonefonekh, of Per-Benebde (Mendes), together with

5. His eldest son,^a who was commander of the army of Per-Thutup-rehui (*Pr-Dḥwt-y-Wp-rḥwy*).^b

6. The army of the hereditary prince, Bekneref (*Bk-n-njy*), together with

7. His eldest son, chief of Me,¹⁹ Nesnekedi^c (*Ns-n³ - ^{c3} y*, sic!) in the nome of Hesebka (*Hsb-k³*).^d

8. Every chief wearing a feather who was in the Northland;^e together with

9. King Osorkon, who was in Per-Bast (Bubastis) and the district of Ranofer (*R^c - njr*).

10. Every prince, the rulers of the walled towns in the West, in the East, (and) the islands in the midst, were united of one mind as followers of the great chief of the West, ruler of the walled towns of the Northland, prophet of Neit, mistress of Sais, ²⁰sem priest of Ptah, Tefnakhte.

Battle Opposite Heracleopolis

831. They went forth against them; then they made a great slaughter among them, greater than anything. Their ships were captured upon the river.^f The remnant crossed over and landed on the west side before Per-Peg.^g

^aHis name, Enekhhor, will be found in the other list (§ 878, No. 4).

^bHermopolis Parva, in the western Delta.

^cL. 116 has *Ns-n³ - kḏ-y*.

^dEleventh nome of Lower Egypt.

^eHow many names this term may include is uncertain, but doubtless the chiefs of Me, enumerated in the second list, are meant.

^fThis word (*ytr*) has a common plural, referring to the canals of Egypt, and does not necessarily designate the Nile. Schaefer suggested to me that the Bahr Yusuf is meant here. It then occurred to me that all the cities taken by Piankhi as he went north, were far from the Nile, on the west side, until he reached Khereha-Babylon, and that he left the Fayûm on one side and Atfih-Aphroditopolis on the other side untouched, passing north between them, as is shown by the later surrender of their kings (l. 145, note). This would have been almost impossible in the case of Atfih, had Piankhi been descending the Nile. He probably reached the river again below Atfih by the ancient connection between Heracleopolis and Alexandria (Wilcken, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, II, 317; see also Papyrus Harris, § 224, note), of which we do not know the exact course. See also l. 76 (§ 853, n. a), which is the main proof of this hypothesis.

^gThis town is uncertain; but seeing that the Nubians had already reached

Battle at Per-Peg

832. When the land brightened early in the morning, the army of his majesty crossed over ²¹against them. Army mingled with army; they slew a multitude of people among them; horses of unknown number; a rout^a ensued among the remnant. They fled to the Northland, from the blow, great and evil beyond everything.

List of the slaughter made among them:

People: —^b men.

Hermopolis Besieged

833. ²²King Namlot fled up-stream southward, when it was told him: "Hermopolis (*Hmnw*) is in the midst of the foe from the army of his majesty, who capture its people and its cattle." Then he entered into Hermopolis (*Wnw*), while the army of his majesty was upon the river, in the harbor ²³of the Hare nome.^c Then they heard of it, and they surrounded the Hare nome^c on its four^d sides, not letting the comers-out come out, and not letting the goers-in go in.

Report to Piankhi

834. They sent to report to the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Meriamon-Piankhi, given life, on every conflict which they had fought, and on every victory of his majesty.

Piankhi Determines to go to Egypt Himself

835. Then his majesty was enraged thereat like a panther (saying): "Have they allowed ²⁴a remnant of the army of the Northland to remain? allowing him that went forth of them to go forth, to tell of his campaign?

the vicinity of Heracleopolis (l. 17), it must have been on the west side of Bahr Yusuf close to that city, and almost certainly further north. Maspero's identification with **الفقاعي** hardly seems phonetically possible, and hardly fits the conditions (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 20, 123-25).

^aSee Piehl, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1887, 124 f.

^bThe sculptor has omitted the numeral, although he left room for it.

^cThe nome names are commonly used in this inscription as here, for the chief city of the nome. The harbor was evidently on the Bahr Yusuf, on the east side of which Heracleopolis lies (see Schaefer's plan, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, II). They must therefore have returned up the Bahr Yusuf.

^dText has five.

not causing their death, in order to destroy the last of them? I swear: as Re loves me! As my father Amon favors me! I will myself go northward, that I may destroy ²⁵that which he has done, that I may make him turn back from fighting, forever."

Piankhi Would Visit Thebes

836. "Now, afterward when the ceremonies of the New Year are celebrated, I will offer to my father, Amon,^a at his beautiful feast, when he makes his beautiful appearance of the New Year, that he may send me forth in peace, to behold Amon^b at the beautiful Feast of Opet; that I may bring his image^c forth in procession ²⁶to Luxor at his beautiful feast (called): "Night of the Feast of Opet," and at the feast (called): "Abiding in Thebes," which Re made for him in the beginning; and that I may bring him in procession to his house, resting upon his throne, on the "Day of Bringing in the God," in the third month of the first season, second day;^d that I may make the Northland taste the taste of my fingers."

Capture of Oxyrhyncus

837. Then the army, which was there in ²⁷Egypt, heard of the wrath which his majesty felt toward them. Then they fought against Per-Mezed^e of the Oxyrhynchite nome, they took it like a flood of water, and they sent to his majesty; (but) his heart was not satisfied therewith.

Capture of Teteheh

838. Then they fought against Teteheh,^f great in might. They found it filled ²⁸with soldiers, with every valiant man of the Northland. Then the battering-ram was employed against it, its wall was overthrown, and a great slaughter was made among them, of unknown number; also the son of the chief of Me, Tefnakhte. Then they sent to his majesty concerning it, (but) his heart was not satisfied therewith.

Capture of Hatbenu

839. ²⁹Then they fought against Hatbenu (*H·t-Bnw*), its interior was breached, the army of his majesty entered into it. Then they sent to his majesty, (but) his heart was not satisfied therewith.

^aOf Napata.

^bOf Thebes.

^cLit., "him as (or in) his image."

^dThis is one of the days of the long "Feast of Opet;" see § 237, note; and de Rougé, *Mélange d'archéologie égyptienne et assyrienne*, I, 133.

^eOxyrhyncus.

^fModern Tehneh.

Piankhi Goes to Hermopolis

840. First month of the first season, ninth day; his majesty went northward to Thebes, and completed the Feast of Amon at the Feast of Opet. His majesty sailed ³⁰northward to the city of the Hare nome (Hermopolis); his majesty came forth from the cabin of the ship, the horses were yoked up, the chariot was mounted, the terror of his majesty reached to the end of the Asiatics, every heart was heavy with the fear of him.

Piankhi Rebukes His Army

841. Then his majesty went forth ¹— —¹ to ³¹hate his soldiers, enraged at them like a panther (saying): "Is the steadfastness^a of your fighting this slackness in my affairs? Has the year reached its end, when the fear of me has been inspired in the Northland? A great and evil blow shall be smitten them."

Siege of Hermopolis

842. He set up for himself the camp on the southwest of Hermopolis (*Hmnw*), and besieged it ³²daily. An embankment was made, to inclose the wall; a tower^b was raised to elevate the archers while shooting, and the slingers while slinging stones, and slaying people among them daily.

The City Pleads for Mercy

843. Days passed,^c and Hermopolis (*Wnw*) was foul to the nose, without her (usual) ³³fragrance. Then Hermopolis (*Wnw*) threw herself upon her belly, and plead before the king. Messengers came forth and descended bearing everything beautiful to behold: gold, every splendid costly stone, clothing in a chest, and the diadem which was upon his^d head, the uraeus which inspired the fear of him; ^ewithout ceasing during many days,^e pleading with his^f diadem.

^aRead *mn* and the roll, for *mn* and *s*.

^bThe determinative shows that a wooden construction of some sort is meant by the word (*bk*).

^cThe city had already been besieged many months: three months in the new year, and long enough in the old year for news of it to reach Piankhi at Napata before the New Year's feast (l. 25). Five months is therefore not improbable as the length of the siege.

^dNamlot's.

^eThese adverbs belong to "came forth and descended."

^fPiankhi's? Or do they use Namlot's diadem as a ransom or bribe?

Namlot's Queen Intercedes

844. Then they sent ³⁴his^a wife, the king's-wife, and king's-daughter, Nestent (*Nstnt*), to plead with the king's-wives, king's-concubines, king's-daughters, and king's-sisters, to throw herself upon her belly in the harem,^b before the king's-wives (saying): "We come to you, O king's-wives, king's-daughters, and king's-sisters, that ye may appease Horus,^c lord of the palace, whose fame is great and his triumph mighty. Grant ³⁵that he — — — me; lo, he — — — ³⁶him. Lo, ³⁷— — — [Speak] ³⁷to him, that he may incline to the one that praises him — — — ³⁸— — — ^d.

Piankhi Addresses Namlot^e

845. ⁵¹"Lo, who has led thee? who has led thee? Who, then, has led thee? Who has led thee? — — ⁵²thou didst [forsake] the way of life. Did heaven rain with arrows? I am [content] ⁵³when the Southerners do obeisance and the Northerners (say): 'Put us in thy shadow.' Lo, it is evil ⁵⁴— — — ⁵⁴bearing his food. The heart is a steering-oar; it capsizes its owner through that which is from the god. It seeth flame as coolness ⁵⁵in the heart^f — — . ⁵⁵There is no old man, ⁵⁶— — —. Thy nomes are full of youths."

Namlot's Reply to Piankhi

846. He threw himself upon his belly before his majesty (saying): "[Be appeased],^g ⁵⁶Horus, lord of the palace, it is thy might which has done it. I am one of the king's slaves, paying impost into the treasury ⁵⁷— — — their impost. I have brought for thee more than they."

^aNamlot's.^bLit., "house of women (*pr-hm-wt*)."^cThe king.^dFour signs are legible in l. 39; ll. 40-49 are entirely lost, and three signs are clear in l. 50. Beginning with l. 35, we pass to the short lines of the left edge, or thickness of the stela.^eThe plea of Namlot's wife must have been successful; the surrender was accepted by Piankhi, and Namlot has presented himself before him. All this is lost in the long lacuna, and the narrative resumes with Piankhi's obscure address to Namlot.^fOr: "The flame seemeth to it as coolness ⁵⁵in the heart," the heart itself being so hot?^gRestored from the relief, where the utterance of Namlot is also partially recorded (§ 814).

Namlot's Gifts

847. Then he presented much silver, gold, lapis lazuli, malachite, bronze, and all costly stones. ⁵⁸Then he filled the treasury with this tribute; he brought a horse in the right hand and a sistrum in the left hand,^a of gold and lapis lazuli.

Piankhi's Triumphant Entry into Hermopolis

848. Then his [majesty] appeared in splendor ⁵⁹in his palace,^b proceeded to the house of Thoth, lord of Hermopolis (*Hmnw*), and he slew bulls, calves, and fowl for his father, lord of Hermopolis (*Hmnw*), and the eight gods in the house of ⁶⁰the eight gods. The army of the Hare nome acclaimed and rejoiced, saying: "How beautiful is Horus, resting in ⁶¹his city, the Son of Re, Piankhi! Celebrate for us a jubilee (*hb-šd*), even as thou hast protected the Hare nome."^c

Piankhi Visits Namlot's Palace

849. His majesty proceeded to ⁶²the house of King Namlot, he entered every chamber of the king's-house, his treasury and his magazines. He caused that there be brought to him; ⁶³the king's-wives and king's-daughters; they saluted his majesty in the fashion of women,^d (but) his majesty turned not his face to ⁶⁴them.

Piankhi Visits Namlot's Stables

850. His majesty proceeded to the stable of the horses and the quarters of the foals. When he saw that ⁶⁵they had suffered hunger, he said: "I swear, as Re loves me, and as my nostrils are rejuvenated with life, it is more grievous in my heart ⁶⁶that my horses have suffered hunger, than any evil deed that thou hast done, in the prosecution of thy desire. It has borne witness of thee to me, the fear of thy associates for thee. ⁶⁷Didst thou not know that the god's shadow is over me? and that my fortune never perishes because of him? Would that another had done it to me! ⁶⁸I could not but [condemn] him on account of it. When I was being fashioned in the womb, and created in the divine egg ⁶⁹the

^aThe relief shows the horse led by the left hand and the sistrum in the right (§ 814).

^bThis must mean Piankhi's tent, for he does not reach Namlot's palace until later (ll. 61, 62).

^cSee §§ 750, 751

^dLit., "with the things of women."

seed of the god was in me. By his ka, I do nothing without him; he it is who commands me to do it."

Disposal of Namlot's Property

851. Then his^a possessions were assigned to the treasury, ^{7a}and his granary to the divine offerings^b of Amon in Karnak.

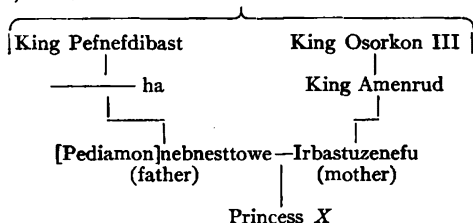
Loyalty of Heracleopolis

852. The ruler of Heracleopolis Pefnefdibast^c (*Pj-nj-dyy-B³s't*) came, bearing tribute ⁷¹to the palace: gold, silver, every costly stone, and horses of the choicest of the stable. He threw himself upon his belly before his majesty; he said: "Hail to thee, Horus, ⁷²mighty king, Bull subduer of Bulls! The Nether World^d had seized me, and I was submerged in darkness, ⁷³upon which the light has (now) shone. I found not a friend in the evil day, who was steadfast in the day of battle; but thou, O mighty king, thou hast expelled ⁷⁴the darkness from me. I will labor together with (thy) subjects, and Heracleopolis shall pay taxes ⁷⁵into thy treasury, thou likeness of Harakhte, chief of the imperishable stars.^e As he was, so art thou king; as he perishes not ⁷⁶so thou shalt not perish, O King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Piankhi, living forever.

^aNamlot's.

^bTemple income (*hṯp ntr*).

^cA fragment of a wooden coffin belonging to a great-grandaughter of this king (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 284, a) was found at Thebes by Lepsius. It is now in Berlin (No. 2100, *Ausführliches Verzeichniss des Berliner Museums*, 238). Combined with an inscription found by Daressy at Medinet Habu (*Recueil*, 19, 20), we may construct the following genealogy of Pefnefdibast's great-grandaughter, whom we call X, as her name is lost:



The Heracleopolitan house and the fallen house of Bubastis, were thus later connected by marriage.

^dThe following description refers to the struggle of his city with Tefnakhte, and the relief brought by Piankhi.

^eLit., "those which cannot perish (*yhm'w-sk*);" an epithet applied to the stars of the northern heavens (Brugsch, *Aegyptologie*, 321).

Per-Sekhemkheperre is Summoned to Surrender

853. His majesty sailed north to the opening of the canal^a beside ^{b77}Illahun (*R^o-hn^t*); he found Per-Sekhemkheperre^c with its wall raised, and its stronghold (*htm*) closed, filled with every valiant man of the Northland. Then his majesty sent to them, saying: "Ye living in death! Ye living in death! Ye insignificant ⁷⁸— and miserable ones! Ye living in death! If an hour passes without opening to me, behold, ye are of the number of the fallen; and that is 'painful'^d to the king. Close not the gates of your life, to be brought to the block this day. Love not death, nor hate life '—' ⁷⁹— — '—' before the whole land."

Surrender of Per-Sekhemkheperre

854. Then they sent to his majesty, saying: "Lo, the shadow of the god is over thee; the son of Nut, he gives to thee his two arms; the thought of thy heart comes to pass immediately, like that which comes forth from the mouth of a god. Lo, thou art fashioned as the face of a god; we see by the decree of thy hands. Lo, thy city, his stronghold; ⁸⁰['do'] thy ['pleasure'] therewith. Let the goers-in go in there, and the comers-out come out. Let his majesty do what he will." Then they came out, with the son of the chief of Me, Tefnakhte. The army of his majesty entered into it, without slaying one of all the people. He found ⁸¹— — —^e and treasurers to seal his possessions. His treasuries were assigned to the Treasury, and his granaries to the divine offerings of his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes.

Surrender of Medûm

855. His majesty sailed northward; he found that Mer-Atum (Medûm), the house of Sokar, lord of Sehez, had been closed, and was inaccessible. It had set fighting in its heart, taking ⁸²— — Fear ['seized'] them; terror sealed their mouth. Then his majesty sent to

^aI read *mr*, "canal," on the squeeze in place of Mariette's *š* (so also Schaefer), "lake." The irrigation canal leading into the Fayûm is meant, and the "opening" is the gap in the hills, through which it still flows. It would have been impossible for him to "sail north" to this gap, unless he was descending the Bahr Yusuf.

^bThe text here passes to the back of the stela, and the lines increase in length.

^cThe name means "*House of Osorkon I*," who must therefore have built a town in the vicinity of Illahun.

^dThe same word occurs in l. 131, where I render "*wretched*."

^eThe determinative shows that some other class of officers preceded.

them, saying: "Behold, two ways are before you; choose ye as ye will: open, and ye shall live; close, and ye shall die. My majesty will not pass by a closed city." Then they opened immediately; his majesty entered into this city, and offered ⁸³— —^a [to] Menhy of Sehez. His treasury was assigned [to the Treasury],^b his granaries to the divine offerings of Amon of Karnak.

Surrender of Ithtowe

856. His majesty sailed north to Ithtowe (*Yty-t³wy*); he found the rampart closed, and the walls filled with the valiant troops of the Northland. Then they opened the stronghold, and threw themselves upon [their] bellies ⁸⁴[before] his majesty (saying): "Thy father has assigned to thee his inheritance. Thine are the Two Lands, thine is what is therein, thine is all that is on earth." His majesty entered to cause a great oblation to be offered to the gods residing in this city, consisting of bulls, calves, fowl, and everything good and pure. Then his treasury was assigned to the Treasury, and his granaries to the divine offerings ⁸⁵[of Amon].

Piankhi Demands the Surrender of Memphis

857. [His majesty sailed north to] Memphis; then he sent to them, saying: "Shut not up, fight not, thou abode of Shu in the beginning. As for him that would go in, let him go in; as for him that would come out, let him come out; and let not them that would leave be hindered. I would offer an oblation to Ptah and to the gods dwelling in Memphis (*Ynbw h^d*), I would sacrifice to Sokar in the mysterious place (*št³t*), I would behold 'Him-Who-is-South-of-His-Wall,' that I may sail north in peace. ⁸⁶[The people] of Memphis [shall be] safe and sound; not (even) a child shall weep. Look ye to the nomes of the South (*Tp-ršy*); not a single one has been slain therein, except the enemies who blasphemed against the god, who were dispatched as rebels."

Memphis Resists and Makes a Sortie

858. Then they closed their stronghold; they sent forth an army against some of the soldiers of his majesty, being artisans, chief builders and sailors ⁸⁷— — — the harbor of Memphis.

^aThe lacuna contained either the objects offered, or possibly "to Sokar," the other god mentioned at Sehez (l. 81).

^bOmitted in original.

Tefnakhte Enters Memphis

859. Lo, that chief of Sais (Tefnakhte) arrived at Memphis in the night, charging his infantry and his sailors, all the best of his army, a total of 8,000 men, charging them very earnestly: "Behold, Memphis is filled with troops of all the best of the Northland; (with) barley and spelt and all kinds of grain, the granaries are running over; (with) all weapons of ⁸⁸[war. 'It is fortified with'] a wall; a great battlement has been built, executed with skilful workmanship. The river flows around the east side, and no (opportunity of) attack is found there.^a Cattle yards are there, filled with oxen; the treasury is supplied with everything: silver, gold, copper, clothing, incense, honey, oil."

Tefnakhte Goes for Reinforcements

860. "I will go, and I will give something to the chiefs of the North, and I will open to them their nomes.^b I will be ⁸⁹— — ['There will be but a few'] days^c until I return." He mounted upon a horse, he asked not for his chariot, he went north in fear of his majesty.

Plans for Taking Memphis

861. When day broke, at early morning, his majesty reached Memphis. When he had landed on the north of it, he found that the water had approached to the walls, the ships mooring at ⁹⁰[the walls of] Memphis. Then his majesty saw that it was strong, and that the wall was raised by a new rampart, and battlements manned with mighty men. There was found no way of attacking it. Every man told his opinion among the army of his majesty, according to every rule of war. Every man said: "Let us besiege ⁹¹[it] —; lo, its troops are numerous."^d Others said: "Let a causeway be made against it;^e let us elevate the ground to its walls. Let us bind together a tower;^f let us erect masts

^aThe alleged mention of this fact by Tefnakhte is one of the numerous rhetorical devices of the author of the inscription; for it was on this very side that Piankhi stormed the city (ll. 95, 96).

^bTefnakhte intends to marshal reinforcements among the Delta chiefs. What he means by opening their nomes is not clear; Griffith suggests that he means: relinquish his claims upon them as suzerain.

^cPossibly three days.

^dSo numerous that the city could not be assaulted, but, in the opinion of these men, it should be besieged.

^eOr: "to it."

^fBk, the same device employed at Hermopolis (l. 32).

and make the spars into a bridge to it. We will divide it on this (plan) on every side of it, on the high ground and ⁹²— on the north of it, in order to elevate the ground at its walls, that we may find a way for our feet.”^a

Piankhi Decides to Assault

862. Then his majesty was enraged against it like a panther; he said: “I swear, as Re loves me, as my father, Amon [‘who fashioned me’], favors me, this shall befall it, according to the command of Amon. This is what men say: ⁹³‘[‘The Northland’] and the nomes of the South, they opened to him from afar, they did not set Amon in their heart, they knew not what he commanded. He (Amon) made him (Piankhi) to show forth his fame, to cause his might to be seen.’ I will take it like a flood of water. I have commanded ⁹⁴— — —.”

Harbor of Memphis Captured

863. Then he sent forth his fleet and his army to assault the harbor of Memphis; they brought to him every ferry-boat, every [‘cargo’-boat, every [‘transport’],^b and the ships, as many as there were, which had moored in the harbor of Memphis, with the bow-rope fastened among its houses. ⁹⁵[‘There was not] a citizen (*nds*) who wept, among all the soldiers of his majesty.”^c

Piankhi Orders Assault of Memphis

864. His majesty himself came to line up^d the ships, as many as there were. His majesty commanded his army (saying): “Forward against it! Mount the walls! Penetrate the houses over the river. If one of you gets through upon the wall, let him not halt before it, ⁹⁶[so that] the (hostile) troops may not repulse you.”^e It were vile that

^aThe second party therefore desired to assault the city, as against the first who desired to besiege it.

^bThe exact character of these two kinds of boat (*mhn* and *shry*) is unknown.

^cEither all were considered in the distribution of the spoil, or no man was injured in the assault.

^dThis word (*sk*), used of ranging troops in line of battle, is here applied to lining up ships. The king in person ranged the captured ships, and his own fleet under the walls on the inundated (east) side of the city. This arrangement gave his troops footing for the assault. The nature of the attack is quite evident.

^eThey are not to stop on the wall, but to press over it immediately into the city.

we should close up the South, should land [in] the North and lay siege in 'Balances of the Two Lands.'"^a

Capture of Memphis

865. Then Memphis was taken as (by) a flood of water, a multitude of people were slain therein, and brought as living captives to the place where his majesty was.

Protection of Memphis

Now, afterward, ⁹⁷when it dawned, and the second day came, his majesty sent people into it, protecting the temples of the god. He^b [—] the holy of holies of the gods, offered to the community of gods of Hatkeptah (Memphis), cleansed Memphis with natron and incense, installed the priests in their places.

Piankhi's Recognition by Ptah

866. His majesty proceeded to the house of ⁹⁸[Ptah], his purification was performed in the Dewat-chamber, and every custom that is practised upon a king was fulfilled upon him. He entered into the temple, and a great oblation was made for his father, "Ptah-South-of-His-Wall" (*Rsy-ymb·f*), consisting of bulls, calves, fowl, and everything good. His majesty proceeded to his house.^c

Region of Memphis Surrenders

867. Then all the nomes which were in the district of Memphis, heard (of it): Herypedemy,^d Penineywe (*Pny-⁹⁹n² yw^c*), the Tower of Beyew (*Byw*), the Oasis of Bit; they opened the strongholds, and fled away; none knew the place whither they had gone.

^aEvidently a name for the locality dividing Upper from Lower Egypt, where Piankhi now was. The same phrase (*mḥ·t² wy*) occurs in a hymn to Amon (Berlin Papyrus, 3048, Band II, Taf. 45, l. 6), where the god is called: "*One whose word is the balances of the Two Lands.*" I owe the reference to Schaefer. Piankhi means that, having cut off the South from Tefnakhte, it would be humiliating, after reaching the North, to sit down for a siege on its threshold.

^bThe text is not in order here.

^cEvidently a palace in Memphis, now taken possession of by Piankhi.

^dOr: "*Hery the city.*" These places in the region of Memphis, cannot be exactly placed at the present day.

Submission of Delta Dynasts

868. King Yewepet came, and the chief of Me, Akenesh (²-k²-n-šw), and the hereditary prince, Pediese, ¹⁰⁰together with all the princes of the Northland, bearing their tribute, to behold the beauty of his majesty.

Wealth of Memphis Assigned

Then the treasures and granaries of Memphis were assigned to the divine offerings of Amon, of Ptah, and of the gods dwelling in Hatkeptah (Memphis).

Piankhi Worships in Khereha

869. When the land brightened, very early in the morning, his majesty proceeded eastward, and an offering was made for Atum in Khereha, ¹⁰¹the divine ennead in the house of the ennead, the cavern and the gods dwelling in it; consisting of bulls, calves, and fowl; that they might give life, prosperity, and health to the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Piankhi, living forever.

Piankhi Goes to Heliopolis

870. His majesty proceeded to Heliopolis (*Ynw*), upon that mount of Khereha, on the highway of (the god) Sep to Khereha. His majesty proceeded to the camp, which was on the west of Eti.^a His purification was performed, and he was cleansed in ¹⁰²the pool of Kebeh, and he bathed his face in the river of Nun, in which Re bathes his face.

Ceremonies in Heliopolis: the "Sand-hill"

Proceeding to the Sand-hill in Heliopolis, a great oblation was made upon the Sand-hill in Heliopolis, in the presence of Re, at his rising, consisting of white oxen, milk, myrrh, incense, and ¹⁰³every sweet-smelling wood.

Temple of Re

871. He came, proceeding to the house of Re, and entered into the temple with great praise. The chief ritual priest praised the god, that rebels might be repelled from the king. The Dewat-chamber was visited, that the sedeb-garment might be fastened on; he was purified

^aThis is the name of the Heliopolitan canal; it here has the determinative of a city, and probably the settlement on the harbor of Heliopolis is meant; see Harris 28, 6 (§ 266).

with incense and libations; garlands for the pyramidion-house were presented to him, and flowers were brought to him. He ascended ¹⁰⁴the steps to the great window,^a to behold Re in the pyramidion-house. The king himself stood alone, he broke through^b the bolts, opened the double doors, and beheld his father, Re, in the glorious pyramidion-house, the Morning-Barque of Re, and the Evening-Barque of Atum.^c He closed the double doors, applied the clay, and sealed (them) ¹⁰⁵with the king's own seal. He charged the priests: "I have proved the seal; no other shall enter therein, of all the kings who shall arise." They threw themselves upon their bellies before his majesty, saying: "To abide, to endure, without perishing, O Horus, beloved of Heliopolis."

Temple of Atum

872. He came and entered into the house of Atum, following the image ¹⁰⁶of his father, Atum-Khepri the Great, of Heliopolis.

Submission of Osorkon

King Osorkon^d came to see the beauty of his majesty.

Piankhi Camps near Athribis

873. When the land brightened, very early in the morning, his majesty proceeded to the harbor, and the ¹⁰⁷best¹ of his ships crossed over to the harbor of the nome of Athribis (*K²-km*). The camp of his

^aThe front of the god's shrine is compared with the balcony-like window (§§d) of the palace, where the king shows himself.

^bMeaning the seal upon the bolts.

^cSee Wiedemann, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, VI, No. 2, 49 ff.

^dThis Osorkon can be no other than Osorkon III of the Twenty-third Dynasty. For the invasion of Piankhi was later than Pedibast. Another connection is: that King Yewepet, one of the Delta kings who submitted to Piankhi, is mentioned as coregent with Pedibast at Thebes. Yewepet must therefore have survived Pedibast. Osorkon III survived the conquest of Piankhi, and together with an otherwise unknown Takelot (III) recovered Thebes, where they built an Osiris chapel together, the remains of which were found by Legrain at Karnak (*Recueil*, 22, 128-34). That their control of Thebes did not begin at the death of Pedibast and precede the invasion of Piankhi, is evident from the fact that Yewepet, who ruled in Thebes with Pedibast, survived him, and would have continued there. Osorkon III must therefore have ruled several years, a conclusion corroborated by the dates of the Nile-levels at Karnak in the years 5, 8, and 14 of his reign. It is evident, then, that the whole occupation of Lower Egypt by Piankhi must fall within the reign of Osorkon III.

majesty was set up on the south of Keheni^a (*K³-h-ny*), on the east¹⁰⁷ of the nome of Athribis (*K³-km*).

Submission of Delta Dynasts

Then came those kings and princes of the Northland, all the chiefs who wore the feather, every vizier, all chiefs, and every king's-confidant, from the west, from the east, and from the islands in the midst, to see the beauty of his majesty.

Piankhi is Invited to Athribis

874. The hereditary prince, Pediese, threw himself upon his belly¹⁰⁸ before his majesty, and said: "Come to Athribis (*K³-km*),^b that thou mayest see Khentikhet (*H_{nt}-hty*), that thou mayest worship Khuyet^c (*Hwy't*), that thou mayest offer an oblation to Horus in his house, consisting of: bulls, calves, and fowl; and that thou mayest enter my house. My treasury is open to thee, to [—] thyself with my paternal possessions. I will give to thee gold, as much as thou desirest; ¹⁰⁹malachite shall be heaped up before thee; many horses of the best of the stable, and the first of the stall."

Piankhi in Athribis

875. His majesty proceeded to the house of Harkhentikhet, and there were offered bulls, calves, and fowl to his father, Harkhentikhet, lord of Kemwer (*Km-wr*). His majesty went to the house of the hereditary prince, Pediese; he (Pediese) presented to him silver, gold, ¹¹⁰lapis lazuli, and malachite, a great heap of everything; clothing of royal linen of every number;^d couches laid with fine linen; myrrh and ointment in jars (*hbb*); horses, both stallions and mares, of all the best of his stable.

Speech of Pediese of Athribis

876. He (Pediese) purified himself by a divine oath, before these kings and great chiefs of ¹¹¹the Northland (saying): "Every one of

^aA town midway between Cairo and Benha bears the name Kaha, which is suggested by Daressy (*Recueil*, 20, 85, CLXIII) as possibly our Keheni, but it does not suit the location "east" of Athribis.

^bIt is evident that the city is meant here, and probably also above (l. 106).

^cA goddess.

^dAs Griffith suggests, this is doubtless a reference to the fineness determined by the number of threads in a given measure.

them, if he conceals his horses and hides his obligation shall die the death of his father. So be it to me, till ye^a bear witness of the servant there,^b in all that ye know of me; say ye, (whether) I have concealed (aught) from his majesty, of all the possessions ¹¹²of my father's house: [of] gold, silver; of costly stone; of all kinds of vessels, ¹¹³—; of golden bracelets, of necklaces, and collars wrought with costly stones; amulets for every limb, chaplets for the head, ~~rings~~ for the ears: all the adornments of a king; all the vessels of the king's purification, in gold and — all costly stones. All these I have presented ¹¹³in the (royal) presence: garments of royal linen by thousands of all the best of my house, where-with I knew thou wouldst be pleased. Go to the stable that thou mayest choose as thou desirest, of all the horses that thou wilt." Then his majesty did so.

Delta Dynasts Dismissed

877. Said these kings and princes to his majesty: "Dismiss us to our cities, that we may open ¹¹⁴our treasuries, that we may choose as much as thy heart desires, that we may bring to thee the best of our stables, the first of our horses." Then his majesty did so.

List of Delta Dynasts

878. List of names belonging thereto:

1. King^c Osorkon in Bubastis, the district of Ranofer (*R^c-n/r*).
2. King^d Yewepet in Tentremu (*Tnt-rmw*) and Tayan (*T^o-c yn*).^e
3. The prince (*h^o ty-^c*), Zeamonefonekh ¹¹⁵in "The Granary^f of Re," of Per-Benedd (Mendes).

^aHe addresses the Delta princes.

^bA circumlocution for "me," or "thy servant."

^cOn this Osorkon, see above, l. 106, § 872.

^dThis king had ruled in Thebes together with the now deceased Pedibast, beginning with the latter's sixteenth and his own second year (§ 794). He had thus been ruling some eleven or twelve years at this time, and, as he survived Pedibast, he had probably continued in Thebes, and was expelled by Piankhi about 722 B. C.

^eThe reading of *c yn* is not quite certain; both these places are of uncertain location. In the case of *c yn*, I am inclined to identify it with Ayan of l. 3. Brugsch identifies with "Daneon Portus" of Pliny (Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique*, 124).

^fIdentified by Foucart (*Recueil*, 20, 163 f.) with a modern Shuneh Yusuf, about 16 kilometers from Tell Tmai (Mendes), though he does not consider his identification as certain.

4. His eldest son, commander of the army, in Per-*Thutuprehui* (*Pr-Dhwtj-wp-rhwy*), Enekhhor.

5. The prince (*h² ty^{-c}*), Akenesh (*ʔ-k²-n-š*) in Sebennytos, (*Tb-ntr*), in Per-heby^a (*Pr-hby*), and in Samhudet^b (*Sm²-hwd*).

6. The prince (*h² ty^{-c}*), chief of Me, Pethenef (*P²-tnj*), in Per-Soped^c and in "Granary^d of Memphis."

7. ¹¹⁶The prince (*h² ty^{-c}*), chief of Me, Pemou^e (*P²-m²*), in Per-Osiris (Busiris), lord of Ded.

8. The prince (*h² ty^{-c}*), chief of Me, Nesnekedy^f (*Ns-n²-kdy*) in the nome of Hesebka^g (*Hsb-k²*).

9. The prince (*h² ty^{-c}*), chief of Me, Nektharneshenu (*Nht-Hr-n²-šnw*) in Per-Gerer^h (*Pr-G-rw-rw*).

10. The chief of Me, Pentewere.

11. The chief of Me, Pentibekhenet (*Pnty-Bhn²-t*).

12. The prophet of Horus, lord of Letopolis (*Shm*), ¹¹⁷Pediarsom-tous (*P²-dy-Hr-sm²-t²wy*).

13. The prince (*h² ty^{-c}*), Hurabes (*Hw-r²-b²-s*) in the house of Sekhmet, mistress of Sais (*S²*), and the house of Sekhmet, mistress of Rehesuⁱ (*Rhs²-wy*).

14. The prince (*h² ty^{-c}*) Zedkhiyu (*Dd-hy-yw*) in Khentnofer^j (*Hnt-njr*).

^aThis place is identified by Brugsch (*Dictionnaire géographique*, 489) with Iseum, modern Behbeit, which is probably correct. But in that case, Neter, the home of Tefnakhte (l. 2) cannot also be wholly identified with Iseum, for it is here held by Prince Akenesh.

^bSee II, 935.

^cThe name of this well-known city of the eastern Delta (Arabian nome) is not preserved by the classic geographers, but occurs in the annals of Ashurbanipal as Pi-saptu.

^dThe reading, although uncertain on the original, is rendered certain by a stela found at el Awaseh, district of Sawaleh, in the region of Saft-el-Henneh (Per-Soped), on which "Granary of Memphis" (*Šnw-t Ynbw hq*) twice occurs. See Daressy, *Recueil*, 10, 142, IV.

^eSee note on his subordinate, Sheshonk, l. 18 (§ 830).

^fSee l. 19.

^gEleventh nome of Lower Egypt.

^hProbably the Phagroriopolis of Strabo, as Brugsch has shown (Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique*, 858). It was in the region near the northern terminus of the Gulf of Suez.

ⁱA city near Letopolis (Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique*, 660).

^jEntirely uncertain: Brugsch's suggestion (Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique*, 612) does not seem probable.

15. The prince ($h^2 ty^c$) Pebes (P^2-B^2-s) in Khreha ($Hr^c h^2$) in Per-Hapi ($Pr-h^c p$).

Bearing all their good tribute: ^{a118}gold, silver, —, —, couches laid with fine linen, myrrh in ¹¹⁹jars (hbb), — — — —, as goodly dues; horses ¹²⁰of ———.

Revolt of Mesed

879. [Many days¹ after] this, came one to say ¹²¹to his majesty: "The — — army — — — — his wall ¹²²for fear¹ of thee; he has set fire to [his] treasury [and to the ships]^b upon the river. He has garrisoned Mesed^c (Msd) ¹²³with soldiers and — — —. Then his majesty caused his warriors to go ¹²⁴and see what had happened there, among the force^d of the hereditary prince, Pediese. One came to report ¹²⁵to his majesty, saying: "We have slain every man whom we found there." His majesty gave it as a reward ¹²⁶to the hereditary prince, Pediese.

Tefnakhte's Message of Submission

880. Then the chief of Me, Tefnakhte, heard of it^e and caused ¹²⁷a messenger to come to the place where his majesty was, with flattery, saying: "Be thou appeased! I have not beheld thy face for ¹²⁸shame;^f I cannot stand before thy flame, I tremble at thy might. Lo, thou art Nubti, presiding over the Southland, Montu, ¹²⁹the Bull of mighty arm. To whatsoever city thou hast turned thy face, thou hast not found the servant there,^g until^h I reached the islands ¹³⁰of the sea, trembling before thy might, and saying, 'His flame is hostile to me.' Is not ¹³¹the

^aThe text here proceeds from the back to the right edge or thickness of the stela, the last of the four inscribed surfaces.

^bRestored from the same phrase, l. 9.

^cThe place is unknown, but in view of the effect of its fall on Tefnakhte, it must have been on his frontier in the western Delta.

^dEither there was a force of Pediese's at Mesed, or the troops dispatched by Piankhi were taken from Pediese's forces, according as "*among*" is construed with "*happened*" or with "*warriors*."

^eJudging from this, the preceding incident is the last hostile enterprise of Tefnakhte.

^fLit., "*because of occasions of shame*" ($m sp n 3p$), meaning that he has been ashamed to appear before Piankhi.

^gSee above, l. III, note.

^hHe fled from place to place, as Piankhi advanced, "*until*" he reached the sea.

heart of thy majesty appeased,^a with these things that thou hast done to me? For I am verily a wretched man. Thou shouldst not smite me according to the measure of the crime; weighing with ¹³²the balances, knowing with the kidet-weights. Thou increasest it to me threefold; leave the seed that thou mayest 'spare' it in 'time'; do not hew down ¹³³the grove to its 'root'. By thy ka, the terror of thee is in my body, and the fear of thee in my bones. I have not sat in ¹³⁴the beer-hall,^b nor has the harp been played for me; but I have eaten bread in hunger, and I have drunk water in ¹³⁵thirst,^c since that day when thou heardest my name. 'Disease' is in my bones, my head is bare, my clothing ¹³⁶is rags, till Neit is appeased toward me. Long is the course which thou hast brought to me; 'thy face is against me — ¹³⁷the year has undone me'. Cleanse (thy) servant of his fault, let my possessions be received into the Treasury, of ¹³⁸gold and every costly stone, and the best of the horses, (even) 'payment'^d for everything. Send to me ^{139a}a messenger quickly, that he may expel fear from my heart. Let me go forth before him to the temple, that I may cleanse myself with a divine oath."

Tefnakhte Takes Oath of Allegiance

88r. ¹⁴⁰His majesty dispatched the chief ritual priest, Pediamenestowe (*P³ dy-Ymn-nṣ' t-t³ wy*), and the commander of the army, Purme (*P-w³ -r-m³*). ¹⁴¹He^e presented him with silver and gold, clothing and every splendid, costly stone. He went forth to the temple, he worshiped the god, ¹⁴²he cleansed himself with a divine oath, saying: "I will not transgress the command of the king, I will not overstep ¹⁴³that which the king saith. I will not do a hostile act against a prince (*h³ ty-ḡ*)

^aLit., "cooled."

^bSee § 45r, note.

^cThere is probably a reminiscence of this in Diodorus (I, 45), where it is related that Tefnakhte was on a campaign, *eis τῆν Ἀπασίαν*, and, being without supplies, was obliged to resort to the coarsest food from the hands of common people. Upon finding it very appetizing, he cursed Menes (who had introduced luxury) and thereafter ate only simple food.

^d*Dḥ* ; the same word means "to clothe," but, so far as I know, it applies only to people, or gods; hence "accoutered with everything" (Griffith) is also uncertain.

^eThe uncertainty in the pronouns is equally bad in the original; the most probable interpretation, in view of the situation, is that Tefnakhte made presents to Piankhi.

without thy knowledge; I will do according to that which ¹⁴⁴the king says, and I will not transgress that which he has commanded." Then his majesty was satisfied therewith.

Submission of the Fayûm, Atfih, and the Last Kings of the Delta

882. One came to say ¹⁴⁵to his majesty: "The temple of Sebek,^a they have opened its stronghold, Metenu^b (*Mtnw*) throws itself upon its belly, there is not ¹⁴⁶a nome closed against his majesty of the nomes of the South and North; the west, the east, and the islands in the midst are upon their bellies in fear of him, ¹⁴⁷causing that their possessions be presented at the place where his majesty is, like subjects of the palace." When the land brightened, very early in ¹⁴⁸the morning these two^c rulers of the South and two rulers of the North, with serpent-crests (*uraei*), came to sniff the ground before the fame ¹⁴⁹of his majesty, while, as for these kings and princes of the Northland who came to behold the beauty of his majesty, their legs ¹⁵⁰were as the legs of women. They entered not into the king's-house, because they were unclean^d ¹⁵¹and eaters of fish; which is an abomination for the palace. Lo, King Namlot, he entered ¹⁵²into the king's-house, because he was pure, and he ate not fish. There stood three ¹⁵³upon their feet, (but only) one entered the king's-house.

Piankhi's Return to the South

883. Then the ships were laden with silver, gold, copper, ¹⁵⁴clothing, and everything of the Northland, every product of Syria (*H²-rw*), and all sweet woods of God's-Land. ¹⁵⁵His majesty sailed up-stream, with

^aThe Fayûm, mentioned in l. 4 as having submitted to Tefnakhte.

^bAphroditopolis (Atfih), the capital of the twenty-second nome of Upper Egypt. Its surrender to Tefnakhte is probably mentioned in l. 4. As Piankhi passed northward along the western side of the Nile valley between the Fayûm on the west and Aphroditopolis on the east, neither of these was then touched by him. Hence they both come in and surrender of themselves afterward.

^cAs Namlot is one of the two kings of the South (l. 151), the Fayûm king or the king of Atfih must be the other. Who the two kings of the North were is not indicated.

^d*M c m c* with determinative of a phallus; sometimes rendered "*uncircumcised*."

glad heart, the shores on his either side were jubilating. West and east, they seized the [—], ¹⁵⁶jubilating in the presence of his majesty; singing and jubilating as they said: "O mighty, mighty Ruler, ¹⁵⁷Piankhi, O mighty Ruler; thou comest, having gained the dominion of the Northland. Thou makest bulls ¹⁵⁸into women. Happy the heart of the mother who bore thee, and the man who begat thee. Those who are in the valley give to her praise, the cow ¹⁵⁹that hath borne a bull. Thou art unto eternity, thy might endureth, O Ruler, beloved of Thebes."

THE TWENTY-FOURTH DYNASTY

REIGN OF BOCCHORIS

SERAPEUM STELÆ

884. Bocchoris, the only king of the Twenty-fourth Dynasty, the son of Tefnakhte,^a has left only a few Serapeum stelæ,^b and a wall inscription, which record the burial of an Apis in his sixth year. It was interred in the same chamber as the one which died in the thirty-seventh year of Sheshonk IV. These documents give his name as: *King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Wohkere*^c (*W³ h-k-³ R^c*), *Son of Re, Bekneranej*. As Africanus also gives his reign as six years,^d he probably did not reign longer. Counting back from 663, the beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, his accession was about 718 B. C.

^aDiodorus, I, 45.

^bLouvre, 298, 299; Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, Pl. 34.

^cThis is the origin of the classic form *Βόκχोरης* (Diodorus, I, 45, 65).

^dSyncellus has 44.

THE TWENTY-FIFTH DYNASTY

RECORDS OF NILE-LEVELS AT KARNAK^a

885. Like those of the preceding dynasties, these records of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty are of great chronological value. They enable us, for the first time, to arrange the kings of the Ethiopian dynasty in order of succession, the position of Shabaka having heretofore been uncertain. The record here (No. 4) shows that Shabataka's third year was near 700 B. C., and, as it is impossible in that case to insert Shabaka between Shabataka and Taharka, the only other possible order is: Shabaka, Shabataka, Taharka—an order which is confirmed by the datum of Manetho, that Shabaka overthrew the Twenty-fourth Dynasty, having defeated and slain Bocchoris. If Shabataka's third year was near 700 B. C., and he was the predecessor of Taharka, whose accession was in 688 B. C.,^b then Shabataka must have begun to reign, at the latest, about 700, and his reign lasted some twelve years, which is exactly what Syncellus gives him. The whole dynasty may then be restored thus:

Shabaka	12 ^c + x years	712-700 B. C.
Shabataka	12 years	700-688 “
Takarka	26 years	688-663 ^d “
—		
Total	50 years	

^aEngraved on the quai before the great Karnak temple; published by Legrain, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1896, 114-16.

^b§§ 959 ff.

^cLepsius, *Denkmäler*, V, 1, e; Syncellus also gives him twelve years.

^d§ 1026.

Reign of Shabaka

886. 1. ^a(30) ^bYear 2, under the majesty of Horus: Sebektowe (*Sbk-t³ wy*); Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Sebektowe; Golden Horus: Sebektowe; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Neferkere; Son of Re: [Shabaka], living forever, beloved of Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, beloved of Montu-Re, lord of Thebes. The Nile, father of gods, was 20 cubits, 1 palm, 1 finger.

2. (31) [The Nile] Year — [under] the majesty of King Shabaka

3. (32) [Year] — [under] the majesty of King Shabaka ———.

Reign of Shabataka

887. 4. (33) Year 3, first month^c of the third season, day 5, under the majesty of King Shabataka.^d When his majesty was crowned as king in the house of Amon, he granted him that he should splendidly appear as Favorite of the Two Goddesses, like Horus upon the throne of Re. (The Nile) which his father Amon the great, Hapi the great, great in Niles, granted him in his time: 20 (cubits), 2 palms.

Reign of Taharka

888. 5. (34) Year 6 of King Taharka (*T³-h-rw-k*), beloved of Amon the great.

6. (35) The Nile. Year 6 under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Nefertem-Khure (*Nfr-tm, Hw-R^c*); Son of Re: Taharka, living forever, beloved of Nun the great, Amon the great, the Nile, father^e of gods, and the (divine) community upon the flood. (The Nile), which his father, Amon, gave to him, that his time might be made prosperous.

^aThe numbers in parenthesis are those of Legrain's publication.

^bThe latest preceding date is the fourteenth year of Osorkon III.

^cMeyer has shown that this date for the highest point of the inundation must have fallen somewhere about 700 B. C. (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 40, 124 f.; and 41, 93).

^dThe scribe attempted to give the full titulary of the king, but it is very confused.

^eThe whole series is perhaps one composite god; see, e. g., No. 36 (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 34, 116).

7. (36) The Nile. Year 7 under the majesty of King Taharka, living forever, beloved of Nun the great, Amon the great, the Nile, father of gods, and the divine (community) upon the flood. (The Nile) which his father, Amon, gave to him, that his time might be made prosperous.

8. (37) The Nile. Year 7 (sic!) under the majesty of King Taharka.

.....^a

9. (38) The Nile. Year 9^b of King Taharka, living forever, beloved of Nun the great, and Amon the great.

^aLike No. 7, except the height, which is different. The year is doubtless an error for 8, as it is preceded by 7 and followed by 9.

^bFollowed by year 10 of Psamtik.

REIGN OF SHABAKA

BUILDING INSCRIPTION^a

889. As a memorial of his rule in Thebes, Shabaka left the following record of a restoration by him on the fourth pylon of the Karnak temple:

[King Shabaka; he made (it) as his monument for his father], Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, presider over Karnak, restoring the great and august gate^b (*šb ʿ*): "Amon-Re-is-Mighty-in-Strength," making for it a great overlay of fine gold, which the majesty of King Shabaka,^c living forever, brought from the victories, which his father, Amon, decreed to him; the great hall^d (*hy't*) being overlaid with fine gold, the south column and the north column^e being wrought with gold, the two lower lips being of pure silver, made ———.

^aOn the north side of the door of the fourth pylon of the great Karnak temple; published by Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 129, 130; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, V, 1, b; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1316; see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 152.

^bThis is, of course, the main door or gate of the pylon (IV) in which the inscription is. See the name again, Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1315.

^cDouble name.

^dThis is the colonnaded hall of Thutmose I, behind Pylon IV.

^eThis pair must have been like the two beautiful pillars of Thutmose III, a little farther back, just in front of the sanctuary. "The two lower lips" are perhaps the two bases or their edges.

REIGN OF TAHARKA

TANIS STELA^a

892.^b This unfortunately fragmentary stela was erected by Taharka at Tanis to commemorate the coming of his mother thither from Napata, after his coronation in Lower Egypt. He narrates how he came north from Nubia as a youth of twenty years with some king. This would have been on the invasion of Lower Egypt by Shabaka. Many years then elapsed before he became king, during which he did not see his mother, and must, therefore, have spent these years in the north. As a son of Piankhi, he must have occupied a prominent position. When it is recollected that the Hebrew records (2 Kings 19:9) state that the enemy of Sennacherib at Altaqû in 701 B. C. (some thirteen years before Taharka's accession) was Taharka, the conclusion cannot be resisted that Shabaka sent Taharka in command of the Egyptian and Ethiopian forces, against the Assyrians. It is evident, therefore, that the Hebrew writer, reporting the matter at a later date, long after Taharka's reign, supposes him to have been already king in 701.^c

893. The beginning of the stela is too fragmentary for

^aFragmentary stela in two parts, left lying as found in the ruins of Tanis. The lower fragment, containing 19 lines, was first seen and copied by de Rougé, (*Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 73; and "Etudes sur des monuments du règne de Taharka," *Mélanges d'archéologie égyptienne et assyrienne*, I, 21-23); again published by Birch, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1880, 22 ff. Petrie then found the upper part, and published both parts in his *Tanis* (II, Pl. IX, No. 136). It was first understood historically by Schaefer (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1900, 51, 52).

^bThe omission of two in numbering the sections is intentional.

^cSee also Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests*, 10, 11.

translation, but it is evident that someone, of course the king, gave the young Taharka, who narrates it all in the first person, a fine field (l. 1), which the gods protected against grasshoppers (l. 2), so that Taharka reaped (^c w³) from it (l. 3) a plentiful yield of all grain and fruit of the ground. Meanwhile he was brought up among the royal children (l. 5) and someone, again of course the king, loved him more than the royal children (l. 6). Taharka then says:

My father, Amon, [vouchsafed⁷] to me to place all lands under my feet ¹⁰—— [the east as far as¹] the rising of Re, and the west ¹¹[as far as his setting¹].

894. Whether the restorations are correct or not it is evident that Taharka is here relating his accession in the conventional terms, which always make such a usurpation an act of the gods. Immediately thereupon, Taharka narrates the coming of his mother from Napata, which leads him to revert to the long separation from her, caused by his departure for the North years before. He says:

895. ^a[The queen-mother¹] was in Napata^b as King's-Sister, amiable in love, King's-Mother ¹²——. Now, I had been separated from her as a youth (*hwn*) of twenty years, ¹³[accompanying his majesty¹] when he^c came to the Northland (Delta). Then she went north to ¹⁴[the Northland where I was¹] after a long period (*hnty*) of years, and she found me crowned ¹⁵[as king upon the throne of Horus¹]. I had taken the diadems of Re, and I had assumed the double serpent-crest, as ¹⁶—— as the protection of my limbs. She rejoiced greatly ¹⁷[when she saw] the beauty of his majesty,^d as Isis saw her son, Horus, crowned upon the throne ¹⁸—— while he was a youth in the marsh of ¹⁹—— all countries. They bowed to the ground to this King's-

^aThis would connect directly with the above beginning of l. 11.

^bThis reading, first noticed by Schaefer (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1900, 51, 52), is certain.

^cThis "he" can only refer to the king under whom the youth Taharka was serving, when separated from his mother; see Schaefer, *loc. cit.*

^dTaharka.

Mother, while she ²⁰——— 'greatly'. Their old as well as their young ones ²¹[[gave praise to] this King's-Mother, saying: "Isis hath received ²²———, she hath — her son, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Taharka, living forever ²³———.

896. Here follow four lines of conventional praise addressed to Taharka, closing with a comparison of his kindness toward his mother with that of Horus to his mother, Isis:

²⁶——— for his mother, Isis, when thou wast crowned upon the throne.

BUILDING INSCRIPTION IN LARGE CLIFF-TEMPLE OF NAPATA

897. The following dedications in the larger temple at Napata record Taharka's building activity there:

^aTaharka, living forever; he made (it) as his monument for his mother, Mut of Napata; he built for her a temple anew, of fine white sandstone, his majesty having found this temple built of stone,^b by the ancestors, of bad workmanship. His majesty caused that this temple should be built of excellent workmanship, forever.

898. The same hall as the above conclusion has:

^cHe made (it) as his monument for his mother, Mut, mistress of heaven, queen of Nubia (*T³ p^d·t*); he built her house, he enlarged her temple anew, of fine white sandstone.

899. A cella beside the main adytum has:

^dHe made (it) as his monument for [his] mother, Mut, Eye of Re, Mistress of Heaven, queen of gods, residing in Napata; building her house of fine white sandstone.

^aLepsius, *Denkmäler*, V, 5: frieze inscription in the first hall.

^bThe inscription as published stops abruptly here, and the frieze inscription of the next hall as published (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, V, 7, a) begins with equal abruptness, and fits the inscription of the first hall exactly. Whether this is an accident of preservation, or was originally intended, is immaterial.

^cLepsius, *Denkmäler*, V, 7, c.

^d*Ibid.*, 12, a.

900. An altar in the Amon-temple bears the dedication:^a

He made (it) as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes (*Nswt-tꜣwy*), great god, residing in Nubia (*Tꜣ-pdꜣt*); (of) granite [—], in order to offer upon it in his palace (*ꜥꜥꜥ*). Never happened the like.

INSCRIPTION OF MENTEMHET^b

901. The history of the principality of Thebes after the middle of the Twenty-second Dynasty, until the latter part of the Ethiopian period is almost entirely unknown. We see it in the possession of Piankhi toward the end of the Twenty-third Dynasty, but its local history is still totally obscure until the reign of Taharka, when we find a certain "*prophet of Amon, prince of Thebes, Nesuptah*,"^c ruling there. His son Mentemhet succeeded him, and evidently maintained himself during Taharka's reign in power and wealth.^d His titles are of importance. Although he was prince of the Theban principality, he was only fourth prophet of Amon. At the same time, he was "*chief of the prophets*

^aLepsius, *Denkmäler*, V, 13, b, d.

^bIn a niche-like chamber of the temple of Mut at Karnak. It had contained a statue of Mentemhet (Mariette, *Karnak*, Texte, 64), probably one of those found by Miss Benson (*Recueil*, XX, 188-92; Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 261-63, Pl. XXIII-XXIV, 350-57). Our inscription is published by Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 48 (without relief), and Mariette, *Karnak*, 42-44; both are very inaccurate, and an exhaustive publication is much needed.

^cKrall, *Studien*, III, 77 A. The genealogy of the family is carried back four generations beyond Nesuptah by the statues in the great Karnak cache. See Legrain, *Recueil*, 27, 80; but he does not indicate whether or not these four generations were already princes of Thebes.

^dBesides those above referred to, numerous monuments of this man are known. His tomb in the Assasif at Thebes was excavated by Eisenlohr (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1885, 55), and its inscriptions (only titles and family) were published by Krall (*Studien*, III, 76-80). Two neighboring tombs of his family were found beside it, and the inscriptions bearing on Mentemhet also published by Krall (*ibid.*, 80-82). A list of his smaller monuments is given by Wiedemann (*Recueil*, VIII, 69) and by Newberry (Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 356, 357).

of all gods of South and North.”^a He, therefore, held the sacerdotal primacy of Egypt without being High Priest of Amon. The High Priest of Amon had, therefore, been deprived of his temporal power as prince of the Thebaid, as well as of his sacerdotal supremacy. This is confirmed by the relative position of Mentemhet and the High Priest of Amon in the Adoption Stela (§§ 949-52).^b As Mentemhet’s father was prince of Thebes before him, these changes may have taken place at the advent of the Ethiopian dynasty under Shabaka.

902. The activity of Mentemhet in the building and restoration of the monuments under Taharka at Thebes renders his rule there notable. This work was all done before Taharka’s death, and the renewal of so many costly cultus images of the gods, besides references to the purification of all the temples in the South, and vague allusions to a great catastrophe, make it extremely probable that the mooted capture and sack of Thebes (667 B. C.) in Ashurbanipal’s first campaign, although not certain from his confused records, actually took place. The restoration recorded by Mentemhet must have been done, therefore, between 667 and 661 B. C. The wealth which he was able to devote to restoring his plundered city must have been considerable; but it all fell a prey to the Assyrians at the second capture of the city by Ashurbanipal in 661 B. C., when it was frightfully laid waste. Of any attempted restoration by Mentemhet after this we hear nothing. He continued as ruler of the Thebaid, survived the rise of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, and

^aBenson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 356.

^bFor the current and widespread conclusion that the high priesthood of Amon was now held by the Ethiopian kings themselves, I find no support. It is evident from the Adoption Stela that the High Priest of Amon had been stripped of his power; and this fully explains why we have no records of him at this time.

maintained his position into the reign of Psamtik I (§ 945). But his son Nesuptah did not succeed him,^a and the family cannot be traced any farther.

903. Mentemhet's record consists of a relief on the rear wall of the temple chamber, and an inscription occupying the two side walls. The relief shows Taharka worshiping the goddess Mut, while behind him are Mentemhet, the latter's father Nesuptah, and son Nesuptah. Above these figures are depicted the statues and images replaced or restored by Mentemhet. On the right of the relief his narrative begins thus:

Titles of Mentemhet

904. ¹———— all gods, fourth prophet of Amon, prince of Thebes, governor of [the Southland], Mentemhet, son of the prophet of Amon, prince of Thebes, Nesu[ptah];^b he saith:

Sacred Barge

I fashioned ²[the sacred barge of 'Amon'] of 80 cubits in its length, of new cedar of the best of the terraces. The "Great House" was of electrum, inlaid with every genuine costly stone — — 'of the last day' — equipped ³————.

Purification of Temples

905. I purified all the temples in the nomes of all Patoris, according as one should purify ['violated'] temples, — after there had been ⁴['an invasion of unclean foreigners in'] the Southland. '———' — ['—] all these things which I have brought before you, there is no [lying] speech therein, no contradiction ⁵———— deceit. There is no lie in the place of my mouth.

^aA relief in Abydos (Mariette, *Abydos*, I, Pl. 2, b) shows Psamtik I before Orisis and Horus. He is accompanied by the "Divine Votress, Nitocris," and "the prince (h>ty-c) of Thebes, governor of the South, — , chief steward of the Divine Votress, Pedihor." It is thus clear that Nesuptah did not succeed his father, Mentemhet, although it is barely possible also that Pedihor was another son, and that Nesuptah had died.

^bThe name of the father is preserved in the relief.

Prosperity and Plentiful Offerings

906. My mistress is satisfied with all that I have done ¹for ¹Thebes, [the Horizon of] him of the hidden name, Eye of Re, Mistress ⁶[of temples]^a ——— I satisfied her lord with the things of his desire, bulls of the largest, and calves of the best. I gave — — my lord, of good things ⁷——— satisfied with food, and divine offerings, like that which he receives at the beginning of all the seasons, at th[eir] times, — — I multiplied the amount ⁸———. His granaries swelled with the first fruits^b [which came to] him down-stream in their season, and up-stream in their time. They made festive ⁹——— in his totals, to celebrate the feasts; that he might provision the prophets, priests, — and lay priests of the temples¹⁰——— in the nomes, great and small — — making for me an overflow for my city, the land having moisture, the cities and nomes fatness.

Foreign Invasion

907. ¹¹——— it being divine chastisement. [In] the protected Southland in its divine way, while the whole land was overturned, because of the greatness of ¹²——— [———] coming from the South. I satisfied my — coming from ¹³——— in — [in] going in and in going out by night and by day^c ¹⁴——— an excellent refuge for my city. [I] repelled the wretches from the southern nomes — — — [time].

Family Prosperity and Conclusion

908. ¹⁵——— following his god without ceasing, — the temple, seeing that which was in it. Every shrine was sealed with [my] seal ¹⁶——— belonging thereto. I was in the temple —, following the footsteps of my lord. My son was with me ¹⁷——— priest of his ka, chief prophet of — in Thebes, chief of the phyle, Nesuptah. My children were healthy ——— ¹⁸the prophets knew his counsel —. I spent the day in searching and the night in seeking, searching ¹⁹——— [summoning] them that passed, calling them that —, and revising the rules that had begun to be [obsolete].

^aSee § 753, l. 1, for similar epithets of Thebes, from which this is restored.

^bOr possibly the "best" of the grain.

^cThis is evidently a reference to a siege, as in Piankhi, e. g., § 854, l. 80.

The inscription proceeds to praise of his son (ll. 21 and 22), and concludes with a prayer in the first person plural, of no historic interest (ll. 24-29).

909. On the other side of the relief, Mentemhet then continues an enumeration of his buildings and other works for the temples, as follows:

Works for Min-Amon

I brought forth Min-Amon to his stairway in the southern house (Luxor) at his beautiful feast ³——— plenty. I presented the oblations of the eight gods in the second month of the third season, twenty-eighth day, in order that ⁴——— of electrum and every splendid costly stone. I fashioned the august image of Khonsupekhrod overlaid with gold (called): "His-Every-Emanation-is-⁵——— -Crowns."^a I made a throne for this god, the legs of pure silver, inlay-figures ⁶——— of his stipulations — — them after a long space (*hnty*) of years, beginning to decay. ⁷——— [⁸———] according as a thorough inspection should be made.

Temple of Mut?

910. I built her temple of stone ⁸——— [the doors were of] new^b cedar, and kedet (*kd't*) wood, mounted with Asiatic copper; the inlay-figures thereon were of electrum, the bolts and fastenings ⁹——— gold inlaid with every costly stone. I erected for her a hall with thirty-four^c columns of fine white sandstone [¹⁰———]. I constructed her pure and beautiful lake of fine white sandstone; I erected for her, her storehouse for the storage of her divine offerings therein; I multiplied the offering-tables ¹¹———.

Works for Khonsu

911. I restored the august image of "Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest" (called): "Wearer-of-the-Divine-Diadem," with gold and every

^aTwo Amon crowns, and one Khonsu crown.

^bCorrect *m > c* to *m > w*, as commonly.

^cSo Mariette; Dümichen has 23; no such hall is now discoverable in the temple of Mut. Mentemhet probably means restoration, although he makes a similar claim on his statue (Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 353, l. 10): "I erected the temple of Mut, mistress of heaven, of fine white sandstone."

genuine costly stone. I multiplied their offering-tables of silver, gold, and copper. ¹²——— 'I clothed^{1a} Khonsu (called): "The-Plan-Maker-is-an-Emanation," with electrum, as formerly.

Works for Montu

912. I constructed the pure lake of Montu, lord of Thebes, of fine white sandstone like ¹³——— illuminating his great and august house therewith. I multiplied his offering-tables of silver, gold, and bronze.

Theban Divinities

I fashioned individual vessels. I equipped Wes and Weset,^b Victorious Thebes, Mistress of Might, as an emanation^c ¹⁴———.

Image of Bast

I fashioned the august image of Bast, residing in Thebes; with staves^d of electrum and every genuine costly stone.

Works for Ptah

913. I fashioned the august image of Ptah (called): "Thebes¹-is-Bright-at-His-Appearance," of gold ¹⁵——— their offering-tables more beautiful than before.

Images of Hathor

I fashioned [the image] of Hathor, Mistress of the Valley (called): "———-Bright;" as their glorious emanation, according as a thorough inspection should be made ¹⁶——— every one thereof had two staves.

Images of Amon

I fashioned the august image of Amon, lord of Thebes (*Ns'wt-t'wy*), residing in Thebes (*W's't*); the august image of Khonsu (called): "Numberer-of-Life;" the august image of Amon, lord of Thebes ¹⁷——— every one thereof had two staves.

^aOr: "the protection of K., etc., was of electrum."

^bApparently a male and female divinity, each apotheosizing Thebes. The goddess is well known, but this is the only occurrence of the god with which I am acquainted.

^c*M ty't*; it is not always certain what this phrase means in this inscription, e. g., l. 18 after "Themet."

^dFor carrying.

Statue of Amenhotep I

I fashioned the statue of Zeserkere (Amenhotep I), triumphant; of electrum and every costly stone; with two staves, as it had been before
 18_____.

Khonsu of Themet

914. [I fashioned the image of] Khonsu, residing in Themet (*T³-mw' t*) [— —] of electrum, with two staves.

Image of "The Great One"

I fashioned "The-Great-One (feminine)-of-the-Garden" as her glorious emanation; I restored her temples, that it might be as formerly.

Wall of Karnak

19_____ it of fine white sandstone, to keep off the flood of the river from [it when it came]. I hewed a [—] 20_____ at his beautiful feast of the fourth month of the first season, twenty-fifth day. I restored the wall of the temple of Amon in Karnak [—] 21_____ [— — —]. I built a [—] of brick, according as I found it good to make the ancestors
 22_____.

Works for the Sacred Bull

915. I [fashioned] the bull of Mad^a (*M³ d*), as his glorious emanation; I built his house; it was more beautiful than what was therein
 23[before] _____.

Temple of Montu

I built the temple of Montu, lord — — — — its gates shone beautifully 24_____.

Works for Uncertain Gods

[I fashioned the image of] — upon his stairway (called): "— - - of-the-Field-in-Thebes;" of gold, more beautiful than it was before
 25_____ who is lord of the hill-country, residing in Khemkhem (*Hmhm*).

Image of Horus

I fashioned the august image of Horus (called): "The-God-Abides-
 26_____."

^aA sacred precinct near Karnak.

Image of Min?

916. I [fashioned] (the image of) 'Min' (called): "'Chief of-Heaven," as his glorious emanation, overlaid — — 27———.

Image of Thoth

I fashioned the august image of Thoth, presiding over Hatibti (*H·t-ybty*), residing in ———.

Works for Isis

28——— I — the emanation of Isis. I fashioned — upon them — — my whole city ' — — ' — — 29——— more beautiful than formerly. I constructed a sacred lake for the temple of Isis ' — — ' — 30———.

Works for Osiris

I fashioned the barge of Osiris in this district, of — cubits — — — of new^a cedar, according to the accustomed stipulations, 'after I had found it of acacia' — — 31——— of brick, after I had found it beginning to fall to ruin ———.

SERAPEUM STELA^b

917. This stela, recording the burial of an Äpis at Memphis in the twenty-fourth year of Taharka, is important as showing that in 664 B. C. the priests of Memphis regarded Taharka as still reigning there, although he had been driven out by Ashurbanipal in 668. As the stela was hidden far down in the subterranean passages of the Serapeum, the priests could have safely so dated the monument, even though the city was under Assyrian government. Hence,

^aCorrect *m* > c to *m* > w.

^bLouvre, No. 121; published by Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, III, Pl. 35; *Revue égyptologique*, VII, 136; Chassinat, *Recueil*, 22, 18. I had also my own copy of the original.

it is not safe to conclude, from this stela, that Taharka actually held Memphis in 664 B. C.

918. Year 24, fourth month of the second season (eighth month), day 23, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Taharka, living forever.

The god was conducted in peace to the beautiful West, by the hereditary prince, sem priest, master of all wardrobes, prophet of Ptah, divine father, Senbef, son of the divine father, of Sekhetre (*Sh-R*), Enekhwennofer; born of Neatesnakhte (*N³ - ^{c3} - t³ ys-nht t*). His brother, divine father of Sekhetre, Ptahhotep.

REIGN OF TANUTAMON

STELA OF TANUTAMON^a

919. This stela brings us to the close of Ethiopian rule in Egypt. Lower Egypt was in control of Assyrian vassals, resulting from the defeat of Taharka by Ashurbanipal's army, not long after the latter's accession in 668 B. C. The Delta vassals had been discovered in their subsequent plotting with Taharka against their Assyrian overlord. Necho, the Saitic dynast, after being sent to Ninevah, was pardoned and reinstated at Sais. His son, likewise, was made vassal king in Athribis, and at this juncture, according to the records of Ashurbanipal,^b Taharka died.

920. The stela of Tanutamon records the course of political events in Upper Egypt during the last days of Taharka, and the short reign of Tanutamon over all Egypt. It shows us Tanutamon coregent with Taharka during the latter's last year (663 B. C.), which was the first of Tanutamon;^c and narrates how he proceeded from some place in Upper

^aGray granite, round-topped stela, 1.32 m. high and 0.72 m. wide, now in Cairo (No. 162, *Guide* of 1902, 112); discovered at Napata with the Piankhi Stela in 1862; published by Maspero, *Revue archéologique*, 1868, XVII, 329 ff.; *tirage à part*, Didier, 8vo, 11 pp. and 2 Pls.); and by Mariette (*Monuments divers*, Pls. 7, 8). I had also a squeeze and a copy of squeeze by Schaefer, and he and I together went over the copy again with the squeeze. This copy brought out a number of important readings filling up several lacunæ. I am also indebted to Schaefer for several valuable suggestions.

^bWinckler, *Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Geschichte*, 103-5, ll. 36-69.

^cThe proper relation of Tanutamon and Taharka in this narrative was first explained by Schaefer (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1897, 67 ff.). As he did not come to the throne even as coregent until 663 B. C., Winckler's explanation of Ashurbanipal's confused records (*Altorientalische Forschungen*, 480-83), in which he makes Tanutamon the final opponent of Ashurbanipal in the campaign of 668-7, is impossible.

Egypt (probably Thebes), of which he was king, to Napata, where he was crowned sole king, so that Taharka's death must have been the occasion of his assumption of sole power.^a He had been summoned by a dream, before going to Napata to seize also the Northland, then in Assyrian hands, and, leaving Napata, he then undertook the recovery of the North. He captured Memphis, perhaps slew Necho of Sais in battle,^b and, although unable to subdue the Delta dynasts, accepted what he construed as their submission, which they offered in person. He then ruled in Memphis as nominal king of all Egypt, and at this point the narrative of his stela closes. The presence of the Assyrians in the land is ignored throughout, and the inglorious conclusion of his reign in Egypt at the approach of Ashurbanipal's second great invasion in 661 B. C. is naturally not added at the end.

Introduction

921. "Good God"^c on the day when he was born; Atum is he for the people (*rhy' t*), lord of two horns, ruler of the living, prince, seizing every land, victorious in might on the day of battle, facing the front on the day^d of conflict¹, lord of valor, like Montu, great in strength, like a fierce-eyed lion, wise-hearted, like Thoth; crossing the sea^e in pursuit

^aAshurbanipal calls Tanutamon the son of Taharka's sister, and the son of Shabaka (Winckler, *op. cit.*, 105); hence Shabaka must have married Piankhi's daughter, which explains his claim to the throne. Tanutamon was thus Piankhi's grandson.

^bThe battle is recorded by Tanutamon (ll. 16, 17), but he does not mention the slaying of Necho. This is probable from the remark of Herodotus (as Eduard Meyer first perceived, *Geschichte des alten Aegyptens*, 353) that Necho was slain by an Ethiopian king, who, Herodotus thought, was Shabaka. But, according to Manetho, Necho's death must have occurred in 663 B. C., that is, the year of Tanutamon's expedition against Memphis.

^cThat is, "king."

^dThere is possibly, but probably not, a lost word at the end of l. 1.

^e*D* > *w* > *ḏ-wr*.

of his opponent, carrying off the ends of^a [—] —. He has [taken] this land; none fighting and none standing before him, (even) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Bekere (*B³ -k³ -R³*), Son of Re, Tanutamón (*T³ n-w³ -ty-Ymn*), beloved of Amon of Napata.

The Dream

922. In the year 1, of his coronation as king — — ⁴his majesty saw a dream by night: two serpents, one upon his right, the other upon his left. Then his majesty awoke, and he found them not. His majesty said: ⁵“Wherefore [has] this [come] to me?” Then they answered^b him, saying: “Thine is the Southland; take for thyself (also) the Northland. The ‘Two Goddesses’^c shine upon thy brow, the land is given to thee, in its length and its breadth. [No] ⁶other divides it with thee.”

Journey to Napata

923. When his majesty was crowned upon the throne of Horus in this first^d year, his majesty went forth from the place^e where he had been, as Horus went forth from Khemmis. He went forth from—, while there [came] ⁷to him millions and hundreds of thousands coming after him. Said his majesty: “Lo, the dream is true! It^f is profitable for him who sets it in his heart, (but) evil for him who understands [it] not.” His majesty went to Napata, while none stood ⁸before him.^g

Coronation in Napata

924. His majesty arrived at the temple of Amon of Napata, residing in the Pure Mountain. As for his majesty, his heart was glad when he saw his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes (*Nswt-t³ wy*), residing in the Pure Mountain. Garlands for this god were brought to him; ⁹then his

^aPossibly: “*carrying away the rear of his foe (ph sw)*.” The *ph* is very probable.

^bRead *whm sn nf*, but the scribe has omitted the second *n*.

^cThe double diadem of Upper and Lower Egypt.

^dThis remark can refer only to his second coronation as sole king. It is here referred to at the beginning of his journey to Napata, in anticipation of what happened on his arrival there, viz., his said coronation as sole king. His joint reign with Taharka thus lasted less than a year.

^eThis must have been some place in Upper Egypt, of which he was then king; it was therefore probably Thebes.

^fA dream.

^gIn a hostile sense.

majesty brought forth in splendor Amon of Napata; and he made for him a great festival offering, founding for him a 'feast': 39 oxen, 40 jars (^c 3) of beer, and 100 šw.

Departure for the North

925. His majesty sailed down-stream toward the Northland, that he might behold ¹⁰Amon, whose name is hidden from the gods.

Ceremonies at Elephantine

His majesty arrived at Elephantine; then his majesty sailed across to Elephantine, he arrived at the temple of Khnum-Re, lord of the cataract, ¹¹and he caused this god to be brought forth in splendor. He made a great festival offering, and he gave bread and beer for the gods of the two caverns. He appeased 'Nun' in his cavern.

Ceremonies at Thebes

926. Then his majesty sailed down-stream to the city Thebes of Amon. His majesty sailed to the frontier^a of Thebes (*W³ s' t*), and he entered the temple of Amon-Re, lord of Thebes. There came to his majesty the servant of the great —,^b and the lay priests of the temple of Amon-Re, ¹³lord of Thebes, and they brought to him garlands for Amon, whose name is hidden. As for his majesty, his heart rejoiced when he saw this temple. He brought forth Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, in splendor, and there was celebrated a great feast in the whole land.

Departure for the Delta

927. ¹⁴His majesty sailed down-stream to the Northland, while the west and the east made great jubilee, saying: "Welcome is thy coming, and welcome thy ka! To sustain alive the Two Lands; ^{c15}to erect the temples which have begun to fall to ruin; to set up their statues in their shrines; to give divine offerings to the gods and goddesses, and mortuary offerings to the glorified (dead); ¹⁶to put the priest in his place; to

^aOr: "into" (*r hn ehoun*), as in the Piankhi inscription.

^bEvidently a priestly title.

^cThe following evidently refers to the ruin and disorganization resulting from the Assyrian invasions.

furnish all things of the sacred property." As for those who had fighting in their hearts,^a they became rejoicers.

Capture of Memphis

928. When his majesty arrived at Memphis, there came forth ¹⁷the children of rebellion, to fight with his majesty. His majesty made a great slaughter among them; their number being unknown. His majesty took Memphis, and he entered into the temple of ¹⁸Ptah, "South-of-His-Wall;" he made a great festival oblation for Ptah-Sokar; he appeased Sekhmet, the great, who loves him.

New Buildings in Napata

929. As for his majesty, his heart was glad in giving ¹—¹ to his father, Amon, of Napata. His majesty issued a command concerning it, ¹⁹to Nubia (*T² pd¹ t*), to build for him a hall anew; it was not found built in the time of the ancestors. His majesty caused it to be built of stone, mounted with gold;^b ²⁰its panel^c was of cedar ²¹incensed with myrrh of Punt. The double doors thereof were of electrum, ²²the two bolts (*krty*) of ¹tin¹ (*Tyhty*). He built for him another hall at the rear exit, for furnishing his milk ²³of his numerous herds, in tens of thousands, thousands, hundreds, and tens; the number of the young calves ²⁴with their mothers was unknown.

Campaign in the Delta

930. Now, after these things, his majesty sailed north, to fight with the chiefs of the North. ²⁵Then they entered their strongholds [^{as beasts crawl into}¹] their holes. Then his majesty spent many days before them, (but) there came not forth one ²⁶of them to fight with his majesty. Then his majesty sailed southward to Memphis.

Arrival of the Delta Dynasts

931. He sat in his palace deliberating and counseling with ²⁷his heart how to cause his army to reach and to ¹—¹ them. Then his army said that one had come to report to him, saying: "These chiefs come

^aLit., "Those (*wnn*) in whose hearts was to fight, they, etc."

^bHere begins the back of the stela.

^cOr tablet.

to the place ²⁸where his majesty is, [O king], our lord." Said his majesty: "Come they to fight? Come they to submit,^a they shall live from this hour." They said ²⁹[to] his majesty: "They come to submit to (*bk*) the king, our lord." Said his majesty: "As for my lord, this august god, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, residing in the Pure Mountain, great and 'excellent' god, whose name is 'known', vigilant [—] ³⁰for his beloved, and giving valor to him who serves him; he who possesses his plans does not go astray; nor doth he whom he leads err. Behold, he told (it) me by night, ³¹and I behold (it) by day."^b Said his majesty: "Where are they in this hour?" Said they before his majesty: "They are here, waiting at the hall (^c *ryt*)." "

Submission of the Delta Dynasts

932. Then his majesty went forth ³²from his [palace] to —, as Re shines in his bright dwelling. He found them prostrate upon their bellies, kissing the ground to his majesty. Said his majesty: "Lo, it is true that which he uttered, ³³the word 'of his design. Lo, he knows what' shall happen. It is the decree of the god; (hence) it comes to pass. I swear as Re loves me, as Amon favors me in his house, 'behold, I saw' this august god, Amon ³⁴of Napata, residing in the Pure Mountain, while he was standing^c by me, he said to me: 'I am thy leader in^d every way. Thou mayest not say: "Would that I had^e" ³⁵" Then they answered him, saying: "Lo, this god, ³⁶he hath [revealed] to thee the beginning; he hath completed for thee the 'end' in prosperity. Lo, thou dost not [—] —^f that comes out of his mouth, O king, our lord." Then the hereditary prince of Per-Soped, Pekrur^g (*P³ -krr*), arose to speak, saying: ³⁷"Thou slayest whom thou wilt; and lettest live whom thou wilt [—] —^h." They answered him with one accord, saying:

^aLit., "to serve," or "labor" (*bk*), the word for pay taxes. The second question is likewise a protasis.

^bSchaefer suggests: "That which he told me by night, I have seen by day."

^cCompare the dream of Merneptah, III, 582. ^dLit., "to every way."

^eThe conclusion of Tanutamon's speech is fragmentary, and hopelessly obscure. Enough remains to show that it consisted only of pious phrases of no historical importance. It is evident that he is telling the subject chiefs that their submission is only the fulfilment of Amon's promise to him.

^fThe text is uncertain.

^gLit., "The Frog," the same as Coptic "Pekroure;" see Steindorff, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1892, 63.

"Give to us breath, O lord of life, ³⁸without whom there is no life. Let us serve (*bk*) thee^a like the serfs who are subject to thee, as thou^b saidest at the first on the day when thou wert crowned as king." The heart of his majesty rejoiced when he heard this word, ³⁹and he gave to them bread, beer, and every good thing.

Dismissal of the Delta Dynasts

933. Now, when some days had passed, after these events, and ¹everything had been given in plenty¹ — —, they said: "Wherefore are we (still) here, O king, our lord?" Said ⁴⁰his majesty: "Wherefore!" Said they to his majesty: "Let us go to our cities, that we may command our peasant-serfs that we may bring (*j' y' n*) our impost (*bk*) to the court." His majesty (let) them go ⁴¹to their cities, and they became ¹subjects^{1, c}.

Brief Reign at Memphis

934. The Southerners went north, and the Northerners went south to the place where his majesty was, bearing every good thing of the Southland, and all provision ⁴²of the Northland, to satisfy the heart of his majesty, (when¹) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Bekere, Son of Re, Tanutamon, L. P. H., appeared upon the throne of Horus, forever.

^aLit., "labor for (pay taxes to) him" (*bk' n nf*).

^bThe change of person is in the original.

^cSchaefer read *hs/y(w)*.

THE TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY

REIGN OF PSAMTIK I

ADOPTION STELA OF NITOCRIS^a

935. This document has thrown a flood of light on the dynastic connections in the Ethiopian and Saitic period, and its discovery was especially welcome, in view of the paucity of contemporary monuments from this age. It may be described as a decree of adoption and property-conveyance. It records the adoption of Nitocris, the daughter of Psamtik I, by a Shepnupet, daughter of Taharka, the Divine Votress, or sacerdotal princess, at Thebes. Shepnupet transfers all her property to Nitocris, and the purpose of the adoption was that the family of Psamtik I might legally gain control of this property, as well as the position which it entailed at Thebes.

936. The beginning of the document is lost, and it now commences in the middle of a speech of Psamtik I to his court, announcing his purpose to have his daughter Nitocris adopted by Shepnupet. The court responds with the usual encomiums. In the ninth year of Psamtik I, therefore, Nitocris proceeds to Thebes, where she is received with acclamation, and the property of Shepnupet is formally conveyed to her, a full invoice of her estate being appended.

937. The stela shows that Psamtik had gained full control of Thebes by his ninth year, and that Tanutamun had, therefore, lost Upper Egypt before that time. The status of Thebes is much the same as under the Ethiopians, Men-

^aRed granite stela, nearly 6 feet high, and 4½ feet wide, found by Legrain at Karnak in 1897; now in Cairo. The top is broken off and missing; published by Legrain (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 35, 16-19); translated by Erman (*ibid.*, 24-29), on whose rendering the present translation is largely based

temhet, the favorite of Taharka,^a was still its prince, showing that some of the old feudal dynasts still survived under Psamtik I.^b The High Priest of Amon occupies a completely subordinate position; he possesses no political influence, and his subordinate, the third prophet of Amon, contributes as much as he to the revenues of Nitocris.

938. The adoption of Nitocris, and the similar adoption of her predecessor, Shepnupet, as well as the adoption of Amenirdis by the same Shepnupet, render it clear that this was the usual method of succession in the Ethiopian and Saitic periods, and much simplifies the royal family connections of the time. Already, as early as 1885, Erman had noticed that Nitocris was but the adoptive mother of Enekhnesneferibre.^c A stela, recounting this adoption, which is a second Adoption Stela (§§ 988A-988J) has now been discovered at Karnak. They furnish the following chronology of the Theban princesses:

Adoption of Nitocris: year 9 of Psamtik I, 654 B. C.

Death of Shepnupet II: Unknown date ———.

Induction of Nitocris: unknown date ———.

Adoption of Enekhnesneferibre: year 1 of Psamtik II, 593 B. C.

^aThat this is the same Mentemhet as the one under Taharka, is shown by the name of his eldest son, Nesuptah, the same whom we find in the records of Mentemhet under Taharka (§ 903).

^bThe old principality of Heracleopolis also still survived, at least into the third generation of the Saite line; for there was a prince of Heracleopolis named Hor, son of Psamtik. The father must have been born not earlier than the time of Psamtik I. Hor built considerably on his own account at Heracleopolis; cf. statue inscription in Louvre (see §§ 967 ff.). A chapel was also built by one *P-drps* (in the year 51 of Psamtik I at Pharbæthus), who may also have been a local prince; cf. Berlin stela (No. 8438); Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, IV, 797 = Revilout, *Revue égyptologique*, I, 33). Compare also the buildings or temple works of Nesuhor at Elephantine (§§ 989 ff.).

^cIn Schweinfurth, "Alte Baureste im Uadi Gasûs" (*Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie*, 1885).

Death of Nitocris: year 4 of Apries, 584 B. C.

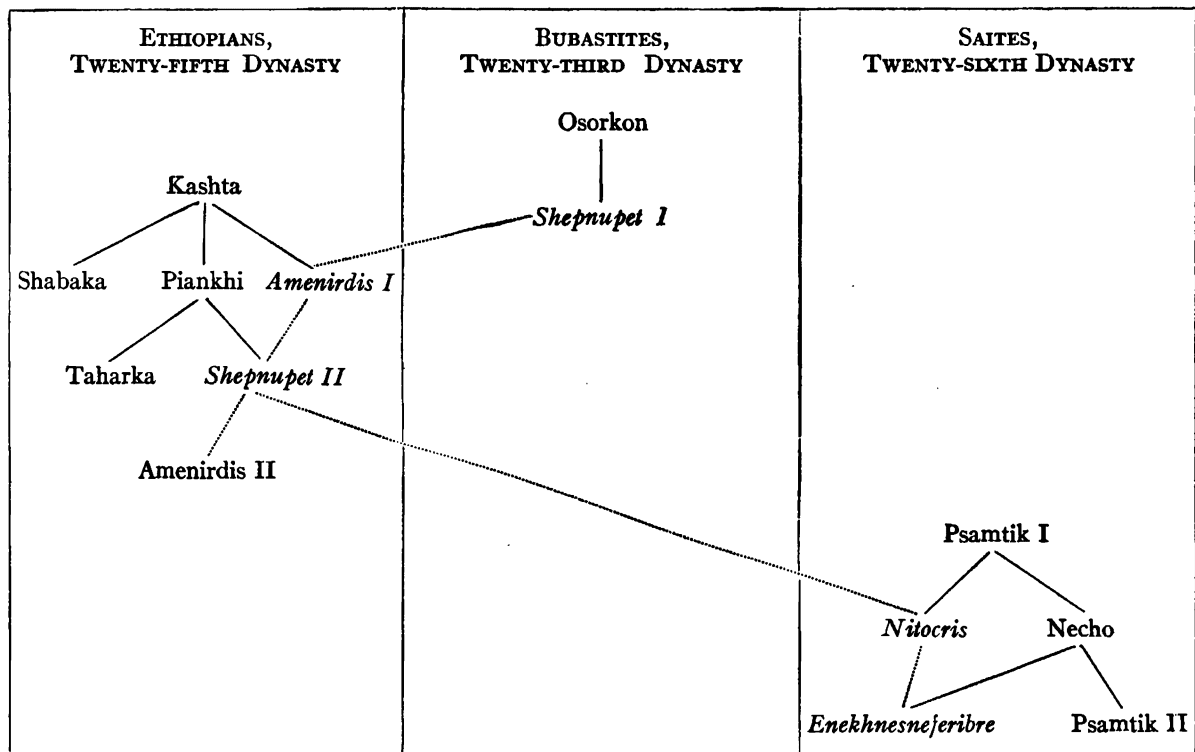
Induction of Enekhnesneferibre: year 4 of Apries, 584 B. C.

Death of Enekhnesneferibre: after Psamtik III, not earlier than 525 B. C.

939. These stelæ and other contemporary monuments enable us to reconstruct the following genealogy,^a tracing the succession of these sacerdotal princesses from the Twenty-third to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. Incidentally, this reconstruction discloses important relationships among the Ethiopian rulers.

^aNames of princesses are in italics; dotted lines indicate adoption. Essentially the same table in so far as the princesses are concerned was drawn up by Daressy, *Recueil*, XX, 84; then by Erman, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 35, 29.

940.



941. In this table the most important difficulty is the identity of Piankhi, a question not raised in Erman's discussion.^a There were at least three Piankhis,^c and nowhere is Piankhi, brother of Amenirdis I, identified by his throne-name; nor do we know the throne-name of the great Piankhi. In view of the fact that Piankhi, brother of Amenirdis I, appointed her to succeed the daughter of an Osorkon, and we know that Piankhi the Great overthrew an Osorkon of the Twenty-third Dynasty (§ 872), it can hardly be doubted that Amenirdis I's brother is the great Piankhi. The chronological considerations (§§ 810 ff.) also demand that the great Piankhi shall be dated in the same general period involved in the position occupied by Piankhi, brother of Amenirdis I in the table.

Psamtik's Declaration of Adoption

942. ^{b2}"I am his son, first in the favor of the father of the gods, offering to the gods; whom^c he begat for himself, to satisfy his heart. I have given to him my daughter, to be Divine Consort, that she may invoke protection for the king¹ more than those who were before her; that he may indeed be satisfied with her prayers, and that he may protect the land of ³him who gave her to him."

"Lo, I have now heard saying, a king's-daughter of Taharka,^d

^a*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 35, 29.

^{c1}. *Wsr-m* > *c* *t-R* < *P* < *nhy* (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, V, 14, a-d).

^{c2}. *Snr-R* < *P* < *nhy* (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, V, 14, l).

^{c3}. *Mn-hpr-R* < *P* < *nhy* (Louvre Stela, 100; Rougé, *Notice*, 116). One of these must have been the great conqueror Piankhi. See fuller list, Petrie, *History*, III, 267 f.

^bSeveral lines are lost at the beginning; of the line numbered 1, the first half is lost, and the second is unintelligible.

^cRefers to "son."

^dHorus-name, *K* > *h* < *w*, followed by "Good God" and erased cartouche. This daughter of Taharka, as Erman has observed, is doubtless the same as the Amenardis of l. 16, who had already shared in the property of the sacred office. But as her predecessor, Shepnupet, was not yet dead, she had not yet succeeded to the office. This Amenardis is now supplanted as "Great Daughter" by Nitocris, daughter of Psamtik I.

triumphant, is there whom he gave to his sister to be her 'Great Daughter,' who is there as 'Divine Votress' (*Ntr-dw*^a *t*). I am not one^a to expel an heir from his place, for I am a king who loves 'truth; my particular abomination is lying; (I am) a son protecting his father, taking the inheritance of Keb, uniting the two portions as a youth. Hence I give her^b to her,^c to be her 'Great Daughter' as her^c father^d (once) conveyed her^c to (his) sister."^e

Response of the Court

943. Then ⁵they bowed to the ground, they gave thanks to the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Wahibre (Psamtik I), living forever; and they said: "Abiding and enduring through eternity! Thy every command shall abide and endure. How beautiful is this which the god doeth for thee! How excellent is that which thy father doeth for thee!⁶ He loves to remember thy ka, and he rejoices at the mention of thy name, O Horus, 'Great-of-Heart,' King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Psamtik I, living forever. He has done this as his monument for his father, Amon, lord of heaven, ruler of gods. He hath given his beloved eldest daughter, Nitocris (*Nt-ykr* *t*), ⁷whose 'beautiful name' is Shepnupet, to be Divine Consort, to play the sistrum before his (Amon's) beautiful face."

Nitocris Proceeds to Thebes

944. In the year 9, first month of the first season (first month), day 28, went forth his eldest daughter from the king's family apartments, clad in fine linen, and newly adorned with malachite. The attendants conducting her were legion in number, ⁸and marshals cleared the path, for beginning the goodly way to the harbor, to turn up-stream for Thebes. The vessels bearing her were very numerous, the crews were mighty men; and they were deeply laden ¹to the decks¹ with every good thing of the king's-palace. ⁹The commander thereof was the sole companion, nomarch of Heracleopolis, commander in chief of the army,

^aThe sense is clear, but the construction is entirely uncertain.

^bNitocris.

^cShepnupet, sister of Taharka.

^dPiankhi.

^ePiankhi's sister, Amenardis, as shown by Berlin 7972; Greene, *Fouilles*, 8, 1, and Lieblein, *St. Petersburg*, II, 7. See Erman, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 35, 29.

chief of the harbor, Somtous-Tefnakhte.^a Messengers sailed to the South, to make splendid provision before her. Sail was set 「— — — —」.
^{b1}°The great men took their weapons, and every noble 「had」 his provision, supplied with every good thing: bread, beer, oxen, geese, 「—」, dates, herbs, and every good thing. One transferred (her) to his neighbor, until she reached Thebes.

Reception in Thebes

945. ¹¹In the year 9, second month of the first season (second month), day 14,^c they arrived at the city of the gods, Thebes. As she advanced, she found (all) Thebes, men and women alike, standing, rejoicing at her approach, surrounding her ¹²with great offerings, a multitude in number. Then they said: "The daughter of the King of Upper Egypt, Nitocris, comes to the house of Amon, that he may receive her and be satisfied with her. The daughter of the King of Lower Egypt, Shepnupet, comes to Karnak, that the gods therein may honor her. Every monument of ¹³the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Psamtik (I), abides and endures forever and ever. Amon, lord of heaven, king of gods, hath received what his son, Horus, 'Great-of-Heart,' living forever and ever, made for him. Amon, ruler of gods, hath praised that which his son, Favorite of the Two Goddesses, Nebe (*Nb-^c*), living forever and ever, made for him. ¹⁴. . . . The reward therefore is with Amon,^d and with Montu,^d even a million years of life, a million years of stability, a million years of satisfaction. All health and joy of heart are with them for their beloved son, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Wahibre, ¹⁵Son of Re, Psamtik (I), living forever and ever."^e

Conveyance of the Fortune

946. Now, afterward when she came to the Divine Votress, Shepnupet, ¹⁶she saw her, was satisfied with her, and loved her beyond every-

^aA Heracleopolitan of the same name and the same office appears under Piankhi after the conquest, at Thebes (Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*); as the ninth year of Psamtik is some seventy-five years later, the two men are not the same, but probably father and son.

^bThe text as published is not in order, but it is evident that the fleet here sails away from Sais.

^cOnly sixteen days after leaving Sais.

^dEpithets omitted above.

^eThe gods have given him the kingship.

thing. She conveyed to her the fortune (*ymy-pr*) which her father and her mother had conveyed to her and to her 'Great Daughter,' Amenardis, king's-daughter of King —, triumphant. It was put into writing concerning them, saying: "We^a have given to thee^b all our property in field and in town. Thou abidest upon our throne, abiding ¹⁷and enduring forever and ever." The witnesses concerning them were the prophets, the priests and all the adherents of the temple.

Inventory of the Fortune

947. List of all the property given to her 'by [them¹] in the towns and nomes of the South and North:

Lands

948. That which his (sic!) majesty gave to her in seven nomes of the Southland:

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| 1. In the district of Heracleopolis, the nome ¹⁸ called Yuna (<i>Yw-n</i>), which is in the district thereof | lands, 300 stat |
| 2. In the district of Oxyrhyncus, the estate of Putowe (<i>Pw-t² wy</i>), which is in the district thereof | lands, 300 stat |
| 3. In the district of Sep, the estate of Kewkew (<i>K³ w-k³ w</i>), which is in the district thereof | ¹⁹ lands, [300] stat |
| 4. In the district of the Hare nome, (Hermopolis), the estates of Nesumin, which are in the district thereof | 600 stat |
| 5. In the district of Aphroditopolis, (the town of) Kay (<i>K⁴ y</i>), which is in the district thereof | 300 stat |
| 6. ^c In the district of [—], the estate of Harsiese, which is in the district thereof | ²⁰ 200 stat |

All this added together lands, 1,800^d stat
together with all the income thereof from field and town; with their arid lands, and their canals.

^aThe pronoun refers to Shepnupet (II) and Amenardis.

^bFeminine.

^cThere should be seven nomes, according to the heading. The lacking nome, which was omitted by error of the scribes, has been added at the end of the inscription.

^dThe total is 2,000, but the discrepancy is, perhaps, explained by the uncertainty of the third item.

Revenues

949. Bread and beer given to the temple of Amon for her:

From the Prince of Thebes

That which the fourth prophet of Amon, prince of ²¹the city (Thebes), governor of the whole South, Mentemhet, gives to her:

Daily:

Bread	200 deben
Wine	5 hin
'Cakes' (§ 9)	1
Vegetables	1 bundle (<i>htp</i>)

Monthly:

Oxen	3
Geese	5

From His Son

950. That which his eldest son, chief of the prophets of Thebes, Nesuptah, gives to her:

Daily:

Bread	100 deben
Wine	2 hin
Vegetables	1 bundle (<i>htp</i>)

Monthly:

²² 'Cakes' (§ 9)	15
Beer	10 jars (<i>hbn</i>)
Lands of the region (<i>k c h t</i>) of Wawat	100 stat

From His Wife

951. That which the wife of the fourth prophet of Amon, Mentemhet (named): Uzarenes (*Wd³ -rns*), gives to her:

Daily:

Bread	100 deben
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From the High Priest of Amon

952. That which the High Priest of Amon, Harkheb (*Hr-hb*), gives to her:

Daily:

Bread 100 deben

Wine 2 hin

Monthly:

1Cakes1 (§ 9) 10

23Beer 5 jars (*hbn*)Vegetables 10 bundles (*htp*)*From the Third Prophet of Amon*

953. That which the third prophet of Amon, Pediamennebneštowe, gives to her:

Daily:

Bread 100 deben

Wine 2 hin

Monthly:

Beer 5 jars (*hbn*)

1Cakes1 (§ 9) 10

Vegetables 10 bundles (*htp*)*Summary*

954. Combined total:

Daily:

Bread 600 deben

Wine 11 hin

1Cakes1 (§ 9) $2\frac{1}{2}^a$ Vegetables $2\frac{2}{3}^a$ bundles

24Monthly:

Oxen 3

Geese 5

Beer 20 jars

Lands 100 stat

From the King

955. That which his majesty gives to her in the nome of Heliopolis in the temple of Atum, of the divine offerings (temple income), which his majesty founded:

Spelt 2 khar

^aIncluding also the monthly quota reduced to days.

after it has been offered in the (divine) presence daily, and the god has been satisfied therewith.

From the Temples

956. That which is given to her from the temples:

Sais	Bread	200 deben
²⁵ Buto	"	200 "
House of Hathor of the Malachite	"	100 "
Memphis ¹ (<i>Pr-ynbw</i>)	"	50 "
Kom el-Hisn	"	50 "
Per-Manu	"	50 "
The house (<i>c·t</i>) of Tharu	"	50 "
Tanis	"	100 "
House of Hathor	"	100 "
²⁶ Bubastis	"	100 "
Athribis	"	200 "
Mesta (<i>Mt-t</i>)	"	50 "
Bista (<i>By·s-t</i>)	"	50 "
House of Harsaphes, lord of Heracleopolis	"	100 "
Per-Seped (Saft-el-Henneh)	"	100 "
Combined total	Bread	1,500 deben

Further Lands

957. That which was given to her in four^a nomes of the Northland:

1. ²⁷In the district of Sais, the estates (*pr*) of the southern Bedwin, which are in the district thereof: lands 360 stat
2. In the district of Bista (*By·s-t*), the house (*c·t*) of Neferher (*Njr-hr*), which is in the district thereof: lands 500 stat
3. In the district of Thebu (*Tbw*), ²⁸— in the Barque of the Sycamore, which is in the district thereof 2¹/₄ stat
4. In the middle district of Heliopolis, "The-Wall-of-Hori," son of Zedti (*Ddt*), which is (also) "The-Wall-of-Psenmut," born of ²⁹Meretubekhet (*Mr·t-wbh·t*), which is in the district thereof 200 (+x) stat

Total lands of four nomes

1,400 stat

^aMiscopied 3 in the publication; see l. 29, and l. 30.

together with all the income thereof, from field and town; with their arid lands and their ³⁰canals.

Combined total:

Bread 2,100 deben

Lands in eleven nomes 3,300 stat

Abiding, abiding, conveyed, conveyed, imperishable and ineffaceable, forever and ever, forever and ever!

Land Omitted Above^a

958. In the district of — 'pep', with all its people, all its lands, and all its possessions in field and town.

STATUE INSCRIPTION OF THE CHIEF STEWARD, IBE^b

958A. This inscription records part of the career of Ibe, one of the nobles in attendance upon Nitocris, the daughter of Psamtik I, after her appointment as sacerdotal princess of Thebes. Ibe describes her installation (year 9), at the ceremonies of which he was present (§§ 958D–958E); and then narrates his appointment by the king as her chief steward [seventeen years later, in the year 26 (§ 958G)], for the purpose of restoring her palace. He arranged the affairs of the princess, and she spent a day with him in the temple, looking over her papers. He then conducted the restoration of her palace, involving the erection of one building a hundred cubits high (over 172 feet!). This is the only literary reference to the height of a dwelling in earlier Egypt. Ibe also built a palace-chapel of Osiris, assisted in the celebration of the feasts of Amon, and aided in the restoration of the Osirian tomb at Thebes.

^aThe scribe omitted this piece of land from the list in seven nomes (§ 948).

^bLimestone statue bought at Luxor by Legrain in 1903; it represents a standing figure broken off at the waist, the upper portion missing. A stela held before the figure bears the inscription. Published by Daressy, *Annales*, V, 94–96. The stone is friable and the surface much eroded, so that the text is very uncertain.

Introduction

958B. ¹—— chief steward of the Divine Consort, Ibe (*Yb*'), son of the priest (*mry' ntr*), Enekhhor (^c *nh-Hr*) ²—— . . . ³. . . ^a—— ⁴chief [steward] of my queen, his daughter, the Divine Consort ——.

Appointment of Nitocris

958C. A lacuna at this point evidently contained the statement that Psamtik I commanded the appointment of his daughter,

⁵His beloved, the great favorite of Amon, the sweet —, [daughter of] the beloved of Mut, Mehetnusekhet (*Mh' t-m-wsh' t*) to be Divine Consort, Divine Votress of Amon in Karnak.

Installation of Nitocris

958D. ⁶The chief ritual priest, divine scribe, prophets, divine fathers, priests (*w' b*), and the great companions of his majesty, were the suite of their queen. The whole land was in great festivity; an oblation — ⁷filled with every offering, [jubilating] to him, satisfying the heart; [by] the glorious one, great among the great, his beloved, the Divine Votress, Nitocris, who liveth; while the lay priesthood of the temple were following [her] ⁸— —¹. There was performed for her every customary ceremony, like the fashion of the coronation of her good lord, Amon — — radiance, like the sun (*Šw*). She caused — — ⁹that there be presented a great oblation; the lay priesthood brought the incense of favor, love, life,^b prosperity, and health for her father, Wahibre (*W' h-yb-R' c*, Psamtik I).

Nitocris Arrives at Her Theban Palace

958E. Her majesty proceeded — — ¹⁰to the palace, seated in her palanquin (*dm' t' t*), the poles (thereof) being made anew, of silver and gold, inlaid with every genuine costly stone,^c and she caused [that there be offered]^{1c} — —.

^aFragments of a mortuary prayer for Ibe, whose title is, perhaps, partially preserved at the beginning of l. 4.

^bSee II, 960.

^cOr: "given to her [beside them] — —."

Decay of the Palace of Nitocris

958F. ¹¹Year 26, second month of the first season, day 3. ^aOn this day¹,^a his majesty [— — — —]. His majesty sent those who were in his suite, — — ¹²of the Southland, prophets, and priests (*w^c b*) of Amon, and sacred women of Amon. They came, saying: "His majesty has heard that the house of the Divine Votress of Amon ¹³is beginning to fall to ruin."

Appointment of Ibe as Chief Steward of Nitocris to Carry Out Restoration

958G. These people also bring with them a command of the king that

There should be appointed ¹⁴the king's-confidant, Ibe, as chief steward of the Divine Consort, and that there should be collected for him all his things which should go [for the payment¹] of the works, ¹⁵[an]d that they should be delivered to all the scribes and inspectors sent with the business of the house of the Divine Votress, as many as they were. The list of every day — — — ¹⁶—————¹ utensils of silver, gold, copper, [—], [everything] of the White House.

Ibe's Administration

958H. ¹⁷I [filled¹] her granaries with [wheat¹], spelt, and all fruits. I multiplied her cattle yards with bullocks, [obliged¹] her officials to pay dues — — ¹⁸all of them. I conserved everything by exaction in — throughout.

Nitocris Spends a Day Inspecting Her Affairs

958I. — — he [went¹] to receive her in the temple of Amon — —. ¹⁹She spent the day sealing [— —] of the house.

Here she seems to have inspected

²⁰All her affairs of the myriad of years which every excellent king lives.

Ibe Conducts the Restoration of the Palace of Nitocris

958J. I built her refectory (*w^c b^t*) by the side of the king's-house (*pr stny*), ([called¹]): "Khonsu-of [— —]^b as an eternal work, everything

^aOr: "([the coronation day¹] of his majesty."

^bAmon ?

was a work of — ²¹— in it, — her house (*h·t*) in the pure house (*pr*) of her father, Amon, which her father, Re, made for her in the first beginning (*sp tpy*), 100 cubits high, and 100 cubits wide — — — — ²²built in all its —. Its — was of stone, its pavement was of stone, every 'altar' found in it, its tables — ²³without 'number'. Its ceiling (lit., heaven) was of electrum, inlaid with every genuine costly stone.

Ibe Builds a Palace-Chapel of Osiris

958K. I erected a temple (*h·t-ntr*) beside it for her lord, Osiris-Wennofer, of 'all' excellent work. His barque — ²⁴— like Re in his horizon. The portable image of his majesty was fashioned of electrum, inlaid with every genuine costly stone, together with statues of her^a body of electrum — — — ²⁵— to her palace in her 'barge' before the — place.

Celebration of Amon's Feasts

958L. Ibe then narrates how the god (Amon) was brought forth in procession, with his sacred women who accompanied Nitocris,

At his feast which the land celebrated for him on the sixth of the month; 'whereof the like was done' beside the upper gate of Amon-Re '—' — with her father at his feast of the first month of the third season (Pakhons) ²⁶—.

Restoration and Furniture of the Osirian Tomb?

958M. She filled his secret cavern^b with brick, with ['all'] 'genuine things' that he desired. Its doors were of cedar, the pavement of '— — — —' which the queen (*hn·t*), L. P. H., '—', Divine Votress, Nitocris, fashioned '————' ²⁷— — Great Divine Consort, Mehet-nusekhet, likewise in everything; 'in order^c to bury' a multitude of their vessels, even all their^d offering-tables of the temple, of silver, gold, and every costly stone. I founded their divine offerings, of bread, beer, cattle, fowl, linen, ointment, wine, milk, '—', and vegetables as daily [offerings 'without'] ²⁸number.^e

^aNitocris.

^bThe Osirian tomb of Amon?

^c*Yw* for *r*, both being pronounced 'e.'

^dIt is not certain to whom this "their" (and again in this line) refers.

^eThe remainder of the line is chiefly an obscure asseveration of faithfulness by Ibe.

FIRST SERAPEUM STELA^a

959. This is the important stela which shows that Taharka immediately preceded Psamtik I. The deceased Apis died just before the beginning of Psamtik I's twenty-first year, having lived twenty-one years, two months, and seven days. As the animal was born in the twenty-sixth year of Taharka, it is evident that Taharka was the predecessor of Psamtik I, with a possible interval between them of not more than one or two months. The stela is further important as indicating that the years of the king's reign coincided with the years of the civil calendar. The Apis died on the twenty-first of the twelfth month in Psamtik's twentieth year. At the expiration of the ceremonial seventy days, the burial took place on the twenty-fifth of the second month in the king's twenty-first year. The transition from year 20 to year 21 evidently fell on New Year's Day (see also § 984).

Death of Apis

960. Year 20, fourth month of the third season (twelfth month), day 21; under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Wahibre (*W³ h-ḡb-R^c*); Son of Re, of his body, Psamtik (*Psmṯk*) I; went forth the majesty of Apis, the Living Son, to heaven.

Burial of Apis

961. This god was conducted in peace to the Beautiful West in the year 21, second month of the first season (second month), (on) the twenty-fifth day.

Birth and Age

962. Now, he was born in the year 26 of King Taharka; he was received into Memphis in the fourth month of the second season (eighth month), (on) the ninth day; which makes 21 years, 2 months 7 days^{1, b}

^aLouvre, No. 190; published: Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, III, Pl. 36; Piehl, *Inscriptions*, I, XXII, C; Revillout, *Revue égyptologique*, VII, 138; Chassinat, *Recueil*, 18, 19. I had also my own copy of the original.

^bAfter the "2 months" there is a hieratic 7, and before it a half-circle, which is probably the sign for day.

SECOND SERAPEUM STELA^a

963. This inscription has heretofore been understood as recording both repairs in the Serapeum or a sanctuary of Apis,^b and the burial of an Apis deceased under Psamtik I. The true import of the inscription is totally different. There is no reference to an Apis which died in Psamtik I's reign, but only the record of the restoration by him, of an old interment, on receiving a report that the coffin was so fallen to pieces that the body of the sacred animal was exposed to view.

Date

964. In the year 52 under the majesty of this Good God (Psamtik I),^c came one to say to his majesty:

Message

965. "The temple^d of thy father, Osiris-Apis, and the things therein are beginning to fall to ruin. The divine limbs are visible in his coffin,^e decay has laid hold of his (mortuary) chests."

Restoration

966. His majesty commanded restoration in his temple,^d and that it should be more beautiful than that which was there before. His majesty caused that there be done for him all that is done for a god on the day of interment. Every office had its duties, that the divine limbs might be splendid in ointment, wrappings of royal linen, and all the

^aLarge stela found by Mariette in the Serapeum, now in the Louvre (No. 239); published by Mariette, *Renseignements*, 11 f. (not seen); I had my own copy of the original.

^bBrugsch (*Geschichte*, 741, 742) and Wiedemann (*Aegyptische Geschichte*, 619, 620).

^cHis fivefold titulary immediately precedes.

^dAs the context shows, "*temple*" (*h'-t-ntr*) is here the sepulcher of an Apis, and must mean an alcove of the Serapeum, in which an Apis was entombed. If this stone had not been found in the Serapeum, we should think such a burial chapel as that erected by Amenhotep III for an Apis, was meant.

^eThis (*wn*) must have been a wooden coffin, which was so decayed that the body of the Apis could be seen.

raiment of a god. His (mortuary) chests were of ked wood, meru wood, and cedar wood, of the choicest of every wood. Their 'troops'^a were subjects of the palace,^b while a king's-companion stood over^c them, levying their labor for the court,^d like the land of Egypt.

May he be given life, stability, satisfaction, like Re, forever and ever.

STATUE INSCRIPTION OF HOR^e

967. This fragmentary inscription, like that of Pefnef-dineit (§§ 1015 ff.) and Nesuhor (§§ 989 ff.) illustrates the excessively religious spirit of the Saitic age. Hor was military commander at Heracleopolis, where he executed considerable additions, or at least restorations, in the temple of Harsaphes.^f These he has recorded upon his votive statue in some detail. His reference to the use of cedar from the royal domain would be more important if the king under whom he served were mentioned,^g as it shows that the forests of Lebanon were under the control of the Pharaoh at this time.

Introduction

968. ——— 1benefactions in Heracleopolis, watchful in restoring Ner (*N* ^c *r*), making Heracleopolis prosper, repelling her obstructors

^aThis word is written with three standing men with feathers upon their heads. The reference to "*Egypt*" at the end would indicate that they were not Egyptians, and the feathers point to Libyans. The antecedent of "*their*" is also in doubt.

^bRead *c h c*.

^cSpiegelberg's interpretation (*Recueil*, 26, 43, 1) involves making "*kings-companion*" plural, while the text shows a singular.

^dOr: "*collecting their impost into the court.*"

^eOn his black granite statue, now in the Louvre (A 88); published by Pierret (*Recueil d'Inscriptions*, I, 14-21); and partially by Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1251, 1252. I had a copy of the Berlin squeeze, kindly made for me by Schaefer.

^fOther examples of nobles building temples will be found in the Northern Oasis (Steindorff, *Königlich-Sächsische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1900, 226).

^gOur insertion of the inscription in the reign of Psamtik I is conjectural.

when the 'filthy'^a lay in her streets as in a stable; repelling '—' from her district, chief of Heracleopolis, commander of the army, Hor, son of the chief of 'militia' (§§) in the district of Busiris, Psamtik, born of the matron, Nefrusebek; he saith:

Prayer

969. "O divine lord, Khnum, king of the Two Lands, ruler of lands, sole god, whose qualities none possesses;^b I am 'zealous', showing allegiance to thee. I have filled my heart with thee, the prosperous way of him who follows thy majesty. Thou hast made my heart, that my heart might be vigilant in pursuit of genuine things^c ———."

Temple Court

970. "———^a in the great forecourt of Harsaphes, as a great work without its like; a colonnade of pink granite, the doors of fine cedar of the (royal) domain, many — of gold like the horizon of heaven. Its south and north walls are of fine limestone of Ayan, the lintels of pink granite, overlaid with gold, the door with electrum."

Temple Hall

971. "I restored the southern aisle (*Ytwr*), and the northern aisle, and the southern and northern aisle in this place, besides the house of Nehebkau."

Temple Lake and Furniture

972. "I built the rear wall of the pool 'of' the shore, I seized the place ———^a I beautified the broad-hall of the 'militia' (§§) behind the tomb,^d in order to make for me a great work in the house (*pr*) of Harsaphes, lord of gods, '— —'. I gave two pieces of land (*hsp*) before the great god '— — — —'. I gave¹ wine '—' every day; I rewarded '—' with goods from my house, I beautified them, (for) I knew that the abomination of a god is withholding. I made their two offering-tablets

^aIs this a term of contempt for a foreign foe, referring to the expulsion of an Assyrian garrison?

^bThis is the phrase applied to the sun-god, Aton, in the great hymn (see my *De Hymnis in Solem sub Rege Amenophide IV Conceptis*, 47, l. 50, where the end is to be amended thus: *ntr w c nn ky hr sp w f*).

^cFor the god's temple.

^d*Hbs-bg't*; see Brugsch, *Wörterbuch*, 456.

of white stone (*ds*), in order to present the divine offerings upon them: one being in the pit of the coffin, the place where Atum, the old man, goes to rest; the other in "None-Prosper-Against-Him,"^a before King Wennofer ——— his gods, I filled up what was found empty^b in his house."

Feast of Bast

973. "I brought out Bast in procession to her barge, at her beautiful feast of the fourth month of the second season (eighth month), the fifth day until [—]."

Concluding Prayer

"I have done these things with a glad heart, without ——. I have opened 'to thee' my arms and extended my embrace 'before [thee]' — work '[— —]' which was in my heart, while making monuments in thy house. Endue me with life, prosperity, and health '[— —]' which is in my heart in thy temple. Give me revered old age, spending a long life in happiness, possessing all favor of the ruler of lands (the king), while my name endures in Heracleopolis until the coming of eternity."

^aName of a place.

^bReferring to broken inscriptions which he restored.

REIGN OF NECHO

SERAPEUM STELA^a

974. This stela furnishes the data for computing the exact length of Psamtik I's reign. Having lived sixteen years, seven months and seventeen days, this Apis died in the sixteenth year of Necho, on the sixth of the second month. The bulk of his life fell in the reign of Necho, and he was only one year, six months, and eleven days old at the accession of Necho. This period of his life thus coincided with the last year, six months and eleven days of Necho's predecessor, Psamtik I. Now, the Apis was born in the fifty-third year of Psamtik I, on the nineteenth of the sixth month; hence the total length of Psamtik I's reign was the sum of

	52	years,	5	months,	19	days
and	<u>1</u>	"	<u>6</u>	"	<u>11</u>	"
or	54 years, 0 months, 0 days.					

975. This would indicate that Psamtik ruled an even number of complete years,^b but we cannot suppose that Psamtik I died on the last day of the year; it is evident that he died in the fifty-fifth year of his reign, and that the fraction of that incomplete year was, after his death, included in the first year of his successor, Necho. It is thus clear that the years of the king's reign in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty began on New Year's Day. We have already reached the same conclusion from the first Serapeum Stela of Psamtik I (§ 959).

^aLouvre, No. 193; published by Piehl, *Inscriptions*, I, XXI, A; Chassinat, *Recueil*, 22, 21. I had also my own copy of the original.

^bThe scribe's computation ignores the 5 epagomenæ; the Apis was really 16 years, 7 months, and 22 days old.

Date

976. ¹Year 16, fourth month of the first season (fourth month), day 16, under the majesty of Horus: Wise-hearted (*Šyꜣ-yb*); King of Upper and Lower Egypt;^a Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Triumphant; Golden Horus: Beloved-of-the-Gods; ²Uhemibre; Son of Re, of his body, his beloved: Necho, living forever, beloved of Apis, son of Osiris.

Burial of Apis

977. ³The day^b of the interment of this god. This god was conducted in peace to the necropolis, to let him assume his place in his temple in the western desert of ⁴“Life-of-the-Two-Lands,” after there had been done for him all that is done in the pure house, as it was done formerly.

Life of Apis

978. He was born ⁵in the year 53, second month of the second season (sixth month), day 19, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Wahibre; Son of Re: Psamtik (I), triumphant. ⁶He was [rece]ived into the house of Ptah in the year 54, third month of the first season (third month), day 12. He departed from life ⁷[in the year] 16, second month of the first season (second month), day 6. The total of his length of life was 16 years, 7 months, and 17 days.

Tomb and Equipment of Apis

979. The majesty of ⁸the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Necho, living forever, made all the coffins and every thing excellent and profitable for this august god. ⁹He built for him his place in the necropolis, of fine limestone of Ayan, of excellent workmanship. Never happened the like ¹⁰since the beginning. That he might be given all life, stability, satisfaction, health, and joy of heart, like Re, forever and ever.

^aThis title has been inserted by the scribe in the wrong place after the Horus-name.

^bThe date at the top; it is just 70 days after his death, as dated in the document (l. 7).

BUILDING INSCRIPTION^a

980. The inscription shows that Uzahor superintended the quarries at Assuan during the building operations of Necho. Like the old officials stationed at this place from the Sixth Dynasty on, he was "*governor of the door*," or frontier post, of the southern countries.

Revered by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Uhemibre (Necho), like Re. Hereditary prince and count (*rp^cty*, *h³ty^c*), governor of the door of the countries, Uzahor (*Wd³-Hr*), he says: "I was commander of works upon the mountain ———, to make great obelisks of granite, and all monuments of diorite (*bhn*) and granite for the ———."

^aFrom a statue bought by Petrie at Memphis; published, *Season*, XXI, 5, and 26.

REIGN OF PSAMTIK II

STATUE INSCRIPTION OF NEFERIBRE-NOFER^a

981. This fragmentary document contains a few references to the building activity of Psamtik II, of whose reign we know so little. Neferibre-nofer was a "*magazine overseer*," who can have been no other than the Neferibre-nofer, of another statue^b at Cairo, who held the same office under Psamtik II, and bore also the name Irhoro (*Yry-hr-^c*). Besides being tutor and guardian of the king, he also held the rank of "*hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal, and sole companion*."

Omitting unessential and fragmentary self-praise, the building references are these:

982. Neferibre-³nofer, to whom the Two Lands recount their hearts, and repeat to him all their thoughts; [I¹who ⁴pleases¹] King Neferibre (Psamtik II) by doing that which is his desire, when he commands to protect their^c holy places, beautifying the Two Lands — ⁵. ⁷. . . . He built the temple of the lord of eternity, ⁸erecting a pyramidion (*bmbn[¹ t]*) in Mehenet of Sais, in work I¹— fine limestone of Ayan; ⁹obelisks of Elephantine granite, houses for the first time for Neit; a (portable) barque-shrine (*wts-nj^r t*) of fine gold, inlaid with every splendid costly stone ¹⁰.

983. The very fragmentary remainder (ll. 10-16) contains references to liberal offerings to the gods, "*for the sake of the life, prosperity and health of King Psamtik (II), living like Re*."

^aBlack granite statue in Cairo; published by Daressy, *Recueil*, XVI, 46, 47 (C).

^bGray granite statue; published by Mariette, *Monuments divers*, 29, a, 1-5 = Piehl, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1887, 120-22.

^cThe gods?

REIGN OF APRIES

SERAPEUM STELA^a

984. From this stela we can compute the length of the combined reigns of Necho and Psamtik II. The Apis commemorated died on the twelfth day of the eighth month in the twelfth year of Apries, being seventeen years, six months, and five days old; hence his life began five years, ten months, and twenty-three days before the accession of Apries. As the animal's birth fell on the seventh of the second month in the sixteenth year of Necho, the lapse of time from the accession of Necho to that of Apries (or to the death of Psamtik II) is the sum of

$$\begin{array}{rcl} & 15 \text{ years, } 1 \text{ month, } 7 \text{ days} \\ \text{and} & \underline{5} \text{ " } \underline{10} \text{ months, } \underline{23} \text{ "} \\ \text{or} & 21 \text{ years, } 0 \text{ months, } 0 \text{ days.} \end{array}$$

The combined reigns of Necho and Psamtik II, therefore, lasted exactly twenty-one years.^b It is noticeable, also, that, as above (§ 975), the fraction of Psamtik II's last or incomplete year is not counted, but his reign is concluded with the end of his last complete year, as if Apries had begun to reign on New Year's Day.

985. Since the above was written the conclusion reached has received interesting confirmation by the discovery of the

^aLouvre, No. 240; published by Mariette (*Choix de monuments du Sérapéum*, Pl. VII); thence by Bunsen (*Egypt's Place*, 2d ed., V, 738-40); Piehl, (*Inscriptions*, I, XXI, B); Birch (*Egyptian Texts*, 39-41); Chassinat (*Recueil*, 18). I also had my own copy of the original.

^bThe scribe has ignored the 5 epagomenæ at the end of the year, as in § 975, note; the Apis really lived 17 years, 6 months, and 10 days.

second Adoption Stela (§§ 988A-988J) at Karnak.^a It furnishes the two following data for the length of Psamtik II's reign:

1. In the first year of Psamtik II's reign, in the eleventh month, on the twenty-ninth day, his daughter, the princess Enkhnesneferibre, arrived at Thebes to be adopted by the Divine Consort, Nitocris.

2. In the seventh year of his reign, in the first month, on the twenty-third day, Psamtik II died.^b

The adoption was a political device which would be carried out by the Pharaoh without delay; hence we are safe in concluding that Enkhnesneferibre arrived in Thebes not long after Psamtik II's accession,^c which thus fell late in the calendar year. His first regnal year thus consisted of no more than a month or two. Of his last year (the seventh), but twenty-three days had elapsed when he died. He thus actually reigned but five years and two or three months. From the twenty-one years above obtained as the total length of the successive reigns of Necho and Psamtik II, combined, we may then deduct the latter's reign of a little over five years, furnishing practically sixteen years as the length of Necho's reign. This coincides with the fact that our highest known date of Necho is the sixteenth year^d (when the Apis of the following stela was born), and with Herodotus, who gives Necho sixteen years, and Psamtik II six years.

^aLegrain, *Recueil*, 27, 81, 82. See above, § 938.

^bThe stela also states that his son Apries then succeeded him.

^cThe late date (year 9) for the adoption of Nitocris under Psamtik I was, of course, due to the fact that he did not gain control of Thebes immediately.

^dThis date is the 16th day of the sixteenth year (§ 976); hence there is plenty of margin for the few months in excess of the five years reigned by Psamtik II.

Date

986. ¹Year 12, second month of the third season (tenth month), day 21, under the majesty of King Apries^a (*H^cc -yb-Re*), ²beloved of Apis, son of Osiris.

Interment of Apis

The god was conducted in peace to the Beautiful West, ³to let him assume his place in the necropolis, the western desert of Memphis; after there had been done for him all that is done in ⁴the pure house. Never was done the like before.

Life of Apis

987. The majesty of this god went forth to heaven ⁵in the year 12, fourth month of the second season (eighth month), day 12. He was born in the year 16, second month of the first season (second month), day 7, under the majesty of ⁶King Necho, living forever. He was installed in the house of Ptah ⁷in the year 1, third month of the third season (eleventh month), day 9, under the majesty of Psamtik II. ⁸The beautiful life of this god, was 17 years, 6 months, 5 days.

Mortuary Equipment

988. The Good God, Wahibre (Apries), made all the coffins, ⁹everything, excellent, and every profitable thing, for this august god; that he (the king) might be given life and health therefore, forever.

STELA OF THE DIVINE CONSORT ENEKHNESNEFERIBRE^b

988A. This new monument furnishes several important facts in the history of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, enabling us to confirm our reconstruction of the chronology and family history of this dynasty. These new facts are:

1. The final proof that Psamtik II was the father of Enekhnesneferibre.
2. The date of Psamtik II's death, and thus the exact length of his reign.

^aFull fivefold titulary.

^bStela of alabaster, o. m. 74 c. high, o. m. 42 c. wide, o. m. 13 c. thick, now in the Cairo Museum. It was discovered by Legrain in the great cache at Karnak, and was published by Maspero, with translation in *Annales*, V, 84-90.

3. Apries was the son of Psamtik II.
4. The date of the adoption of Enekhnesneferibre.
5. The date of the death of Nitocris.
6. The date of the accession of Enekhnesneferibre.

988B. The stela narrates the arrival of Enekhnesneferibre at Thebes in the first year of her father, Psamtik II, and her adoption there by Nitocris, as Nitocris herself had once been adopted by Shepnupet II, at the decree of Psamtik I (§§ 935 ff.). At this adoption she received the title of High Priest of Amon. Five years and fifty-nine days after her arrival at Thebes, Enekhnesneferibre's father, Psamtik II, died,^a and was succeeded by his son, Apries. In the fourth year of this king, just eight years, four months, and ten days after Enekhnesneferibre's adoption, Nitocris died, and twelve days later Enekhnesneferibre succeeded to her office. This she held into the reign of Psamtik III, when she was at least eighty years old (see table, § 938).

Arrival of Enekhnesneferibre at Thebes

988C. ¹Year 1, third month of the third season, day 29, under the majesty of Horus: Menekhib (*Mnh-yb*); Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Mighty of Arm; Golden Horus: Beautifying the Two Lands; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Neferibre; Son of Re: ²Psamtik II, given life. On this day the king's-daughter, Enekhnesneferibre, arrived at Thebes.

Adoption of Enekhnesneferibre by Nitocris

988D. Her mother, the Divine Consort, Nitocris, who liveth, came forth ³to behold her beauty, and they went together to the House (*pr*) of Amon. Then was conducted the [⁴divine⁷] ¹image^{1b} from [¹the House of⁷] ¹Amon¹, to — — ^{4f}—¹ in order to make her titulary as follows:

“The Greatly Praised in ¹—¹,^c Flower in the Palace, ¹—¹ of the ¹—¹

^aHaving thus reigned five years and two or three months; see § 985.

^b*Hnty*?

^cPossibly “*House of Amon*.”

of ⁵Amon, High Priest of Amon, King's-Daughter, Enekhnesneferibre. She shall be^a in the Presence of her Father, Amon-Re, Lord of Thebes, Presider over Karnak."

Death of Psamtik II

988E. ⁶Year 7, first month of the first season, day 23, went forth this Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Psamtik II to heaven. He joined the sun, the divine limbs mingling with him who made him (*y^r-sw*).

Accession of His Son Apries

988F. Then was crowned ⁷his son, in his place, (even) Horus: Wahib; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Lord of Might; Golden Horus: Making Verdant the Two Lands; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Apries (*H^c -yb-R^c*); Son of Re: Wahibre (*W³ h-yb-R^c*), who liveth.

Death and Burial of Nitocris

988G. Year 4, fourth month of the third season, ⁸day 4, of this king; went forth the Divine Votress (*Dw³ t-ntr*), Nitocris, triumphant, to heaven. She joined the sun, the divine limbs mingling with him who made her. Her daughter, the High Priest, Enekhnesneferibre, ⁹did for her all that is done for every excellent king.

Induction of Enekhnesneferibre

988H. Now, when twelve days had elapsed after these events, (in) the fourth month of the third season, day 15, went the king's-daughter, ¹⁰the High Priest, Enekhnesneferibre, to the House of Amon-Re, king of gods; while the prophets, the divine fathers, the priests (*w^c b*), ritual priests and lay priests of the temple of Amon ¹¹were behind her, and the great companions were in front thereof. There were performed for her all the customary ceremonies of the induction of the Divine Votress (*Dw³ t-ntr*) of Amon into the temple, by the divine scribe ¹²and nine priests (*w^c b*) of this house (*pr*). She fastened on all the amulets and ornaments of the Divine Consort (*Hm³ t-ntr*), and the Divine Votress (*Dw³ t-ntr*) of Amon, crowned with the two plumes, the diadem of ¹³her forehead,^b to be queen (*hn³ t*) of every circuit of the sun.

^aOr possibly the titulary closes with her name, and the following should be rendered: "While she was, etc."

^bIt is possible that the word rendered "forehead" (*dhn*) may be the verb "appoint" (*dhn*).

Titulary of Enekhnesneferibre

988I. Her titulary was made as follows:

"Hereditary Princess, Great in Amiability, Great in Favor, Mistress of Loveliness, Sweet in Love, Queen (*hn' t*) of all Women, Divine Consort, ¹⁴Divine Votress, Heknefrumut^a (*Hk' t nfr' w-Mw' t*), Divine Hand, Enekhnesneferibre, who liveth, King's-Daughter of the Lord of the Two Lands, Psamtik (II)."

Reign of Enekhnesneferibre

988J. There were done for her all the customary rites and all the ceremonies as ¹⁵was done for Tafnut in the beginning.^b The prophets, the divine fathers, and the lay priests of the temple came to her at all times when she went to the House of Amon, at his every festal procession.^c

INSCRIPTION OF NESUHOR^d

989. The remarkable, and often misunderstood, narrative contained in this document furnishes an interesting corroboration of the tale of the mutiny of Psamtik I's troops, as narrated by Herodotus (II, 30, 31). Our Nesuhor was commander of the fortress and garrison at Elephantine, where he had assumed the responsibility for many pious works for the local divinities, in accordance with the increased religious spirit of the Saitic age. On one occasion the foreign mercenaries of the garrison mutinied and, like the Automoloi of Herodotus, planned to migrate to Upper

^aHer alabaster statue (*Annales*, V, 90-92) gives as the reading of this name: *Hk' t (t)-nfr' w-mry' (t)-Mw' t*.

^bLit., "at the first time" (*m-sp-tpy*).

^cLit., "at his every feast of the appearance" (*m hb' j nb n h' c*).

^dOn his statue in the Louvre (A 90); published by Maspero (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1884, 88, 89), with corrections by Brugsch (*ibid.*, 93-97). I had also my own copy of the original which added a number of corrections, and a collation of the Berlin squeeze by Schaefer, which furnished the proper reading of the name of Nesuhor's mother. The inscription was first properly understood by Schaefer (*Beiträge zur alten Geschichte*, IV, 152-63), who also gives a final text (*ibid.*, Tafel, I-II).

Nubia, to a region called Shas-heret. Nesuhor succeeded in dissuading them and delivered them to Apries, who accordingly punished them. Believing that the gods had delivered him from his dangerous predicament among a horde of turbulent foreign soldiery, Nesuhor did not fail to narrate the event on his statue as a motive for his good works to the divinities of the first cataract. It thus furnishes graphic contemporary evidence of the dangerously unstable character of the military, of which the power of the Saite kings consisted. A similar but more widely-spread disaffection was the occasion of the overthrow of Apries by Amasis.

Qualities of Nesuhor

990. ¹—————^a as his lord — his equal; whom his majesty appointed to a very great office, the office of his eldest son,^b governor of the Door of the Southern Countries, to repel the countries that rebel against him. When he hath spread the fear of him in the southern countries, ²they flee into their valleys for fear of him. Who did not ¹relax [vigilance in] seeking benefits for his lord; honored of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Apries ($\overline{H}^c - yb-R^c$), favored by the Son of Re, Wahibre ($W^c h-yb-R^c$), Nesuhor, whose beautiful name is Ib-Psamtik-menekh ("The-Heart-of-Psamtik-is-Excellent"), son of Ifrer ($Yw\{rr\}$), born of the mistress, Tesenethor ($T^c -sn^c t-\overline{H}r$), triumphant.

Nesuhor's Prayer

991. He says: "O lord of might! Fashioner of gods and men! Khnum, lord of the Cataract, Satet, ³and Anuket, mistress(es) of Elephantine! I rejoice in your names, I praise your beauty. I am free from laxity in doing that which you^c desire; I fill my heart with you^c in every design which I carry out. May my ka be remembered because of that which I have done in your house.

^aThe upper half of this (vertical) line is lacking; the document begins with epithets of praise applied to Nesuhor.

^bThe southern country under the empire was governed by a viceroy, who was originally the king's eldest son. This old tradition is now applied to the governor of Elephantine.

^cLit., "your ka's."

Good Works for the Gods

992. I have splendidly equipped your temple with vessels of silver; numerous cattle, ducks, and geese; I have made secure their maintenance by (an endowment of) lands, as well as 4(that of) their custodians forever and ever. I built their shelters in your city. I gave very fine wine of the Southern Oasis, spelt and honey into your storehouses, which I built anew in the great name of his majesty. I gave illuminating oil for lighting the lamps of your temple. I appointed weavers, maid-servants and launderers for the august wardrobe of the great god 5and his divine ennead. I built their quarters in his temple, established forever by decree of the Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Apries, living forever.

Requital of Good Works

993. Remember ye him in whose heart was the beautification of your house, (even) Nesuhor, whose name is abiding in the mouth of the citizens; as a reward for (all) this. Let my name abide in your house, let my ka be remembered after my life, let my statue abide and my name endure upon it imperishably in your temple.

Rescue of Nesuhor

994. 6For ye rescued me from an evil plight, from the mercenaries [Libyans],^a Greeks, Asiatics, and foreigners, who had it in their hearts to —, and who had it in their hearts to go to Shas-heret (*Š² yš-hr·t*).^b His majesty feared because of the evil which they did. I re-established their heart in reason by advice, not permitting them to go to Nubia (*T² -pd·t*), (but) bringing them to the place where his majesty was; and his majesty executed their [punishment].

995. Here follows a mortuary prayer, containing the following titles of Nesuhor:

Hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal, beloved sole companion, great in his office, grand in his rank, official at the head of the people, governor of the Door of the Southern Countries.

^aOne is inclined to read *Tmhw* here; for if we read *c² mw*, "Asiatics," then the Asiatics appear twice.

^bSchaefer has shown that this region was in upper Nubia (*op. cit.*, 158-63).

REIGN OF AMASIS (AHMOSE II)

ELEPHANTINE STELA^a

996. This, perhaps the most important document of the Saitic period, is, unfortunately, so badly preserved that a consecutive translation is totally impossible.^b In the following I have rendered only what is capable of safe translation, and have then connected the few scattered translatable passages, by statements of their probable relation to each other, as indicated by the intervening uncertain context.

997. The drift of the historical facts furnished by the document is thus, in the main, discernible, in spite of the uncertainties and obscurities in details. In his third year as king of Egypt, Amasis finds Apries advancing against him from the north with a force of Greeks and a fleet. Apries assumed the offensive, and advanced to the vicinity of Sais, where Amasis, having mustered his forces, met and defeated him. The army of Apries was scattered, but the dethroned king escaped, and his troops continued to rove the North, infesting the roads and, of course, living by plunder. Meantime, Apries was a fugitive, with a few Greek (?) ships. When four or five months had passed in this way, Amasis was obliged to dispatch his forces, to exterminate the remnant of Apries' army, and while this went on, Apries was slain.

998. The narrative of Herodotus begins at an earlier

^aA large stela of rose granite, 5 feet 9 inches high and three feet wide, found as part of a doorway in a house in Cairo, now in the Cairo Museum. Published by Daressy (*Recueil*, XXII, 2, 3). The stone is much worn, and so illegible that sometimes not a single sign is certain for half a line or more.

^bThe rendering by Daressy (*ibid.*) is nine-tenths conjecture, and the English version of Hall (*Oldest Civilisation of Greece*, 323, 324) is chiefly a translation of Daressy's French.

point in the usurpation of Amasis than does our stela. It would seem that after the defeat of Apries, and his dethronement by Amasis, as related by Herodotus, Apries had taken advantage of Amasis' kindness, had after some three years made his escape and had gathered an army of Greeks, who were again defeated by Amasis, as recorded on our stela. If this reconstruction be correct, then this second battle, as being much like the first, was not properly distinguished by Herodotus, who says nothing of it. This seems to me more probable than to identify the battle of our stela with that of Herodotus, in which case Amasis had ruled over two years, at least, before he was attacked by Apries; and there would also be no sojourn of Apries in the custody of Amasis, as so particularly related by Herodotus.^a The account of Apries' death, as given by Herodotus, is difficult to harmonize with that on our stela on any hypothesis; but both sources agree in the statement that Amasis gave Apries honorable burial, according to Herodotus, among his ancestors at Sais.

999. There is contemporary evidence of the gradual rise of Amasis; for long after his assumption of the royal cartouche he continued to use his titles as a noble and a powerful palace official. Thus he inscribed his mother's sarcophagus^b as follows:

1000. Revered by her husband, royal confidante of Wahibre (*W³ h-yb-R^c*, Apries), Teperet. Her lifetime was 70 years, 4 months, 15 days. The name of her mother was Mer-Ptah-Si-Hapi. It was her son who made it for her, the wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, chief of

^aUnless we suppose that Apries was captured in the battle on our stela (which does not mention the fact), sojourned with Amasis four or five months, and then escaped to the Greek ships, there to be slain.

^bNow in the Museum of Stockholm; published by Piehl (*Petites Etudes*, 32, and *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 28, 10); and Revillout (*Revue égyptologique*, II, 97).

the palace, prophet of Isis, master of the judgment-hall, ^aAhmose (Amasis),^a — Si-Neit.

1001. His mother was thus associated with, and perhaps related to, Apries, and Amasis' powerful connections thus aided him in usurping the throne. Herodotus' stories of his low birth are, therefore, unfounded.

1002. Year 3, second month of the third season (tenth month), under the majesty of King Amasis,^b beloved of Khnum, lord of the Cataract, and Hathor, residing in Zeme (*D³-mw·t*), given all life, stability, satisfaction, like Re, forever. ².^c

1003. Here follows the statement that his majesty was in the palace-hall, deliberating the affairs of the land, when one came to say to his majesty: "Apries (*H^cc-yb-R^c*), ³he has sailed southward — ships of —, while Greeks without number are coursing through the Northland — — — — —⁴ — —^d. They are wasting all Egypt; they have reached Malachite-Field,^e and those who are of thy party flee because of them."

1004. Then his majesty caused the royal companions and — to be called, and informed them of what had happened.

He addressed them with reassuring exhortations (ll. 5-7), and they replied with praise of Amasis, declaring that Apries had acted like a dog at a carcass (ll. 7-10).

^aIn cartouche. A libation basin in the Louvre (Pierret, *Recueil d'inscriptions*, I, 82; Revillout, *Revue égyptologique*, I, 51, and II, 69 ff.); Piehl, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 28, 12, enumerates his titles, before he assumed the cartouche, thus: "Prince, sole companion, chief of the palace, master of the throne —, chief of temples, master of secret things of all affairs of the king, favorite of his lord, strong in mind for his lord, chief of the royal council-halls, master of the judgment-hall, Ahmose-Si-Neit-Wahibre, born of Teperet." It is, perhaps, to his mother's connection with Wahibre-Apries that the addition "Wahibre" to his name is due. Daressy's suggestion of another woman as the mother of Amasis (*Recueil*, 22, 143, 144) is without support in the monument adduced.

^bFull fivefold titulary.

^cEpithets belonging to the royal name.

^dPossibly: "Now he hath remembered their place in *Ph-c n*." *Ph-c n* is a part of the Andropolis nome in the western Delta, but the reading of the name is quite uncertain.

^e*Sh·t-m/k* (sic!) is probably the same as *Pr-H·t-hr-Mjk*, near Sais and Buto; see Daressy's note, *Recueil*, XXII, 8.

Said his majesty: "Ye shall fight tomorrow! Every man (*hr-nb*) to the front!" His majesty mustered his infantry and his cavalry^a — — —¹. His majesty mounted ¹¹upon his chariot; he took arrows and bow in his hand, he arrived¹ (*sp-r-nf*) at ¹—, he reached Andropolis, the army jubilating and rejoicing on the road.

1005. The introduction to the battle is totally unintelligible. Then follows (l. 12):

His majesty fought like a lion, he made a slaughter among them, whose number was unknown. Numerous ships ¹took¹ (*c w 3*) them, falling into the water, whom they saw sink ¹³as do the fish.

Amasis triumphed.

1006. ¹⁴Year 3, third month of the first season (third month), day 8, ¹came¹ one to say to his majesty: "The enemy infest the ways, there are thousands there, invading the land; they cover every road. As for those who are in the ships, ¹they bear hatred of thee in their hearts¹ ¹⁵without ceasing."

1007. Amasis then gave his troops instructions to scour "*every road, not letting a day pass*," without pressing the enemy (ll. 15, 16); whereupon the army greatly rejoiced, and proceeded to their task (l. 16). The enemy's ships were taken (l. 17), and Apries was probably surprised and slain while taking his ease on one of the vessels. "*He (Amasis) saw his favorite^b fallen in his — which he had made ¹⁸before the water*." Amasis had him buried as befitted a king, forgot the "*abomination of the gods*," which he had committed, and "*he (Amasis) founded divine offerings in great multitude*," for the mortuary observances of the fallen Apries.

^aThe word is uncertain; *hf n/r* is impossible. I translate from the determinative. The Greeks must have had horsemen at this time.

^b*Mh-yb* *j*, lit., "*one filling his heart*," common term for the favorite or friend of a king.

SERAPEUM STELA^a

1008. As this stela records the life of an Apis, the duration of which fell entirely in Amasis' reign, it furnishes no data as to the exact length of his reign.

Date

1009. ¹Year 23, first month of the third season (ninth month), day 15, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khnemibre (Amasis), given life forever.

Burial of Apis

1010. ²The god was conducted in peace to the Beautiful West, to let him assume his place in the necropolis, ³in the place which his majesty made for him, the like of which never was made before; after ⁴there had been done for him all that is done in the pure house.^b

Mortuary Equipment

1011. Lo, his majesty had in his remembrance how ⁵Horus did for his father, Osiris, and he made a great sarcophagus^c of granite. Behold, his majesty ⁶found it good to make it of costly stone [—] all kings of all times. ⁷He made a shroud of mysterious linen of Resenet and Mehenet,^d to attach ⁸to him his amulets, and all his ornaments of gold, and every splendid, costly stone. They were more beautiful than ⁹what was done before,^e for his majesty loved Apis, the Living Son, more than any (other) king.

Life of Apis

1012. ¹⁰The majesty of this god went forth to heaven in the year 23, third month of the second season (seventh month), day 6. He was

^aLouvre, No. 192, published by Piehl, *Inscriptions*, I, XX, H (good translation, 23, 24); Chassinat, *Recueil*, 22, 20. I had also my own copy of the original.

^bThe place of embalmment.

^cThis sarcophagus is still in the Serapeum (Brugsch, *Geschichte*, 743, 744). Inscription upon it (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 966, 967): "Amasis; he made (it) as his monument for Apis, the living son (even) a great sarcophagus of granite because his majesty found it good to make it of costly stone (c c t)." The last part is verbatim the same as on the stela above.

^dThe two parts of the sacred district of Sais; see Piehl, *Inscriptions*, I, 24, note 2.

^eBy earlier kings.

born in the year 5, ¹¹first month of the first season (first month), day 7. He was installed in the house of Ptah in the second month of the third season (tenth month), day 18. ¹²The beautiful lifetime of this god was 18 years, 1 month, 6 days.

Ahmose (II)-Sineit, given satisfying life forever, made (it) for him.

STATUE INSCRIPTION OF THE GENERAL AHMOSE^a

1013. The titles and epitheta borne by this officer are the only contemporary evidence for the foreign campaigns of the latter part of the Saitic age. Ahmose's "*beautiful name*" shows that he was born under Psamtik II. He could hardly have become a general, therefore, before the reign of Ahmose II, under whom his duties in Nubia doubtless fell. His titles in the inscription are as follows:

1014. Commander of the army, Ahmose, whose beautiful name is Neferibre-nakht.

King's-messenger, fighting for his lord's sake in every country, doing what his majesty desires in Nubia (*T³-pd't*), governor of the two doors^b in the northern countries, prophet of Soped, lord of the East, Ahmose, etc. (as above).

STATUE INSCRIPTION OF PEFNEFDINEIT^c

1015. The monuments left by this noble disclose the interesting fact that he was Apries' "*chief physician*," and a prominent member of the treasury administration who was among those won over to the cause of Amasis. He held the

^aFound near Zagazig, now in Cairo; published by Daressy, *Recueil*, XX, 77.

^bTwo forts on the Asiatic frontier in the eastern Delta, as is shown by the man's priesthood of Soped, a god of that region.

^cLouvre, A 93; published by Pierret, *Recueil d'inscriptions du Louvre*, II, 39 = Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1252-54 (incomplete); from these two by Piehl, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 32, 118-22; collation of last by Baillet, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1895, 127 ff. (a number of glaring errors); I had also my own copy of the original.

same offices under the latter, becoming, likewise, his "*chief physician*."^a The Louvre statue was erected in Abydos, and bears an inscription narrating Pefnefdineit's notable achievements in support of Osiris and his temple. He claims the consideration of the god and his priesthood, because he constantly presented the needs of Abydos to King Amasis and secured wealth and buildings for the Abydos temple. Some of this work he personally superintended at Abydos, and he participated in the presentation of the Osirian drama there. His incessant activity for the cult of Osiris, although he was not a member of the royal family, is a striking example of the excessive religious zeal of the age, pictured so graphically by Herodotus.

1016. One of his achievements on behalf of Osiris is striking. A descendant of the ancient Thinite family, whose counts we still find in the Eighteenth Dynasty, was dispossessed of his income from the Great Oasis and from the local ferry, and Pefnefdineit had these revenues diverted to the treasury of Osiris. The income from the oasis was then devoted to meet the funeral expenses of the people of Abydos.

Titles of Pefnefdineit

1017. "The hereditary prince, count, sole companion, chief of the palace (*hrp-^c h^c*), chief physician, overseer of the gold-treasury, great one of the hall, great revered one in the king's-house, chief steward. Pefnefdineit, begotten of the chief of strongholds, local governor of Dep, prophet of Horus of Pe, Sisebek, says:

Mortuary Prayer

1018. "O every priest (*w^c b*), who shall perform divine offices; the First of the Westerners (Osiris) shall favor you, as ye recite for me

^aPefnefdineit erected another statue in the temple at Heliopolis which bears record of his rank under Apries. Now in British Museum: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, I, 111 = Piehl, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 31, 88-91. An offering-tablet of his is also in the Mosque of Bibars, Cairo (Wiedemann, *Recueil*, VIII, 64; Piehl from W., *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 31, 87 f.).

the prayer for mortuary offerings, with prostrations to the First of the Westerners; so shall ye behold the glories before your god; because I was more honored by the majesty ²of my lord than any noble of his. I was one distinguished by reason of what he had done, an excellent craftsman, establishing his house."

Attention to Abydos

1019. "I transmitted the affairs of Abydos to the palace, that his majesty might hear (them). His majesty commanded that I do the work in Abydos, in order that Abydos might be furnished. I did greatly in improving Abydos, I put all the things of Abydos in order; (whether) sleeping (or) waking, seeking the good of Abydos therewith. ³I besought favor from my lord every day, in order that Abydos might be furnished."

Temple and Equipment

1020. "I built the temple of the First of the Westerners in excellent and eternal work, as was commanded me from his majesty. He saw the prosperity in the affairs of the Abydos nome. I surrounded it with walls of brick, and the necropolis with granite, an august shrine^a of electrum, the adornments^a and the divine 'amulets', all the tables^a of the divine offerings (*yḥ' t-ntr*) were of ⁴gold, silver, and every costly stone. I built *Wpḡ*, I set up its altars (^c *ḥ*), I dug its lake, planted with trees."

Temple Income

1021. "I provisioned the temple of the First of the Westerners, increasing that which came in to him, established as daily income. His magazine was settled with male and female slaves. I gave to him 1,000 stat of lands, of the fields of the Abydos nome; equipped with people and all small cattle; its name was made: 'Establishment (*grg' t*)-of-Osiris,' ⁵in order that the divine offerings might be furnished from it throughout eternity. I renewed for him the divine offerings more plentifully than what was formerly there. I made for him arbors,^b planted with all date^c trees, and vineyards (with) people therein of

^aThese nouns are enumerated as if in a list, without any verb of which they are the objects.

^b*c' t nt ḥt*; the same phrase occurs twice in Papyrus Harris (see §§ 194 and 264).

^cOr: "sweet trees."

foreign countries, ⁶brought as living captives, yielding 30 hin of wine therefrom every day upon the altar of the First of the Westerners; and offerings shall be brought thence throughout eternity."

Temple Archives

1022. "I restored the house of sacred writings when ruined; I recorded the offerings ⁷of Osiris, I put in order all his contracts."

Osiris Drama

1023. "I hewed from cedar (^cš) the sacred barge^a which I found (made) of acacia. I repelled the chief of the devastators^b from Abydos, I defended Abydos ⁸for its lord, I protected all its people."

Confiscation of Count's Property

1024. "I gave to the temple the things that issued from the desert (^h > š · t)^c of Abydos, which I found in the possession of the count, in order that ⁹the people of Abydos might be buried. I gave to the temple the ferry-boat of Abydos which I took from the count; (for) Osiris desired that his city should be equipped. ¹⁰His majesty praised me because of what I had done."

Prayer for King

1025. "May he^d grant life to his son, Ahmose (Amasis)-Sineit; may he grant favor before his majesty and honor before ¹¹the great god. O priest, praise the god for me; O every one coming forth, praise 'ye' in the temple. Speak my name, the ¹²chief steward, Pefnefdineit, born of Nenesbast ¹³[N^c]-nš-B > š · t)^e."

^aThis temple barge was used in the Osiris drama; compare II, 183.

^bIn the dramatic enactment of the incidents of the Osiris myth.

^cThese can only be the income from the Great Oasis, which from the time of the Eighteenth Dynasty had belonged to the counts of Abydos (II, 763). This income then seems to have been devoted to paying the expenses of burying the people of Abydos.

^dOsiris.

^eRestored from the other monuments of this man (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 31, 87, 88).

MORTUARY STELÆ OF THE PRIEST PSAMTIK*

1026. The historical value of these stelæ consists solely in the chronological data which they furnish. From these data it is possible to establish the exact length of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, and also the length of the reign of Apries, otherwise uncertain. The calculation is as follows:

Psamtik was sixty-five years, ten months, and two days old at his death in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of Amasis, on the twenty-eighth day of the eighth month. He was, therefore, born thirty-nine years, two months, and four days before the accession of Amasis. Now, the date of his birth is given as the first day of the eleventh month in year 1 of Necho; hence, Necho's accession was exactly forty^b years before that of Amasis. The length of the dynasty is, then, the total of the following items:

Psamtik I		54 years
Necho	}	
Psamtik II		40 "
Apries		
Amasis		44 "
Total		<hr/> 138 "

*Small stelæ in Leyden (V, 18 and 19), written with ink and rapidly becoming illegible; published by Piehl, (*Inscriptions*, III, XXVIII, G and H). I had also my own copy of the original which I collated with an old manuscript copy of Leemans, made while the stelæ were more legible than at present.

^bThe computation is as follows:

Lifetime,	65-10- 2	
Date of death,	26- 7-28	
	<hr/>	
From birth to accession of Amasis,	39- 2- 4	
	10- 1	Date of birth in reign of Necho.
	<hr/>	
	40- 0- 5	

The five days are, of course, the five epagomenæ.

As the fall of the dynasty occurred in 525 B. C., its accession took place in (525 + 138) 663 B. C.

1027. The length of the reign of Apries may also be determined from the same data, thus: the total of all the other reigns in the dynasty is as follows:

Psamtik I	54 years
Necho	} 21 "
Psamtik II	
(Apries omitted)	—
Amasis	44 "
Total	119 "

This total deducted from the 138 years' duration of the dynasty leaves nineteen years for the reign of Apries.^a From the Elephantine Stela of Amasis we know that Apries lived over two years (i. e., into the third year) after the accession of Amasis, but these two years fall within the reign of the latter, and are not included in the nineteen years of Apries' sole reign. The text is as follows:

1028. Year 1, third month of the third season, day 1, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Uhemibre (*Wḥm-yb-R*), Son of Re, Necho (*N-k'w*).

1029. On this good day was born the divine father, Psamtik, begotten of Ahuben (*Y^c ḥ-wbn*), born of Enkhetsi (*c nḥts*). His good life was 65 years, 10 months, 2 days. Year 27, fourth month of the second season, day 28, was his day of departure from life. He was introduced into the Good House,^b and he spent 42^c days under the

^aA stela in Berlin (No. 15393) is dated in the seventeenth year of Apries.

^bThis was the place of the embalmers, where he spent 42 days in process of embalmment, as is evident from the following context, Anubis being the embalmer. For a clear narrative of such mortuary proceedings, see the Miramar stela (Bergmann, *Hieroglyphische Inschriften*, VI, l. 10).

^cLeemanns read 42; I could see only 30 and a stroke, with room between for another 10, and at the end for several strokes (units). Piehl read 30+*x*. The duplicate has clearly 42; but see next note.

hand of Anubis, lord of Tazoser. He was conducted in peace to the Beautiful West in the first month of the third season (ninth month), day 1—1;^a and his life in the necropolis is forever and ever.

^aMerely the day-sign with no numeral. On the duplicate I could not read the numeral; Leemanns gives 2, and Piehl read 1. None of these numerals fits the case; 42 days after his death would bring the burial on the tenth of the tenth month. As our texts both give ninth month, the 42 is evidently an error. It cannot be more than 32.

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HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PERSIAN CONQUEST, COLLECTED
EDITED AND TRANSLATED WITH COMMENTARY

BY

JAMES HENRY BREASTED, PH.D.

PROFESSOR OF EGYPTOLOGY AND ORIENTAL HISTORY
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

VOLUME V

INDICES



CHICAGO
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
1907

LONDON: LUZAC & CO.

LEIPZIG: OTTO HARBASSOWITZ

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Published February 1907



**Composed and Printed By
The University of Chicago Press
Chicago, Illinois, U. S. A.**

PREFACE TO VOLUME V

These indices are the work of my friend and former pupil, Dr. O. A. Toffteen. I would take occasion to express to him here my thanks and appreciation for the labor and care which he has expended upon them. While the author has constantly supervised the compilation, yet the work has been that of Dr. Toffteen, and he is fully responsible for it. It should be said in justice to him, as well as perhaps to the author also, that the latter's return to the Orient for another season left the compiler only a little over two months in which to complete his heavy task. He was obliged to work more hours a day and with more speed than was his desire, but I am sure that the usefulness of his work, and the persistent industry with which he has compiled his lists, will deserve lenient judgment, should any occasional errors in numbers be found. I hope also that the necessity for the separate publication of such exhaustive indices in a volume by themselves will be evident to any who may have expected to find them included in Volume IV. Aside from the fact that it would have rendered that volume (already far the largest of the set) much too bulky, it was thought highly desirable to give such a cyclopædia of the subject separate existence as a volume, rather than to absorb it in Volume IV, where it would be constantly lost to use, whenever anyone might be using Volume IV for some other purpose. Likewise if bound up with Volume IV, the employment of the indices by a reader would also have involved the needless use of Volume IV with them. The compilation of the index has disclosed an occasional inconsistency in rendering, and in a few cases also in the orthography of proper names, in view of which the author would only recall the long period of

time and the numerous modifications involved in the slow progress of such a work as this.

In view of some remarks in one of the first reviews which have appeared, it should be stated that it was necessary to close the manuscript of these Records to any additions on October 1, 1904. Any works or texts which appeared after that date could not be included. An advance proof kindly sent me by Eduard Meyer enabled me to employ his invaluable *Chronologie* in revising the chronology in Volume I; and wherever possible I endeavored to insert in the proof important facts appearing in new books and current journals. But I could take up no new texts. The omission of Abydos texts, mentioned by Foucart (*Journal des Savants*, June, 1906, p. 336), was intentional, as no translatable document of importance is in Abydos, Volume I, the only volume out when my manuscript was handed in. Among these the inscription of "Nakhiti," which Foucart says I have overlooked, is in our own Haskell Museum, where it was received not long after its discovery. I was therefore not very likely to overlook it.

As I have stated in the general preface, circumstances beyond my control obliged me to read the proofs of these volumes, as well as those of my *History of Egypt*, between April and September, 1905, a period in which fell also the preparations for the expedition to Egypt under the auspices of the Oriental Exploration Fund, University of Chicago. There are therefore doubtless more typographical errors and corrigenda than I could wish. I have already noticed the following:

Vol. I, §§ 178-80. Please read in the following order: 180, 178, 179. The unpublished and also almost unreadable base-inscription should be mentioned here (see Maspero, *Les Origines*, p. 364, note 8).

Vol. I, § 182. The verb after "Ptah" is doubtless part of the name, so that the *ny* is dative and not the *n*-form. We should then render, "Ptahyutnai (*Pth-ywt-ny*), who made this for him, etc."

Vol. I, § 185. For "field judge who," read "field judge, Kemethnenet (*Km̄t̄nn̄t*), who."

Vol. I, § 199. After "Upper," insert "Oleander."

Vol. I, § 538. For "count of Siut," read "official of Siut."

Vol. I, § 685. For "Nebkure," read "Nubkure."

Vol. I, before § 707, at top of p. 313. Insert as a title, "REIGN OF AMENEMHET III."

Vol. I, pp. 314, 316, 318, 320, 322, 324, 326, in running-title at the top of the page for "SESOSTRIS III," read "AMENEMHET III."

Vol. II, § 657. For "by the hair the Kode-folk," read "among the Curly-Haired," as in Vol. II, § 71.

Vol. II, p. 305, note a. For "has," read "have."

Vol. II, § 854. For "Ibbet," read "Ibhet."

Vol. III, § 309. For "*K ʔ-r ʔ-ky-kš ʔ*" read "*K ʔ-r ʔ-ky-š ʔ*."

Vol. III, § 498. For "*H ʔ*," read "*H ʔ m*." This change is due to a collation of the original at Abu Simbel.

Vol. IV, § 240. For "*s ʔ mw*," read "*s c mw*."

Vol. IV, § 455. For "*ʔ-ry-m*," read "*ʔ-r-ry-m*."

Vol. IV, § 493. For "*N/r-k c-R c*," read "*N/r-k ʔ-R c*."

Vol. IV, § 815. For "Zeamamefonekh," read "Zeamonefonekh."

Vol. IV, § 853. For "*htm*," read "*h̄tm*."

Vol. IV, § 874. For "*H̄nt-H̄ty*," read "*H̄nt-H̄ty*."

Vol. IV, § 918. For "*N ʔ c ʔ-ʔys-nht. t*," read "*N ʔ c ʔ-ʔ ʔys-n̄ht. t*."

Vol. IV, § 921. For "*B ʔ-k ʔ-R ʔ*," read "*B ʔ-k ʔ-R c*."

Vol. IV, § 1028. For "*whm*," read "*wh̄m*."

I would also note that the inscription recording a campaign in Syria, supposed to belong to Thutmose II (Vol. II, § 125), has been shown by Sethe's examination of the original probably to belong to Thutmose I. Hence Naville was right

in attributing the monument to the last-mentioned king (*Deir-el-Bahari*, Vol. III, p. 17). This makes the reign of Thutmose II still more ephemeral and unimportant.

JAMES HENRY BREASTED.

HASKELL ORIENTAL MUSEUM,
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO,
September 1, 1906.

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The temples (Index II) will be found supplementary to the geography in Index VI. Inscriptions, however, are not placed under temples. The inscriptions of all sites will be found in the geographical index (VI). In compiling the list of temples it was found difficult to distinguish between the different temples in a given city, when such temples have perished, as, for example, at Memphis and Heliopolis. The differentiations made are probably not always correct. The index of Pharaohs includes also such *queens* as actually ruled; otherwise the queens will be found in Index IV. The documents, monuments, wars, etc., of the Pharaohs will be found under the numbered name, not under the throne-name. Thus, look for Thutmose III under Thutmose III, not under Menkheperre; the references to the latter name will be found appended to those of the former.

The historical development of terms should not be forgotten in using these lists. "Count," "mayor," and "prince" are all renderings of the same Egyptian term at different periods. In the same way, different connection often demands a different rendering of the same title; thus, "chief," "overseer," "master," and "governor" may be rendered from the same Egyptian title. Such a series is also "lord," "nomarch," and "ruler."

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KHASEKHEMUI (II Dyn.): birth of, I 86, 136.

KHAYU: predynastic king of Lower Egypt, I 90.

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KHENZER (XIII Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, I 781–87; cleansing of the temple of Abydos, I 783–87.

—Nematre-Nekhere (=Khenzer), I 786.

KHEPERHEZRE-SETEPNERE: see She-shonk I.

KHEPERHEZRE-SETEPNERE: see Takelot II.

KHEPERKERE: see Sesostri I.

KHEPERKHARE-SETEPNAMON: see Pay-nozem I.

KHNEMET-AMON: see Hatshepsut.

KHNEMIBRE: see Amasis.

KHUFU (IV Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, I 176–187; mentioned, I 189, chronology of, I 54, 55, 59; his relief at Wadi-Maghara, I 176; history of, on the Palermo stone, I 86; his full name, I 176; his Horus-name, I 176,

- 180; sphinx and temple of, I 177; daughter of, I 180; pyramid of, I 180.
 —Khnum-Khufu ("Khnum protects me"), full name of Khufu, I 176, 176 n. c.

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- MAKERE:** see Hatshepsut.
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MENES (I Dyn.): accession of, I 53, 58, 79, 88; history of, on Palermo stone (?), I 91, n. b.
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MENKHEPRURE: see Thutmose IV.
MENKUHOR (V Dyn.): inscription of, I 263; length of reign of, I 60; titles of, I 263.
 —Menkhu (Horus-name of Menkuhor), I 263.
MENKURE (IV Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, I 210-12; chronology of, I 54 bis, 55, 59, 254, 255; title of, I 211; mentioned, I 213, 217; educated Ptahshepses, I 256.
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MENMARE-SETEPNEPTAH: see Ramses XII.
MENPEHTIRE: see Ramses I.
MENTUHOTEP I (XI Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, I 423H; chronology of, I 63, 415-18, 423H; wars of, I 423H.
 —Nibhotep (= Mentuhotep I), I 423H.
MENTUHOTEP II (XI Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, I 424-26; chronology of, I 63, 415-18, 425; chief treasurer of, I 425-26; first great king of the Theban line, I 426; pyramid of, IV 520.
 —Nibhepetre (= Mentuhotep II), pyramid of, IV 520.
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MENTUHOTEP III (XI Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, I 427-33; chronology of, I 63, 415-18, 427; mortuary temple of, IV 520 n. b.
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 —Nibtowere (= Mentuhotep IV), I 437, 440, 441, 446, 450, 455, 456.
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MERIAMON-HORUS-PESIBKHENNO: see Pesibkhenno II.
MERIAMON-OSORKON: see Osorkon I.
MERIAMON-OSORKON: see Osorkon III.
MERIAMON-PAYNOZEM: see Paynozem I.
MERIAMON-PEDIBAST: see Pedibast.
MERIAMON-PEMOU: see Pemou.
MERIAMON-PIANKHI: see Piankhi.
MERIAMON-RAMESSES: see Ramses II.
MERIAMON-SHESHONK: see Sheshonk I.
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MERIAMON-SHESHONK: see Sheshonk IV.
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MERIAMON-SIESE-PEMOU: see Pemou.
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MERNEPTAH (XIX Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, III 569-638; chronology of, I 67, n. b; accession of, III 578; Libyan-Mediterranean invasion against, III 572-617; prominent officers of, III 618-38; reliefs of, III 594, 597, 628.
 —Binre-Meriamon (= Merneptah), III 575, 607, 610, 635.
 —Merneptah-Hotephirma (= Merneptah), III 575, 588, 598, 600, 607, 610, 631, 633, 634, 638.
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MERNEPTAH-SIPTAH: see Siptah.
MERNERE I (VI Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, I 316-36; chronology of, I 61; inscriptions at the First Cataract, I 8, 316-18; sarcophagus of, I 321; pyramid of queen of, I 321-22;

expeditions to the Negro tribes, I 333-36.

MERNERE II (VI Dyn.): chronology of, I 61.

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NAKHTNEB-TEPNEFER: see Intef II.

NAMLOT: king, IV 814, 830, 833, 849, 882; prince of Hatweret, IV 820.

NEBE: see Psamtik I.

NEBKHEPRURE: see Tutenkhamon.

NEBPEHTIRE: see Ahmose.

NECHO (XXVI Dyn.): IV 1028; inscriptions of reign of, IV 974-80; chronology of, I 75; IV 935-41, 974-75, 1026-27.

—Uhemibre (=Necho), IV 976, 980, 1028.

NEFEREFRE (V Dyn.): chronology of, I 255, 261.

NEFERHOTEP (XIII Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, I 753-72; restoration of the temple of Osiris at Abydos, I 755-65; decree concerning the necropolis of Abydos, I 766-72.

NEFERIBRE: see Psamtik II.

NEFERIRKERE (V Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, I 242-49; chronology of, I 55, 60, 254-56, 260, history on Palermo stone, I 163-67; vizier of, I 243-48.

NEFERKERE: see Pepi II.

NEFERKERE: see Shabaka.

NEFERKERE-SETEPNERE: see Ramses IX.

NEFERKHEPRURE-WANRE: see Ikhnaton.

NEFERTEM-KHURE: see Taharka.

NEFHEB¹: predynastic king of Lower Egypt, I 90.

NEMATRE: see Amenemhet III.

NEMATRE-NEKHERE: see Khenzer.

NESUBENEDED (XXI Dyn.) (=Smen-des): inscriptions of reign of, IV 627-30; living at Tanis, IV 564, 565, 566, 574; wealthy ship-owner, IV 574; ruler of the Northland, IV 581, 582; king, IV 627-30; chronology of, I 70; IV 604-7; restoration of the wall of Luxor, IV 627-30.

—Smenides (=Nesubeneded), IV 564 n. c.

NETERIMU (II Dyn.): reign of, on Palermo stone, I 117.

NIBHEPETRE: see Mentuhotep II.

NIBHOTEP: see Mentuhotep.

NIBKHEPRURE: see Mentuhotep II.

NIBMARE: see Amenhotep III.

NIBMARE-MERIAMON: see Ramses V.

NIBTOWERE: see Mentuhotep IV.

NUBKHEPRURE-INTEF: inscription of, I 773-80; insurrection in time of, I 773-74; deposition of the count of Coptos, I 775-80; pyramid of, IV 515.

NUBKURE: see Amenemhet II.

NUBTI: a Hyksos king, III 542.

NUSERRE (V Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, I 250-62; chronology of, I 54 ter, 55, 60, 167 n. a; relief of, I 250; titles, I 250; sun-temple of, at Abusir, I 252 n. a, 423H n. a.

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OKHEPERKERE: see Thutmose I.

OKHEPERNERE: see Thutmose II.

OKHEPERRE: see Sheshonk IV.

OKHEPRURE: see Amenhotep II.

OPEHTISET (=Nubti): a Hyksos king, with whom a new era began, III 549.

OSORKON I (XXII Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, IV 729-37; records of Nile levels under reign of, IV 695; chronology of, I 71; IV 694-95; temple gifts of, IV 729-37; wife of, IV 739, 740.

—Meriamon-Osorkon (I), IV 740.

OSORKON II (XXII Dyn.), IV 771, 774; inscriptions of reign of, IV 742-51; records of Nile levels under reign of, I 43 n. b; IV 696-97; chronology of, I 71, 71 n. a; IV 694-95; flood inscription of, IV 742-44; reliefs of, IV 749-50, 757-70.

—Osorkon (II) Siese-Meriamon, IV 743.

—Usermare - Setepnamon (= Osorkon II), IV 743, 774.

OSORKON III (XXIII Dyn.), IV 830, 872; inscriptions of reign of, IV 795; records of Nile levels under reign of, IV 794; chronology of, I 72, 72 n. d; IV 793-94; living in Bubastis, IV 878; son of, IV 794.

—Meriamon-Osorkon (III), IV 795.

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- PAYNOZEM I (XXI Dyn.):** inscriptions of reign of, IV 631-49; chronology of, I 70; IV 604-7; high priest of Amon, IV 631-42; king, IV 642-49; temple buildings of, IV 632-35; restoration of mummies by, IV 636-47.
 —Kheperkhare-Setepnamon (= Paynozem I), IV 645, 649.
 —Meriamon-Paynozem (I), IV 659.
 —Paynozem-Meriamon (= Paynozem I), IV 645, 649, 652, 660.
PEDIBAST (XXIII Dyn.): records of Nile levels under reign of, IV 794; chronology of, I 72.
 —Meriamon-Pedibast, IV 794.
PEFNEFDIBAST, IV 814. The Demotic, from a recent observation of Spiegelberg, shows we should read Pefthew-owebast (*Pf-ṯ w-c wy-B-ṯ stt*).
PEMOU (XXII Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, IV 778-81; records of Nile levels under reign of, IV 698; chronology of, I 71; IV 694-95, 778.
 —Meriamon-Pemou, IV 780.
 —Meriamon-Siese-Pemou, IV 698.
 —Usermare-Setepnamon (= Pemou), IV 698, 780.
PEPI I (VI Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, I 295-315; chronology of, I 61; expedition of, I 295, 297-98; queen of, 310; army of, I 311-12; war against Sand-dwellers, I 311-14; campaign in Southern Palestine, I 315.
 —Merire (= Pepi I), I 298, 302
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 —Neferkere (Pepi II), I 340, 382.
PESIBKHENNO I (XXI Dyn.): chronology of, I 70; IV 604-7.
PESIBKHENNO II (XXI Dyn.): chronology of, I 70; IV 604-7; daughter of, IV 740.
 —Meriamon-Horus-Pesibkhenno (II), IV 740.
PIANKHI, I 22; stela of, IV 796-883; reliefs of, IV 814, 815.
 —Meriamon-Piankhi, IV 816, 817, 834.

- PSAMMUS (XXIII Dyn.?), I 72 n. d;** IV 812; inscriptions of reign of, IV 935-73.
PSAMTIK I (XXVI Dyn.), IV 978; chronology of, I 75; IV 935-41; stela of adoption, I 23; IV 935-58; the Serapeum stela, IV 959-66.
 —Nebe (= Psamtik I), IV 945.
 —Wahibre (= Psamtik I), IV 943, 945, 958D, 960, 978.
PSAMTIK II (XXVI Dyn.), IV 987, 988A, C, E, I; inscriptions of reign of, IV 981-83; chronology of, I 75; IV 935-41, 984-85, 1026-27.
 —Menekhib (= Psamtik II), IV 988C.
 —Neferibre (= Psamtik II), IV 982, 988C.
PSAMTIK III (XXVI Dyn.): chronology of, I 75.
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 — - PU: predynastic king of Lower Egypt, I 90.

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- RAMESSIDS:** tombs of, in the "valley of the kings," IV 473, 490, 491.
RAMSES I (XIX Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, III 74-9; chronology of, I 67; coffin of, IV, 667.
 —Menpehtire (= Ramses I), III 76, 77, 78, 213, 373, 521; IV 667.
RAMSES II (XIX Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, III 251-568; chronology of, I 67 n. a; length of reign of, IV 471; lost calendar of, I 43 n. b; date of campaigns of, I 43; erasure of inscriptions of Hatshepsut, II 192 n. d, 193; restoration of temple at Der el-Bahri, II 192 n. d; coregency with Seti I, III 268; mortuary temple in Abydos for Seti I, III 251-81; the well of Akita, III 282-93; the Asiatic war, III 294-391; treaty with the Hittites, I 18, 36; III 367-91; subsequent relations with the Hittites, III 392-447; Nubian wars of, III 448-91; buildings of, III 492-542; jubilees of, III 543-60; birth of, III 400; youth of, III 267; marriage of, III 415-24, 428, 432-47; sons of, III 350, 362, 456, 474, 477, 482; daughters of, III 482 n. c; coffin of, IV 665, 691; tomb of, IV 545, 594; mummy of, IV 642; reburial of, IV 665; obelisks of, III 392, 543 n. c, 567; reliefs of, III 255-539.

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—Meriamon-Ramses (II), III 271, 281, 285.

—Ramses-Meriamon (=Ramses II), III 317, 336, 360, 365, 370, 375, 376, 377, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 386, 389, 390, 433, 486, 501, 504, 507, 520, 522, 527, 548, 553, 554, 556, 560.

—Usermare-Setepnere (=Ramses II), II 192 n. d; III 259, 271, 279, 281, 285, 306, 317, 336, 360, 365, 370, 373, 375, 378, 381, 382, 384, 385, 389, 433, 442, 447, 502, 507, 552, 553, 554, 556, 560; IV 524, 545, 642, 665.

RAMSES III (XX Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, IV 1-456; inaccurate publications of I 29; chronology of, I 69; length of reign of, I 48; accession of, IV 63; calendar of, I 43 n. b; IV 139-45; buildings of, IV 1-34 (see also Papyrus Harris *passim*); first Libyan war of, IV 35-58; northern war, IV 59-82; second Libyan war, IV 83-114; Syrian war, IV 115-135; Nubian war, IV 136-38; endowment of temples, IV 146-50, 231-35, 284-88, 342-45, 372-81; Papyrus-Harris, IV 151-412; harem-conspiracy, IV 416-53; practice of magic, IV 454-56; mummy of, IV 640, 641; reliefs of, IV 25, 29-34, 45-57, 69-82, 99-114, 117-30, 132-35, 137-38, 184, 246, 305.

—Usermare-Meriamon (=Ramses III), IV 37, 49, 55, 62, 75, 79, 94, 103, 105, 106, 110, 122, 126, 128, 130, 182, 230, 248, 249, 284, 289, 290, 297, 306, 307, 342, 346, 347, 352, 353, 364, 372, 383, 397, 455, 491, 523, 545, 547, 640.

RAMSES IV (XX Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, IV 457-72; chronology of, I 69, 69 n. a; first expedition to Hammamat, IV 457-60; second expedition to Hammamat, IV 461-68; completion of the temple of Khonsu, IV 472; reliefs of, IV 458, 463.

—Hekmare-Setepnamon (=Ramses IV), IV 463, 472.

—Ramses-Hekma-Meriamon (=Ramses IV), IV 246, 304, 351, 382, 411, 412.

—Ramses-Meriamon (=Ramses IV), IV 463, 472.

—Usermare-Setepnamon (=Ramses IV), IV 246, 304, 351, 382, 411, 412.

RAMSES V (XX Dyn.): inscriptions

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—Amonhirkhepeshef-Ramses-Neterhekon (=Ramses V), IV 473.

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RAMSES VI (XX Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, IV 474-83; chronology of, I 69; tomb of Penno, IV 474-83; reliefs of, IV 476, 477.

RAMSES VII (XX Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, IV 484-85; chronology of, I 69; scribe of, IV 485; reliefs of, IV 484.

—Ramses - Menthirkhepeshef - Meriamon (=Ramses VII), IV 484.

—Usermare-Ikhnamon (=Ramses VII), IV 484.

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RAMSES IX (XX Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, IV 486-556; chronology of, I 69, 69 n. a; high priest of Amon in reign of, IV 486-98; tomb-robberies in time of, IV 499-556; reliefs of, IV 493.

—Neferkare-Setepnere (=Ramses IX), IV 510.

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RAMSES X (XX Dyn.): chronology of, I 69; coregency with Ramses IX, IV 544.

—Uhem-mesut (=Ramses X), IV 545.

RAMSES XI (XX Dyn.): chronology of, I 69.

RAMSES XII (XX Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, IV 557-603; chronology of, I 69; report of Wenamon, IV 557-91; affairs in the South, IV 595-600; building the temple of Khonsu, IV 601-3, 609-15; restoration of mummies, IV 592-94.

—Menmare-Setepneptah (=Ramses XII), IV 596, 609, 611, 612.

—Ramses (XII)-Khamweze-Meriamon-Nuterhekon, IV 596, 609.

RAMSES-HEKMA-MERIAMON: see Ramses IV.

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RAMSES-MERIAMON: see Ramses II.

RAMSES-MERIAMON: see Ramses IV.

RAMSES-MERIAMON: see Ramses IX.

RAMSES-SIPTAH: see Siptah.

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SAHURE (V Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, I 236-41; chronology of, I 54 bis, 55, 60, 254-56; history on Palermo stone, I 159-62; titles of, I 236; privy councilor of, I 259.

SAKERE (XVIII Dyn.): chronology of, I 66.

SEBEKEMSAP (Sekhemre-Shedtowe): queen of, IV 517; pyramid of, IV 517, 528.

—Sekhemre-Shedtowe (=Sebekemsap), IV 517; queen of, IV 517; pyramid of, IV 517, 528.

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SEKA: predynastic king of Lower Egypt, I 90.

SEKENENRE-TAO: see Tao.

SEKENENRE-TA00: see Ta00.

SEKHEMRE-KHUTOWE (XIII Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, I 751-52.

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SESOSTRIS I (XII Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, I 498-593; chronology of, I 64, 460-62, 487-88; coregency of, I 487; building inscription of, I 14, 498-506; Nubian expeditions, I 510-12, 518-21; appointments of, I 627; buildings of, IV 489.

—Kheperkere (=Sesostris I), I 501, 512, 520, 525, 529, 598, 784; IV 489.

SESOSTRIS II (XII Dyn.): inscription of reign of, I 614-39; chronology of, I 64, 460-62; coregency of, 614.

SESOSTRIS III (XII Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, I 640-700; chronology of, I 64, 460-62; conquest of Nubia, I 10; queen of, I 655 n. b; made god, II 169; hymn to, I 17; treasurer of, I 9, 661-70.

—Khekure (=Sesostris III), I 644, 647, 650, 652, 663, 672, 675, 686; II 170, 171 174, 175.

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SETI I (XIX Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, III 80-250; chronology of, I 67; Karnak inscriptions of, III 80-156; other temple inscriptions, III 162-98; building inscriptions, III 199-250; wars in Asia, III 80-119; in Libya, III 120-56; queen of, IV 555; her tomb, IV 555, 593; restoration of monuments by, I 13, 15; II 312; reliefs of, III 80-156, 163, 165, 203; obelisk of, III 544; tomb of, IV 545, 642, 665, 666, 667; mummy of, IV 639, 661; coffin of, IV 666, 691.

—Menmare (=Seti I), II 612, 878; III 82 n. b, 83, 86, 88, 100, 101, 105, 110, 116, 122, 132, 134, 136, 143, 144, 146, 150, 154, 155, 160, 169, 171, 175, 179, 195, 223, 260, 263, 267, 270, 271, 272, 280, 289, 373, 541; IV 545, 555, 593, 642, 661, 665, 666, 667.

—Merneptah (=Seti I), III 266, 272.

—Seti-Merneptah (=Seti I), II 312, 856; III 86, 88, 94, 100, 122, 132, 134, 143, 144, 146, 150, 154, 169, 175, 195, 270, 271, 541, 545, 547, 645; IV 665, 666, 667.

—Uhem-Mesut (=Seti I), III 94, 101, 108, 169, 223.

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SETI II (XIX Dyn.): chronology of, I 67; succeeding Siptah, III 641; viceroy of Kush, III 639, 640, 642, 643, 646, 647.

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SETNAKHT (XX Dyn.): chronology of, I 69; rule of, IV 399; death of, IV 400.

—Setnakht-Mererre-Meriamon (=Setnakht), IV 399.

—Userkhare-Setepnere-Meriamon (=Setnakht), IV 399.

SETNEH, an ancient king, I 166.

SHABAKA (XXV Dyn.): inscription of reign of, IV 889; records of Nile levels under reign of, IV 886; chronology of, I 74; IV 885.

—Neferkere (=Shabaka), IV 886.

—Sebektowe (=Shabaka), IV 886.

SHABATAKA (XXV Dyn.): record of

- Nile levels in reign of, I 43; IV 887; chronology of, I 74; IV 885.
- SHEPSESKEF** (IV Dyn.): chronology of, I 54 bis, 55, 59, 254, 255, 257; daughter of, I 257; son-in-law of, I 54, 257; pyramid of, I 151;
- SHEPSESKERE**: chronology of, I 55, 60.
- SHESHONK I** (XXII Dyn.): I 26, 49; IV 787, 792; inscriptions of reign of, IV 699-728; records of Nile levels under reign of, IV 695; chronology of, I 71; IV 694-95; quarrying at Silsileh, IV 701-8; buildings in Karnak temple, IV 701-24A; campaign in Palestine, IV 709-24; rebellion in the oasis in reign of, IV 729; reliefs of, IV 702, 709-18.
- Kheperheze-Setepnere (= Sheshonk I), IV 700, 703, 724.
- Meriamon-Sheshonk (I), IV 700, 704, 705, 721, 724.
- SHESHONK II** (XXII Dyn.): chronology of, I 71; IV 694-95.
- SHESHONK III** (XXII Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, IV 756-77; records of Nile levels under reign of, IV 698; chronology of, I 71; IV 694-95, 778; annals of high priest Osorkon, IV 756-70.
- Meriamon-Sheshonk (III), IV 698.
- Meriamon-Sibast-Sheshonk- (III) Nuterhekon, IV 774.
- Usermare-Setepnamon (= Sheshonk III), IV 698, 774.
- SHESHONK IV** (XXII Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, IV 782-92; records of Nile levels under reign of, IV 698; chronology of, I 71; IV 694-95.
- Meriamon-Sheshonk (IV), IV 698.
- Okheperre (= Sheshonk IV), IV 784, 791.
- Usermare-Meriamon (= Sheshonk IV), IV 698.
- SIAMON**: Tanite king, IV 663; chronology of, I 70; IV 604-7.
- SIAMON-HRIHOR**: see Hrihor.
- SIPTAH** (XIX Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, III 639-51; chronology of, I 67; viceroys of Kush in time of, III 639, 643, 646; queen of, IV 400 n. c; reliefs of, III 647, 648.
- Ikhnerre-Setepnere (= Siptah) III, 648, 650.
- Merneptah-Siptah (= Siptah), III 650.
- Ramses-Siptah (= Siptah), III 642, 643.
- SMEENDES**: see Nesubenebbedd.
- SNEFRU** (III Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, I 168-75; mentioned, I 176, 189, 731; chronology of, I 54 bis, 55, 56, 58, 86; placed in III Dynasty by Palermo stone, I 86; became god of the Sinai region, I 168, 722; commemorated by roads and statues in the Delta, I 168, 493; regarded as god, I 722; founder of mining, I 168; smiter of barbarians, I 169; dispatched a fleet to bring cedar from Lebanon I 89; gates of, I 148; his relief at Wadi Maghara, I 169.

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- TAHARKA** (Tirhaka) (XXV Dyn.), IV 942, 962; inscriptions of reign of, IV 892-918; records of Nile levels under reign of, IV 888; chronology of, I 74; IV 885; fleeing before Ashurbanipal, IV 405 n. g, 917; Piankhi, father of, IV 892; death of, IV 919.
- Nefertem-Khure (= Taharka), IV 888.
- TAKELOT I** (XXII Dyn.): inscriptions of reign of, IV 738-40; records of Nile levels under reign of, IV 695; chronology of, I 71, 71 n. g; IV 694-95; queens of, IV 696, 792.
- TAKELOT II** (XXII Dyn.), I 35; IV 777; inscriptions of reign of, IV 752-55; chronology of, I 71; IV 694-95; coregency with Osorkon II, IV 697.
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EGYPTIAN

ABBREVIATIONS

d. n. = divine name.
e. n. = ethnic name.
f. n. = feast name.
g. n. = geographical name.

p. n. = personal name.
r. n. = royal name.
t. n. = temple name.

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